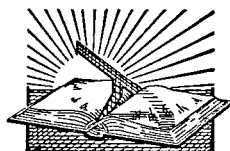


CULTURE IN THE SOUTH

Edited by W. T. COUCH



CHAPEL HILL
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To
LOUIS ROUND WILSON

PREFACE

THE SOUTH is like the elephant in the fable, and the South's critics and expositors have been all-too-like the blind men. To the question, What is the South, many answers are given. One writes of *the* southern spirit, another of *the* southern tradition. Another discovers that industrialism has about it something peculiarly "northern," while life on a farm is supposed to be uniquely "southern." In such a view no importance is given to the fact that some of our most prosperous and apparently most wholesome farming is done in such an urban and industrial state as Pennsylvania. The industrialism of the North is supposed to correspond to a "northern" way of thinking, and the agrarianism of the South to a "southern" way of thinking. It is imagined that anyone who writes of the South must inevitably classify himself with one or the other of these two supposedly opposed modes of thinking.

One of the most thoughtful books on the South published in recent years, *I'll Take My Stand*, reveals clearly the fallacy of expecting a better way of life as a result merely of bigger and better business ; but it falls into the even more serious error of interpreting southern life in terms of industrialism *vs.* agrarianism.

There is undeniably a measure of truth in this mode of interpretation, but in following it the fundamental issues in southern life, which are much the same as elsewhere, are almost entirely overlooked. Certainly in the present posture of affairs it is somewhat rash to assume, as these latest "agrarians" do, that farming in the South is a healthy and attractive occupation, peculiarly devoted to the service of genuinely human purposes, and that industry is necessarily a destroyer of human values. This position is a long step backward from that of the agrarians of the nineties who held, in general, that both industry and agriculture could be and must be organized to serve legitimate human purposes.

The agrarians of *I'll Take My Stand* are quick to see the weakness in the notion of life as nothing more than a struggle between economic interests ; yet they are almost equally facile in their easy reduction of southern life to opposing "agrarian" and "industrial" forces. Life in the South, as elsewhere, it may well be repeated, is not a simple affair. It is varied from class to class, and is further complicated by wide differences in political, economic, racial, edu-

cational, and religious faiths. To be sure, there are dominant tendencies; but he must be a wise man who looks over the whole South, averages it all up, and then says *the* dominant feature of the South is such and such. One may make pronouncements with some assurance in speaking of politics, or economics, or religion, or race; but one must be careful how one averages a religious impulse or restraint with an economic motive, or how one clothes a great variety of thought and action with the single garment of this latest version of agrarianism.

No one denies it is necessary to make wide generalizations. But surely no generalization is worth more than the ground on which it rests. Consider, for instance, the doctrine that the agrarian way of life is essentially different from the industrial, that it is better—or, at least, better for the South, and that it is worthy of being preserved even at the price of economic obscurantism. If one looks at agrarian life in the South without colored spectacles, what does one find? Essential differences from industrialism, yes. But superiority? . . . One finds 1,790,000 tenant farmers, white and black. One finds the last stronghold of child labor. One finds women who have to cook, sew, wash and iron, who have to work regularly in the fields planting, hoeing, and harvesting, and who are not protected by any laws or customs regulating their hours of labor. The system is so thoroughly bad that no laws can be devised which, so long as the system lasts, can protect the women and children who are a part of it. Again, in what way, may one ask, is tenant farming superior to work in a factory? Look at the South's 775,000 croppers whose legal position is that of wage hands without any definite assurance of wages. Or compare the opportunities for leisure and for the use of leisure in isolated homes in the country and in towns and cities. The comparison made by the agrarian is strangely confused. Now we hear that country life in the South (superior to country life in the North, of course) is good because it is slow, leisurely, affording plenty of time to invite the soul or to contemplate the infinite variety and moods of nature. At the same time we hear that country life is good because men cannot learn how to use leisure and because farming does not leave them long, idle hours. If the women have to spend all their energy cooking, scrubbing, hoeing, why not? we are asked. How else could they spend their time better? I am constrained to believe that the gentlemen who ask this question have never known or imagined the misery, the long drawn-out misery, of over-work and undernourishment, of poverty and isolation, of ignorance and hopelessness.

Nor can the new agrarians point to a southern past that was better

and that might be re-created. Little is known about the great majority of the southern white population in former times. The interests of the great mass of the white population have not been adequately studied by leaders in the South either of the present or of the past. The history of the South as it has been written deals almost exclusively with the large slaveholder, his slaves, and his other interests. A large part of this, significantly enough, is in the writings and speeches of Calhoun, the foremost leader of the ante-bellum South; but so far as Calhoun and most of the other southern ante-bellum politicians were concerned, the interests of the non-slaveholder were not worthy of special study and consideration. Those few who did study this subject and make pronouncements on it have handed down very little more than the formula of the modern chamber of commerce, excellent and indispensable as far as it goes, calling for the introduction and development of industries, the diversification of economic life, and popular education. For accounts of the majority of the southern white population—the small slaveholders and the non-slaveholding yeomen farmers—the student has to rely mainly on the books of foreign and northern travellers. Even to the present day there is nothing of a comprehensive nature in print on the social history of these large classes. The growing interest in them, their past, present, and future, is largely due to the study made possible by financial aid from foundations that have gained their wealth in industry; and one result of this financial aid and study is that when political conditions permit as they do today, the government can secure and employ trained scholars as advisers and can do something toward permitting farmers to raise themselves out of bankruptcy. The present effort to aid southern farmers has not been greatly helped by southern politicians. On the contrary, most of them have been lukewarm toward the federal administration's policies and have only climbed on the bandwagon to ride in the triumphal procession. Let it come on rough roads and they will quickly jump off and join the snipers. Since the 1880's and 1890's, with a few scattered exceptions, political thought of a serious nature has disappeared from the South, and the thought of that time was superficial enough. But though it was shallow, much of it was honest and direct, and a number of later reforms may be chalked partly to its credit. For several years it fought a hard battle for the mortgaged farm-owner. It has this much more to its credit than have the politicians who claim to represent it today. But like them, it never got further than the expression of sympathy for the dispossessed, the white and black tenant farmers, croppers, and day laborers.

The assumption of the "agrarians" that individualism goes with agrarianism and collectivism with industrialism is entirely unwarranted. The truth, as everyone knows, is that an anarchic individualism has dominated both agriculture and industry, and while the institutions of collective action—of government, of religion, of education, and of business—have grown enormously, their purposes have been warped and bent to anarchic ends until half the nation has been brought to ruin. Individualism, like liberty, cannot exist above the level of the brute unless individuals restrain themselves or are restrained by law. The "right" of the farmer to gamble on cotton or tobacco is essentially the same as the "right" of the speculator to gamble in the commodity markets and help ruin the farmer. The farmer can free himself from the chances of his market only by giving up the "right" to gamble, and by seeing that others give it up also. By giving up his freedom as a speculator, by organizing his interests on a just basis rather than on one of chance, he loses the freedom to gamble and gains the freedom of economic security. To regard this struggle between two kinds of freedom as nothing more than individualism *vs.* collectivism may be and has been extremely misleading.

In this book, therefore, I have avoided insofar as possible an organization of subject matter which might lead to discussions of agrarianism *vs.* industrialism or individualism *vs.* collectivism. I have not avoided the discussion of certain traditional subjects in a traditional manner, because these traditions are strong and important and seem to me to possess a measure of delight that is final and complete. In them one who is fortunate may rest comfortably and complacently, and drift about in quiet and lovely bayous shaded perchance with giant trees hung with Spanish moss. But meantime the broad stream of southern life, muddy and turbulent and torrential at times and places, goes on its way. Our purpose here is to sound its depth, measure its strength, discover its complexity, and ultimately to find ways to remove the *débris* which now infests its waters.

The reader will not find unity of opinion in the volume. It would have been impossible to secure competent authors representing the same point of view on such a wide variety of subjects. But while the point of view varies among the contributors, all the chapters taken together give a picture of the more important aspects of life in the present South and their historic background. The responsibility for the choice of subjects rests solely upon the editor.

I am under obligations to many persons for help which cannot be acknowledged here. My special thanks are due to the contributors, who have given patient and generous aid to a task that for

a time seemed to have no end ; to the former Director of The University of North Carolina Press, Louis Round Wilson, and to the Board of Governors of the Press, who have authorized and encouraged the work ; to the staff of the Press for criticisms and aid in editing of manuscripts and reading of proofs ; and to Elizabeth Calvert Couch for making the index.

W. T. C.

Chapel Hill, North Carolina
November 27, 1933

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CULTURE
IN THE SOUTH

THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE

BY CHARLES W. RAMSDELL

THE DOMINANT FACTOR in the history of the South has been its preoccupation with agriculture and especially with the great staple crops of cotton, tobacco and sugar. Despite the rapid growth of cities and the development of mechanic industries in recent years, the bulk of the population is still primarily concerned with the cultivation of the soil. The economic and social status of the agricultural classes, therefore, has largely determined both the conditions of southern life and the patterns of thinking. But the regional situation has long been complicated by other factors. In the first place there is the race problem, which was deeply involved in the southern defense of slavery and, far from being eliminated, was made more difficult by the emancipation of the blacks. Another factor which has had much influence upon the regional attitude, one which developed before 1860 and was emphasized by conditions after Appomattox, was the consciousness that the South was a sectional minority, relegated to a subordinate position in national affairs, and that it must be constantly on the defensive against the policies of the rich and powerful North. And of far-reaching importance, in both its social and its psychological consequences, was the blighting poverty which was inflicted upon the whole region by the Civil War and the ensuing decline of agriculture. Even now, two-thirds of a century after the debacle of 1865, although the South has recovered much lost ground, it has not regained a position of importance in national life comparable to that which before 1850 was the foundation of its sectional pride.

The differences between North and South, based on soil and climate, began far back in colonial days, but they were not great enough at that time to cause friction. Both sections were concerned chiefly, though not in the same degree, with agriculture and trade. It was not until the opening years of the nineteenth century that

their interests began sharply to diverge. It was then that the industrial revolution began to change the economic organization of New England and the middle states, while through its textile machinery and the cotton gin it suddenly made raw cotton a staple of the world market and turned the agriculture of the lower South in a new, profitable and fatal direction.

While mills and factories multiplied and capital concentrated in the North Atlantic states, eager farmers and planters along the coast and far into the back country of the Carolinas and Georgia were growing cotton and dreaming of larger estates and greater profits. High prices for the raw staple made fortunes for successful planters and the "cotton craze" spread to all classes. After the War of 1812 a steady stream of settlers moved into the new Gulf states, cleared the forested lands along the rivers, and by 1830 were producing over half of the total crop. The development of this new southwest was phenomenal, but it is easily explained. Cotton was not only a reliable cash crop, since it sold readily in the world market, it was also normally the most profitable of all crops on good soil. Above all, it was well suited to large-scale production with Negro slave labor. Slaves, in fact, were essential to large planting units; for the task of clearing the thickly wooded river lands and carrying on the routine of new plantations required constant labor. A steady and adequate supply of free white labor could not be procured on this frontier where even the poorest white man could always get land to cultivate for himself. The large landowner must have Negroes or leave his fields unplanted. The successful cotton grower found that the most promising investment for the profits from his crop was in more land and more labor. It was, in fact, almost the only one open to him. Thus the plantation system continued to expand and the lower South was committed to cotton and to slave labor by economic forces beyond its control.

The border states were less affected by these momentous changes. Cotton growing made slight headway in North Carolina and Tennessee, and in Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri practically none at all. In these states farmers grew tobacco or hemp, grain and live-stock. They used Negro slaves, but in no such numbers as did the cotton planters to whom they sold their surplus of Negroes. In this upper country, and also in the piedmont and the mountain valleys of the lower South, there was a more diversified industry than in the cotton belt. Difficulties of transportation increased the cost of imported goods and thus made opportunities for local white artisans. Small capitalists erected flour and grist mills where water power was available; others opened coal and iron mines and salt

springs ; and a few built small yarn and cloth mills. But these were generally local enterprises to supply the local market, and they held their business chiefly because the absence of cheap transportation protected them from outside competition. Richmond, Petersburg, and Louisville became small industrial centers, but only because of peculiar local advantages. Meanwhile these enterprises had little effect upon the general trend of southern life, for agriculture and the commerce which it fostered remained the chief concern of the mass of the southern people.

As late as 1850 the country was thinly settled and retained many of the characteristics of the frontier. Most well-to-do farmers still lived in log houses. Bad roads and unbridged streams made travel and communication difficult, while heavy woods about the cleared fields deepened the sense of isolation. The small towns, with few exceptions, served merely as shipping points and offered little to attract residents. The southerner preferred to live in the country. Although the larger cities maintained daily newspapers, the mass of the people read only little four-page weeklies. In rural communities schools were hard to establish and maintain. Farmers' children went for two or three months in the year, if at all, to local schools which were supported by small tuition fees and the "boarding around" of the teacher. The older and more ambitious boys sometimes found opportunity to attend one of the numerous private academies. The children of the wealthier planters had tutors and access to libraries of English classics. This was the older system; but in the eighteen-thirties and forties it was beginning to give way to the pressure for tax-supported public schools, and before 1860 every southern state had established some form of public school system. State supported colleges antedated the common schools and were better provided for. In fact, the best of the southern colleges were doubtless as good as the best in the North.

Like their countrymen of other sections, the mass of the southern people were sincerely religious. Except in the French parishes of Louisiana, Protestantism was everywhere in control. The older aristocratic families maintained the prestige of the Episcopal Church which had an influence far out of proportion to the number of its members ; but for ordinary people the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches had a stronger attraction. The preachers of these evangelical churches, by flaming appeals to the fears and emotions of the common people and by emphasizing their individual importance in the sight of God, had gathered them into the fold by the thousands. The members of these churches accepted the Bible as the literal word of God, the infallible guide for human conduct,

the fountain of all wisdom. Since each church had its own interpretation of God's plan for the salvation of souls, it was important that doctrine be sound ; therefore theological controversies abounded and rivaled politics in their intensity. But the clergy of all the evangelical churches worked in kindred spirit to impose puritanical ideals upon their people and to root out the tolerant deistic cult of Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Cooper. They sought to control the education of the youth not only by erecting sectarian colleges but by exercising a very direct influence over the state universities.

His political party, like his church, gratified the individual's sense of his own importance, but the party had a more universal appeal than the church. The average voter formed his opinions rather less from reading than from listening to political speakers, so that public debate became a system of political education and oratory one of the fine arts. Young politicians acquired ample schooling in party organization and management in the sharp conflicts between Democrats and Whigs over a multitude of issues, local, state and federal, or between rival leaders of the same party. The leaders were usually men who had enough means to enable them to pursue a public career as an avocation, most often as an adjunct to the law. As a rule, public officials seem to have been free from the taint of graft ; at any rate, there were few scandals. State and county governments were simple and economical, holding as far as possible to the old agrarian doctrine, "that government is best which governs least."

Before 1830 the phenomenal spread of cotton growing into the southwest had brought about a gradual, if fluctuating, decline of prices which began to pinch the planters on the thinner soils of the eastern cotton belt, especially in South Carolina. At the same time the rapid accumulation of banking capital in the industrial and commercial centers of the northeast had enabled northern bankers and brokers to obtain control of the marketing of the crop. Normally the planter shipped his cotton to a commission house or "factor" at the nearest seaport, and from him purchased his yearly supplies. Often the factor was merely an agent for a northern firm which sold the cotton in New England or Liverpool, and subtracted liberally from the proceeds for wharfage, freight, insurance, storage, drayage, and commissions. Whether crops were good or bad, prices high or low, the factors and bankers were able to take their own profits. But the planter found it harder and harder to make a profit from his crops, and the declining trade of Charleston reflected his condition.

Under such circumstances the protective tariff, which had risen

steadily since 1816 and had increased the cost of living, was an extreme irritation. The distress in South Carolina was so great by 1832 that her people struck at the tariff through nullification. Although the other southern states refused to endorse the South Carolina remedy, the compromise tariff of 1833 relieved the strain. Andrew Jackson had stopped federal aid of internal improvements in 1832 and destroyed the Bank of the United States in 1836. Agriculture had won the first political battle and it was to win others with the low tariffs of 1846 and 1857; but it had not won the campaign. The northern merchant and banker were still taking their accustomed profits from southern trade.

The general economic depression of the late thirties induced a more extensive search for causes and remedies. While some southern planters followed the lead of Edmund Ruffin of Virginia in instituting "agricultural reform" by fertilizing and terracing their fields and rotating their crops, others sought more direct means of breaking their vassalage to northern capital. They had not failed to note that from two-thirds to three-fourths of the total exports of the United States were the products of southern agriculture and that an even larger proportion of the imports came to northern harbors. Since it was evident that northern merchants and bankers paid their accounts in Europe with the country's exports, the planters easily concluded that northern wealth grew largely from the profits of handling southern trade. These profits might be saved to the South. Led by southern merchants, they proposed to cut loose from New York, Philadelphia, and Boston by establishing direct trade with European markets through new lines of steamships and to strengthen this trade by railroad connections between the South Atlantic ports and the Mississippi and Ohio valleys. The great scheme failed because the scarcity of available capital delayed the building of the railroads and because no steamship line could be induced to send ships regularly where freights were seasonal. Northern capital continued to skim the profits from the southern cotton trade.

During the early forties, when the price of cotton fell to ruinous levels, there was much talk of establishing cotton mills in the cotton country. William Gregg of South Carolina and a few other industrial pioneers had pointed the way to success in this direction, and small factories arose along the eastern piedmont from Richmond to Augusta; but because of insufficient capital, inexperience and bad management there were enough failures to discourage investors. When the price of raw cotton rose again men with spare capital turned back to planting—something which they understood

and could manage themselves. Nevertheless, the manufacture of yarns and the coarser fabrics made headway, and had they not been set back by the Civil War, the southern mills might have dominated the industry before the end of the century. In the upper South, Richmond had developed a nucleus of tobacco factories, flour mills, and iron manufactures, while Louisville had for some time been one of the industrial centers of the Ohio valley. But the mass of the southern people continued to till the soil and to exchange at heavy cost their raw produce for northern manufactured goods. As late as 1860 more than ninety per cent of the manufactured products of the United States, exclusive of such things as lumber, turpentine, flour and meal, were fashioned north of the Potomac.

As better times returned in 1850 the planters recovered their confidence in the security of agriculture. The Walker Tariff of 1846 had lowered the cost of manufactured products and southern cotton was in active demand in the markets of Liverpool. There is little doubt that their renewed prosperity was a large factor in winning their acceptance of the great Compromise of that year. What they did not see, or else were unwilling to admit, was that a system of exchanging raw agricultural products for imported manufactures bound the South to a *colonial* economy, and that the results would be the same whether they bought their goods in the North or in Great Britain. Although they exultantly proclaimed with Senator Hammond of South Carolina that "Cotton is King!" they gave evidence of latent uneasiness. They were still irritated that there was no escaping the tribute levied by northern capital and industry, and a small group of irreconcilables began to insist that economic independence could be obtained only by political separation from the overshadowing North. But the economic arguments of the secessionists had little perceptible effect upon the strong sentimental attachment to the Union. Had it not been for the excitement which had arisen over the slavery controversy, it is unlikely that economic grievances alone would have brought the South to disunion. They certainly played a minor part in bringing on the revolt of 1860-1861.

The rapid development of the anti-slavery movement in the North, at the core of which was a virulent and uncompromising demand for immediate and uncompensated abolition, seemed to the southern people a menace far more dangerous than the aggressions of northern capital. It aroused an emotional storm in the South which is hard for most people nowadays to understand. This feeling cannot be attributed wholly to the fear of the loss of the capital invested in slave labor—although that was naturally an important factor—for some of the most determined opponents of

abolitionism were men who owned no slaves themselves. It was, in part, a quite natural anger at the rabid accusations and wholesale abuse heaped by the abolitionists upon all men and women who had any connection with the institution or who defended it. And it was, in very large part, a fear of the consequences, if the crusade should prove successful. It must be remembered that when Garrison began the publication of *The Liberator* in 1831 many thousands of Negroes in the lower South were either natives of Africa or were but one generation removed from savagery. As long as these Negroes could be kept under the discipline of the plantation the danger of racial conflict would be minimized ; but should they be excited by abolitionist doctrine the consequences might be appalling. Southern men had not forgotten the horrors of the Haiti massacres nor the more recent Nat Turner insurrection in Virginia. To them the abolitionists were fanatical incendiaries, reckless of the lives of the white women and children of the "black belt." For us to say now that the danger of servile uprising was far less than they thought is beside the point. That they believed the danger real is the important fact. On the economic side the abolitionist program threatened not only the loss of capital invested in slaves but also the shrinkage of land values, since it was commonly believed that the Negro could not be depended upon to do much work after he was freed. And it must be remembered that the lands of the slave belt were, on the whole the most fertile in the South. The sum of the matter is that the abolitionist attack seemed to be aimed not merely at the basis of southern economic life but at the existence of white civilization itself. Confronted with these dangers and compelled to listen to lurid descriptions of themselves as monsters of brutality and iniquity, it is small wonder that southern men lost their tempers and therefore lost the power to think objectively on the subject of slavery. The distinction between the abolitionist creed and the milder and much more general form of northern antislavery opinion, which opposed the extension of the institution rather than, as yet, its destruction, seemed to them less and less important ; they were convinced that all antislavery sentiment was working around to the abolitionist position. Thrown upon the defensive, they began elaborating a defense of slavery and of everything southern. As the fatal controversy dragged on, every attack from the North deepened the defense patterns in the southern mind. Southern political history during the two decades before secession cannot be understood without taking into account this conviction of being on the defensive and the extreme sensitiveness which it induced.

Since the foundation of the government the South had been a

minority in the Union, but this weakness seemed of little importance until the great sectional issues arose. The great Calhoun had turned all the resources of his mind to the problem of protecting the minority against the potential tyranny of the majority, and had failed to find a practical solution. There was no solution; but southern statesmen erected one defense after another—constitutional limitations on federal power, political alliances, equal representation in the Senate. All failed. They fell back upon the sovereignty of the state; a doctrine which had been asserted at some time in every section of the Union. It was the last refuge short of secession and acquired the authority of a religious dogma. But as the tide of population rolled westward into new lands that could never be southern, while certain of the border slave states showed a declining interest in slaveholding, it became a question whether the sacred principle of state sovereignty could long withstand the pressure of numbers. What would happen when enough free states had been carved out of the West to give the anti-southern forces three-fourths of all the states in the Union—enough to override the last defenses of the South by constitutional amendments? The desperate tactics of the southern politicians after 1850—the demand for unhampered entry of slave property into western territories where climatic conditions effectively barred the institution, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which could give no possible practical advantage to their section—however futile they may seem now, were all fundamentally measures of defense. Their effect was to bring into existence immediately the first great sectional party, the Republican, a party which in some form was certain to emerge sooner or later. The “Black Republicans” (a term which sufficiently distinguished them from Jefferson’s organization), whose cardinal principle was opposition to the extension of slavery, professed to harbor no designs against the institution in the states; but they called the abolitionists to their support and counted scores of them among their leaders. Southern men refused to be taken in by platform professions. They knew that Black Republicanism was their implacable enemy.

In October, 1859, John Brown’s attempt to head a slave insurrection in Virginia, followed by the northern panegyrics lavished upon that “martyred” incendiary, aroused apprehension and indignation throughout the South. Doubtless many of the secessionists secretly rejoiced that the final issue was brought closer; but the majority of the southern people were troubled by the portent of danger. Would they be safe if the antislavery men should win control of the government at the next election? A year later the

election of Lincoln and the refusal of the victorious Republicans to agree to any compromise or satisfactory guaranty of their safety convinced them that the time had come for separation and the establishment of a new southern union. In mingled anger, regret, and enthusiasm the cotton states withdrew and set up their Confederacy. The upper South held back until Lincoln's call for troops; then four more states joined to resist the armed invasion from the North.

If the southern people erred grievously in their decision, grievously they answered for it. For four long, weary years they fought an unequal and inherently hopeless struggle for independence, enduring what no civilized people had suffered since Louis XIV ravaged the Palatinate. In the end they were conquered, their slaves freed and their social system overturned, their lands laid waste and left almost worthless, their mills, factories and railroads destroyed or weakened beyond immediate repair, their banks and accumulated credits wiped out, their families impoverished, the flower of their youth dead or crippled. Their conquerors imposed upon this stricken people, in the form of taxes and the repudiation of their bonds, an indemnity heavier than that levied upon France by Imperial Germany in 1871. They faced their condition courageously and sought to build anew upon their broken foundations; but the triumphant North fell under the direction of vindictive leaders who utilized to the utmost the prevailing war psychosis to frustrate every effort of the southern whites to recover something from the general wreck. The orgy of radical reconstruction kindled a new resentment more enduring than that caused by the war itself.

By all odds the bitterest draught held to the lips of the southern whites during reconstruction was their enforced subjection to the political control of their former slaves. Not even the imposition of exorbitant taxes and the plundering of the public treasuries by the carpetbaggers equalled in their eyes this iniquitous humiliation. The purpose of the northern radicals was not so much to uplift the Negro as to "nationalize" the sectional Republican party and thus perpetuate their own control of the government. The Negroes, of course, were not to blame. They had not sought this power; but their ignorance and credulity, their naïve delight in their new importance made them easy tools in the hands of unscrupulous leaders. It was impossible to eliminate the venal carpetbagger without depriving the Negro of his political power; and in the process racial antipathies developed which were to be a source of trouble for years to come. There can be no doubt that violence and cruelty toward Negroes was greater after the freedmen were first given the

ballot in 1867 than it ever was under slavery; but it is significant that the lower class of whites—those nearest the Negro's social and economic level—were the most active in these disturbances. As the Negro was gradually retired from politics, racial friction decreased, and an increasing number of southern leaders took the enlightened position that in order to make him a useful citizen, the freedman must be encouraged to acquire an education and property. Despite sporadic outbreaks, millions of whites and blacks were able to work together on friendly terms, provided the Negro accept the rôle of dependent. In fact, the average Negro was always glad to attach himself to some white man to whom, as patron and protector, he could turn as a ready source of help in time of trouble. The patron acknowledged the obligation but, however kind to his dependent, never wavered in his determination that the South should remain "a white man's country."

Inevitably, perhaps, this solution of the problem of race relationships found little acceptance in the North where the war had engendered a persistent suspicion of southern motives and where radical Republican "bloody shirt" orators and editors sought to hold their party lines intact by charging southern Democrats with being "as rebellious as in 1861" and with practicing every sort of cruelty upon the "Union-loving freedmen, the wards of the nation." The effect of all this was further to inflame the southern mind and to impede the efforts of enlightened and farseeing men to improve the condition of the Negro as an essential step in the regeneration of the South, since to the less thoughtful majority every plea for the freedman was linked up with the anti-southern propaganda of the hated northern radicals. Again the defense mechanism was set in operation and popular rationalizations about the dangers of "social equality" retarded the solution of the problem of racial adjustments.

Northern publicists continued as they had begun in 1861 to explain the war as "the spawn of those twin devils, treason and slavery." For forty years this theory was elaborated and reiterated until it became accepted in the North as one of the historical verities. Thus the burden which the conqueror always manages to lay upon the spirits of the conquered—the heavy burden of sole responsibility for so much suffering—was loaded upon the southern people. To make it more irritating, southern parents saw school histories put into the hands of their children which discredited their own motives in the desperate struggle they had made to protect their land from invasion and devastation and stigmatized them for rebelling against the moral and philanthropic designs of the righteous

North. Defenders of the southern cause were numerous, but they could get little hearing. Southern political leaders, after they had been allowed to return to Congress, could ill afford, for the sake of their northern Democratic allies, to arouse northern susceptibilities by attempting the vindication of the movement for southern independence. Few were inclined to reargue the cause of slavery, now that it was gone; most men, in fact, expressed satisfaction that it was no more. But none were willing to stultify themselves by admitting that their motives had been bad in 1861. While those who remained "unreconstructed" proclaimed with Robert Toombs that they "had nothing to regret but the dead and the failure," the majority turned hopefully to the future and sought to find compensation for their children in the new South which was somehow to rise miraculously from the ashes of the old.

It was expected that recovery would come through agriculture, for cotton brought an abnormally high price at the end of the war. A few good crops would bring large returns and upon this basis other industries could rebuild. The result was disappointing, for cotton growing recovered only slowly during the turmoil of reconstruction. Throughout wide areas where the federal armies had penetrated, houses, barns, gins and fences had been burned, the stock killed or driven away. The land remained, but its market value was less than half that of 1860 and it often had to be mortgaged in order to procure the means for starting anew. Even the districts which had escaped ravage were in a sad state—tools worn out or broken, stock depleted, neither money nor credit procurable except on ruinous terms. Some of the small cotton crop of 1864 remained in the country, but most of it was seized by rapacious federal agents. The acreage planted in 1865 was small and the harvest generally was poor. The government exacted a tax of three cents per pound on ginned cotton. The labor of rebuilding houses, barns, gins, and fences took time and the cost absorbed the small profits as fast as they came. Although the Negroes, after the first year or so, worked better than was expected, they were kept in a continual state of unrest by carpetbag politicians and soon demanded separate fields as tenants in order to be free of control. In fact, their former masters were usually unable to pay them monthly wages and could offer them only a share of the crop. The result was that the large plantations were divided into smaller tracts, each worked by a Negro cropper on shares, or else were broken up and sold to small white farmers. The slipshod methods of the cropper reduced the output per acre to less than before the war, so that it was not until 1878, thirteen years after Appomattox, that the

cotton crop east of the Mississippi equalled that of 1860. By that time prices were again low; and as the yield increased thereafter they declined still further and profits vanished.

When the planter became the landlord of Negro croppers he must furnish them with teams, tools, food, clothing, and shelter while they made the crop. As he seldom had sufficient cash to provide these things, he must turn to the local merchant for credit, pledging his share of the crop as security. Because of the uncertain quality of the security, he could no longer depend upon the distant factor who had been his creditor before the war. The small farmer, also, must buy on credit from the merchant and give a lien upon his crop. The merchant in turn obtained advances from the wholesaler or jobber, and the chain of credit ran back to the northern manufacturer and his banker. The rate of interest upon the credits advanced on the crop, usually concealed in the high prices of the goods sold, ran from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent. No ordinary business could endure such a drain; and as the prices of farm products fell, farm owners found themselves hopelessly mired in debt. To attempt diversification of the crop was useless, for the merchant required a large acreage in a "cash crop"—cotton or tobacco—to cover advances of credits or overhanging debts. Hopelessly entangled, thousands of once independent farmers either sold their land or lost it by foreclosure and passed into the status of tenants, or else moved west to Texas to start over again. Farms and plantations were bought up by merchants who then supplied credit directly to their own tenants. Some of the planters moved to town to become merchants themselves. Economic power and prestige passed rapidly from the owner and tiller of the soil to the merchant, banker, and professional man of the town.

As agriculture sank under its burdens, industrialism swept on to increasing power in national affairs. While the southern statesmen, the ablest of the agrarian leaders, were absent from Congress for some fifteen years, the masters of industry had improved their opportunities by obtaining new favors from Congress and by entrenching themselves in the Constitution. They had obtained higher and higher tariffs; they had procured a new national banking system which greatly extended the power of capital over the terms of credit; they had increased the burdens of debtors and the holdings of creditors through the manipulation of federal finances; and they had inserted a "joker" in the fourteenth amendment which effectually prevented the states from controlling the great corporations which did business within their borders. The Republican party, more and more dominated by the eastern wing, was

now the servant of big business ; and a large section of the eastern wing of the Democratic party, to which the now "solid South" clung with pathetic faith, was committed to the same political-industrial program. The agriculturalists, the cotton and tobacco growers of the South and the grain growers of the West, divided by the bloody chasm of the war, could not make successful resistance.

This condition could not endure without revolt ; but successful revolt was made difficult by the peculiar status of southern politics. The grim ten-year struggle of the reconstruction period had centered about the question whether the southern whites would be able to recapture control of their local governments. Under the pressure of the northern radicals and the local carpetbaggers and Negroes, southern ante-bellum party lines were obliterated and the mass of southern farmers, planters, business and professional men fused into one party, the Democratic. The "solid South" for which Calhoun had worked in vain had arrived—far more compact than at the time of secession. Apprehension of further federal interference in local affairs, especially in behalf of Negro activities in politics, was a powerful cementing force ; and for fifteen years more the political leaders who had cleansed their states of the carpetbag governments continued to guide and rule. They were generally men of high character and great popularity, and the widely conceded necessity of maintaining Democratic solidarity seemed to make their position impregnable. But these leaders, largely of the old planting and professional classes or former officers of the Confederate army, were being drawn into ever closer relations with the new business enterprise which was stirring in the South. Conservative because of tradition and business association, convinced believers in the doctrines of *laissez faire*, they saw only danger in governmental interference with private business. And this at a time when symptoms of revolt were sweeping through the masses of impoverished farmers and tenants—revolt against the unseen forces which depressed the prices of agricultural products and increased debts, against the exactions of the money lender and the extortions of the railroads.

The first agrarian revolt came not in the South, however, but among the farmers of the West who organized the "Patrons of Husbandry" or Grange in the late sixties to provide for better agricultural education, to curb the railroads and monopolies, and to devise a scheme for co-operative buying and selling. The order spread into the cotton country during the next decade, but it collapsed before the southern farmers, still struggling with the fag end of reconstruction, awoke to its possibilities. In the late eighties another organization with a similar purpose, the Farmers' Alliance

which began in Texas, made better headway in the South ; but internal dissensions, fomented in part by the apprehensive business element, dissipated and destroyed it. Both of these organizations had endeavored to avoid partisan politics in order to prevent divisions within their ranks ; but when the farmers found that their old political leaders had nothing to offer them, their discontent broke over into political action. In the South it took the form at first of an uprising against the Bourbon leadership within the Democratic party. In 1890 came the Tillman revolution in South Carolina against the silk stocking aristocracy of the towns. James S. Hogg fought his way to the governorship of Texas with a mandate to curb the insolence of the railway barons. The farmers of Georgia staged a revolt against the triumvirate of Gordon, Colquitt, and Joe Brown. The Bourbons everywhere were suddenly on the defensive. In 1892 the People's Party, forming with startling swiftness, attempted to restore the power of the farmer in both state and national affairs. The southern Populists recalled the Negro to the polls, an evidence of their desperation which startled the conservatives and soon led to more stringent restrictions upon the Negroes' use of the ballot. But the Populist movement broke against the solid wall of party regularity and eventually disappeared, leaving behind it a program which was later adopted, in part, by the old parties after it was seen to be harmless. The Democratic party was itself captured by the advocates of free silver coinage, who thought by increasing the supply of money to get better prices for agricultural products and thus lift the burden of their debts. It was the misfortune of the debt-ridden farmer in his fight against the strangling hold of the capitalist creditor to be forced always to the support of "unsound" economic theories or of "unconstitutional" legislation. When he took up the weapons of his antagonist—co-operation and combination, as in the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Farmers' Union—his own individualism helped to break the organization down.

Defeat, poverty, frustration, the wearying sense of being eternally on the defensive had their inevitable depressing effects upon social and cultural conditions. The tone of southern life was lower than before the war. The old planter aristocracy, which before 1861 had set the standards of polite society, was broken, scattered, and losing its leadership. It has been the fashion of writers of the forward-looking school to count this as a blessing second only to the destruction of slavery ; but before accepting this dictum it may be worth while to inquire what this social order was. While it must be acknowledged that the popular legend of the ante-bellum southern

aristocracy contains many absurdities, no one who has honestly tried to understand the group can escape the conclusion that it had qualities which neither the South nor the nation can well afford to lose. It was not necessarily a class of great wealth, even as wealth was counted in those days, but of enough means to afford travel, the possession of books, and the leisure to read them. Its essential character was in its way of life and its attitude toward life ; and these, the result of generations of good breeding and quiet living, were rooted deep in traditions of family honor, public responsibility, self-respect, a contempt for lying and cowardice—in short they were the standards of gentlemen and gentlewomen in every age and country. Not all the aristocracy, of course, lived up to the ideals of their class, but the finer representatives of the group exercised an influence on southern life far out of proportion to their numbers. Submerged by the social and economic revolution which followed the war and by the gradual rise to leadership of new groups with “go-getting” ideals, they did not lose their identity nor wholly change their ways of life, for family tradition is strong in the South, but they no longer determined the standards of social conduct.

Personal and sectional poverty, the realization that the South no longer shared in the direction of national affairs, everything that emphasized the painful contrast with the past, caused many of the older generation to look back wistfully to the good old days when the South had an integral and important place in the life of the nation. It was easy to slip into an idealization of the old South, to tinge its receding memories with a roseate glow, to picture it as composed principally of the fine old aristocracy whose homes were ever filled with light and laughter and whose prosperous fields were tilled only by happy, loyal and contented slaves. There was enough substance in the tradition to give it value, and it was seized upon by social climbers, especially by women eager for social prestige and by those shallow nuisances, the professional southerners. Partly from motives which were wholly justified and partly as a defense reaction to northern misrepresentation, the Lost Cause was becoming glorified. Justly proud of the records of their desperate valor, survivors of the Confederate armies organized to perpetuate the memories of the War between the States and to commemorate their dead. Hence arose those pathetic monuments which adorn courthouse and capitol lawns throughout the South. And for thirty years an almost indispensable qualification for public office from Virginia to Texas was a good record as a Confederate soldier.

In the years immediately before the war some form of a tax-

supported system of public schools had been established in every southern state. In most states the system was very imperfect; but a few had excellent schools, and in all there was evidence of improvement and growing public interest in the subject. These schools were the fruit of the democratic movement which had gone steadily forward for a quarter of a century, during a time when the South is commonly supposed to have been under the domination of reactionary planters. The war and its aftermath played havoc with this promising beginning. In many parts of the Confederacy the schools were kept going during the first two or three years of fighting, but the collapse of Confederate and state finances closed nearly all of them before the end of 1864. When peace came an effort was made to revive them, but the inability of the people to pay even moderate taxes forced delay. Later, the carpetbag governments undertook to re-establish public schools, but their ill-advised plan of mixing whites and blacks in the same school room closed them effectively to white children. This restored the private school to favor and raised a prejudice against the public school which lasted after its cause had been removed. When reconstruction was over, the schools were set up again with the whites and blacks separated; but they developed slowly in the poorer rural communities because they were largely dependent upon local taxes. In most of the country districts they could be kept open but a few weeks in the year. White prejudice against Negro schools, sharpened by the fact that they must be maintained by the white tax payers, retarded still longer anything approaching adequate provision for the children of the blacks.

The colleges suffered severely in the general collapse. The few endowed institutions, whose small resources had usually been invested in southern railway stocks or Confederate bonds, were impoverished; the denominational colleges suffered because of the poverty of the church members. The state institutions were in even worse plight, for many of them had been ravaged by federal soldiers and the state governments were unable to repair the damage. Some were virtually closed after the carpetbag governments opened them to Negro students. When the state governments had been restored to white control the state colleges and universities reopened, only to struggle on with pitifully inadequate support from public taxation, hence with poor library and laboratory equipment and with miserably underpaid, if devoted, instructors. The effect of this situation upon higher education in the South can hardly be estimated, for before the war there was no great difference in the quality of southern and northern colleges, and in 1860 there had

been a higher percentage of southern than of northern youth in institutions of college grade. Following the war the new wealth which poured into the northern institutions and the poverty which retarded the southern brought about the painful contrasts which exist to this day, notwithstanding the marked improvement in southern colleges during the last two decades.

II

WHEN THE opening of the twentieth century brought an end to the long depression into which the whole civilized world had sunk during the eighteen nineties, the agricultural South shared in the upward turn. Better prices for crops, especially for cotton, enabled thousands of those farmers who tilled their own lands to get out of debt. Among this class farming methods improved. The efforts of the agricultural colleges, the farm journals and the expert demonstrators of the new experiment stations began to show results in greater diversification of crops, more interest in the conservation of the soil and more attention to improved breeds of farm stock. New labor-saving machinery enabled the farmer to cultivate more acres and thus to increase his output, while the advent of the automobile shortened the road to market and often enabled his children to attend in some neighboring town a better school than the rural community afforded. But his savings were never large, for as he improved his previously low standards of living his small profits were consumed by the increased cost of everything he had to buy. Paradoxically, the rise in the value of farm products was reflected more in the greater prosperity of the merchant and professional classes of the towns than in that of the farmer himself. And notwithstanding the evident improvement in his condition, the home-owning farmer was being slowly but steadily replaced by the tenant. More and more farm property was passing into the hands of the merchants and professional men of the towns.

In 1900 about forty-five per cent of the farms in the cotton states were worked by tenants; by 1910 the percentage had increased to fifty. The tenants shared little in the benefits of the agricultural revival. For the most part untrained in the better methods of farming, moving frequently from one place to another, intent only upon the existing crop, they had no interest in the conservation of the soil, which deteriorated rapidly under their cultivation. Without capital with which to finance the growing of a crop, they still had to be "furnished" by the merchant at exorbitant credit prices, or by the landlord, mortgaging their cotton before it was planted. Diversification was impossible without capital for purchasing tools

and live-stock and without the consent of both landlord and merchant, who usually insisted upon a large acreage in cotton, the cash crop. The standard of living of both black and white tenants was pitifully low. It is not surprising that the more energetic and ambitious children of the independent farmer as well as of the tenant sought escape from the farm to the more attractive life of the towns. Constantly drained of its best element, with tenantry steadily increasing—by 1920 it had risen to fifty-five per cent—the farm population of the cotton states settled dangerously toward the condition of the poorer sort of European peasantry.

Still bound to a colonial economy and a strangling credit system, more than half of the tillers of the soil in these states remain balanced precariously on the edge of bare subsistence. In comparison with the town dwellers, most of the white farmers are in a far worse position than their great-grandfathers were in 1860. This agricultural section is certainly not the new South, rising unshackled by the destruction of slavery, its energies released, regenerated and prosperous, which Henry Grady visioned some fifty years ago. But however depressed the condition of southern agriculture, there is a new South that fulfils in large part Grady's eloquent prophecies. It is the urban South, the product of new industries and commerce.

Perhaps the first authentic sign of the economic recovery of the South after Appomattox was the establishment of new industries and the gradual restoration of others which had collapsed with the Confederacy. Out of the ruck of small log-house tobacco manufacturers in the piedmont of North Carolina emerged a few men of foresight and daring, such as James B. Duke and R. J. Reynolds, who began new ventures and consolidations that grew into giant corporations. In the hill country of northern Alabama and adjacent parts of Georgia and Tennessee small coal and iron mines and iron furnaces had been established before the Civil War. The richest deposits, in northern Alabama, were long inaccessible; but in the early seventies a few enthusiasts began a fight for a railroad to the "Red Mountain." When it had been built, Birmingham arose to become the industrial capital of an enormous coal, iron, and steel district. Consolidation followed consolidation until, in 1907, control of the major part of the coal and steel industry passed into the hands of the United States Steel Corporation. In the meantime the great coal and iron deposits of West Virginia, an extension of the Pennsylvania-Ohio region, were being exploited. Throughout the southern Appalachians the empire of iron and steel extended its dominion. Along the piedmont of the Carolinas and Georgia small cotton mills arose to replace those which had been destroyed or

left bankrupt at the close of the war. For many years they developed slowly, for their promoters had to rely upon local capital and to fight the jealous and powerful New England interests ; but with the advantage of cheap labor and new machinery they gradually took over the major production of all except the finer grades of cloth. The spirit of William Gregg must have rejoiced when the supremacy finally passed from New England to the southern mill region.

Meanwhile the dismantled southern railroads were slowly rebuilt, usually by means of northern credit and often at the price of northern control. The lines in the border states, especially in Kentucky and Tennessee, which had suffered least or which had been repaired for military use by the Union armies, pushed down into the cotton country or acquired bankrupt roads for connection with the Gulf ports. The Louisville and Nashville and the Illinois Central extended to New Orleans. By 1883 new lines stretched from St. Louis into Texas, to Houston, Galveston, and San Antonio. In the same year New Orleans was connected with San Francisco by the Southern Pacific. J. P. Morgan took over for reorganization a group of Virginia roads which in 1894 became the Southern Railway. Through these extensions and combinations the rising factory towns of the Carolina piedmont acquired direct connection with Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, while the lower Mississippi Valley and central Texas were suddenly faced about toward Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis.

While southern agriculture staggered under its burdens, a new urban South was rising to prosperity. The railways had set the currents of trade flowing in new directions and in ever greater volume. Inland towns situated at strategic points, like Atlanta, Memphis and Dallas, obtained advantages in competitive rates and became distributing centers for large territories. To them came new business enterprises—railway shops, machine shops, wholesale houses, department stores, banks, hotels, insurance firms, scores of small shop keepers and retail merchants. The growing population, recruited both from the North and the countryside, was slowly acquiring a cosmopolitan character which was in time to modify profoundly southern traditions and social life.

As compared with the growth of the great northern cities that of the southern towns was not impressive, but it was full of significance for the future of the South. Atlanta's population increased from 37,000 in 1880 to 90,000 in 1900 ; Memphis rose in the same period from 33,000 to 102,000 ; Dallas from 10,000 to 42,000. The seaports showed a smaller relative growth than the railroad centers of the interior, for in the same twenty years the population of New

Orleans rose from 216,000 to 287,000, while Mobile's grew from 29,000 to only 38,000 and Charleston's from 50,000 to a bare 56,000. During the succeeding twenty years, a more prosperous period for business, the southern cities grew apace. Richmond doubled its size, rising from 85,000 in 1900 to 171,000 in 1920; Atlanta rose from 90,000 to 200,000; Birmingham shot up from 38,000 to 178,000; New Orleans from 287,000 to 387,000; Dallas from 42,000 to 159,000; Houston grew from 44,000 to 138,000, and San Antonio from 53,000 to 161,000. These figures are only for the incorporated areas; in most instances separately incorporated suburbs swelled the true total by many thousands more. Automobiles and improved highways greatly extended the retail trade of the larger towns at the expense of the smaller neighboring villages; they created a vast new business, stimulated travel and quickened the tempo of life everywhere.

The increase of wealth, as of population, was chiefly in the cities. As taxable values mounted, paved streets, playgrounds and parks multiplied. The urban school systems were enlarged and improved until in buildings, equipment, and curricula they were on a par with those of northern cities. The tax returns from city property enabled the state legislatures, still controlled by the rural districts, to spread a portion of the state revenues over the rural schools. Automobiles and good roads made it possible for many small country schools to consolidate, build better school houses and employ better teachers. Unfortunately, this development was very uneven, for in many states the rural schools were still shabbily housed, ran for short terms and paid low salaries to teachers.

The course of politics reflected the confusion of a transition period. After the Populist uprising of the nineties had subsided, the Democratic organizations resumed their accustomed control of state affairs; but the Democrats seldom had a definite party policy with respect to local matters and, in the absence of a strong opposing party, fell into divisions between rival aspirants for leadership and power. Nevertheless, a considerable public opinion was forming in behalf of more activity by the state governments in promoting the general social welfare. Prior to 1900 the poverty of the people had kept state revenues and expenditures low and had restricted the functions of the governments to the barest essentials; but now improved economic conditions strengthened the demands of the more progressive element for increased expenditures for public improvements, for public education, and for new agencies for social betterment. This program found its chief obstacle in the unreformed tax systems which still laid the heaviest burden upon real

estate. The landowners opposed any increase in this tax, while the business corporations resisted every effort to shift a proportionate share of the burden to other forms of wealth. Likewise, a growing demand for the closer regulation of corporate enterprise, especially with respect to labor policies, met the resistance not only of the corporations affected but of other persons who thought that the development of the South depended upon concessions to capitalistic enterprise and of those conservatives who dreaded to see government interfere with the freedom of business. Improvement in these matters, therefore, went forward unevenly, in some states very slowly. The growth of corporate wealth and the opening of new business opportunities lured the ablest men away from public service, so that the average of political leadership was mediocre. In some states it sank even lower, for this was the period which produced Vardaman, Bilbo, and Blease. Outside the mountain sections, where the Republicans had been strong ever since the close of the Civil War, the Democratic party was apparently as strong as ever; but as big business became more and more powerful and drew more interests to its support, the protective tariff found new adherents and thousands of southern business men ventured openly to express admiration for the attitude of the Republican party toward corporate interests. While they might continue to vote with the Democrats, they prayed for Republican success in the national elections.

The South was being swept into national currents. The war with Spain carried thousands of the sons of Confederate veterans into the army and aroused an enthusiasm for "the flag" which caused the United States Congress, dominated by Republicans, to remove the last political restrictions upon ex-Confederates. The growth of cities and the shifting of residence, so characteristic of American business life, tended strongly to break down provincial prejudices. The election of Woodrow Wilson to the presidency brought southern political leaders again to the front in national affairs and made the South, for the first time in over fifty years, feel that it was an integral part of the nation. The World War wiped out most of the bitter memories of the Civil War. To hundreds of thousands of school children today that war is as remote as the Revolution against Great Britain.

In similar fashion, for an increasing number of southern people, especially for the younger generation, the traditional culture patterns were breaking down. The greater ease of travel and the constant shifting of business and professional people between northern and southern cities tended to weaken old associations and to set up

new standards and attitudes. Thousands of young men and women of the well-to-do urban classes attended northern schools and colleges and made new contacts and friendships. The beginning renaissance of southern colleges brought in as instructors scores of young scholars trained in the great graduate schools of northern universities. Some of them, at least, managed to teach the value of scientific methods of investigating not only the physical and biological world, but also the prevailing economic order, the contemporary social organization, and even religious conceptions. Though not always perfectly free to pursue their enquiries far into these mysteries, they called attention to the need for a re-examination of old social values and raised questions which challenged the entire range of traditional concepts and practices. Through books, essays, and uplift magazines the world-wide ferment of discussion spread into the South.

As has always happened, the new teachings stirred up reaction. The great reservoir of conservative tradition was the rural population and the small towns; but a considerable proportion of the urban communities was of rural origin and strongly attached to the same social and religious concepts. Many sincere but literal-minded persons became greatly concerned over the implications which the theory of organic evolution and the higher criticism of the Bible seemed to hold for their religious doctrines, while others convinced themselves that American social life in general was endangered by the introduction of alien ideals. Hence arose that strange phenomenon, the fundamentalist movement, which was not confined to the attacks of religious bigots upon the findings of science but swept the very dregs of provincial prejudice with the organization and activities of the new Ku Klux Klan. It must be remembered, however, that the South had no monopoly on these exhibitions of a belated medievalism.

The militant southern advocacy of prohibition, though sustained largely by the same groups, had a much wider popular support. It was based upon a mixture of motives: a sincere desire to relieve the families of the poor from the hardships entailed by drunken husbands and fathers; the hope of removing temptation from the path of weak men; a determination to destroy the saloon as a corrupting political force; the expectation that the money which went to saloons would be diverted into other channels of trade; and, in the black belt, the necessity of eliminating the danger of drink-crazed Negroes. The evangelical churches furnished the chief impetus to the crusade, which in its later phases acquired a considerable tincture of religious fanaticism. It is one of the historical ironies that

the dry South and West pursued exactly the same political tactics in imposing national prohibition upon the wet North as had been used by the North and West in forcing Negro suffrage upon the South—and apparently with the same results.

Although new forces are sweeping through the South with the expansion of industries and commerce and the growth of cities, they have as yet touched lightly the rural population. Tenantry, cotton, and the credit system still hold in thralldom the greater portion of the farming class from the Carolinas to Texas. But as year by year the cities grow while the rural communities remain stationary, the center of gravity shifts steadily toward that urban civilization which seems destined to dominate and standardize American life everywhere. Slowly perhaps, but inevitably, as economic and social changes press them into new paths, the southern people will give up those peculiar attitudes which have grown out of their social inheritance and political experience. Whatever the future of American life, they will share it.

THE PROFILE OF SOUTHERN CULTURE

BY RUPERT B. VANCE

ANY GEOGRAPHER, by the very nature of the species, must be equally impatient of two dogmas that have arisen concerning the South. The implication of that ritualistic phrase the "solid South" is matched only by its untenable counterpart, "No North, no South." In a common touching devotion to the Democratic party and in a certain attitude of condescension toward the Negro, the South was once supposed to be solid. But, unlike the Middle West, the South is not one region but many. History, not geography, made the solid South, and to the extent that the area forgets its history and allows the geography of the region and resource to assert itself will the South refashion its cultural landscape along many and varied lines. This, in part, it has already done and more it is doing.

Any portraiture of culture in the South or elsewhere is of necessity soon forced to soar into realms of the imponderables; our discussion sets itself an easier goal. Ours is the bread and butter survey: to take a quick glance at the regional cupboards, to estimate their degree of bareness and plenty, and to describe the consequent mode of life of Dixie's Mother Hubbards and old Ladies of the Shoe. We shall find that these regional cupboards are arranged in a neat series, and that, moreover, their respective supplies are changing.

The new regionalism serves to show that the South's many areas are not flung together in disordered array, but follow each other in the unity of natural sequence. The most typical land form to be encountered on the globe's surface is the profile of physiography as it slopes upward from a region's seacoast to its mountain core. Patrick Geddes calls this profile the *valley section* and finds that it may be divided into some six or eight zones—each serving as habitat of a cultural type with characteristic mode of life and livelihood. Sloping down from the land core, these zones—moun-

tain ledge, highland dip slope, piedmont plateau, central plains, coastal plains, and maritime plains—furnish the life stage of the miner and the backwoods peasants, the factory wage earner, the woodsman, the rich planter and the poor peasant, the truck gardener and the fisherman. However much they may hide behind urban disguises, these belong among the earth's perennial human types. As the French sociologist, Le Play, pointed out two generations ago, they have developed out of that inevitable net which enfolds us all—the nexus of place, work, and kind of folks.

The fourteen states called southern, stretching from Virginia and West Virginia to Texas, possess a physiognomy that corresponds to the profile of culture. Whether approached from the Atlantic, the Gulf, or the Mississippi Delta, the South slopes upward in the sequence of the valley section. Its area of 887,272 square miles supporting in 1930 a population of 35,473,496, falls into natural zones, some of which swing around the southern terminus of the Appalachians in crescent shape. Let us follow the regional profile down to the gulf and sea, glancing at regional cupboards as we go. We shall encounter the highland area, the piedmont plateau, the sand hills, the gulf, coastal, and alluvial plains comprising a cotton belt, the piney woods, and the coastal fringe.

I

CUTTING ACROSS AND athwart the South, the great spines of the Blue Ridge, Appalachians, and Cumberlands furnish the apex of the valley slope. The South, it will be recalled, came out of the frontier, and here the region stands nearest its frontier past. E. A. Ross notes what isolation and mountain topography have made: "The mountains come down like the letter 'V.' Down this crease brawls a petty river; leading into this from a smaller valley will be a creek; into the creek a branch, into the branch a fork. Each settlement is a shoestring along one of these water courses and constitutes a world within itself, for it is insulated from its neighbors by one or two thousand feet of steep wooded ridges."

The zone is really two. The mountain escarpment with its mining culture is best presented by coal and iron areas of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; the dip slope with its frontier farming centers in Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee. As S. H. Hobbs points out, the region best illustrates farming as practiced before the era of commercialized agriculture. This section is responsible for the fact that the South has a larger number of practically self-sufficing farms than any other important section in the United States. The cash income from the farm is as low as in any

section, and the products sold from the farms represent a small proportion of its products. Of all southern areas, this ranks highest in proportion of white population, farm ownership, and number of meat and milk animals per farm. Its churches and schools are among the poorest, while its illiteracy rate is the highest for white people in the nation.

In their wilderness ways, their domestic economy, colonial *mores*, and Elizabethan English, the real mountain folk come near representing a projected frontier, the colonial South carried forward into the twentieth century. Family ties are strong, and the denizens of isolated communities are closely related. The highlands were settled by native whites who wanted to get away from the slave belts and their class distinctions. In ante-bellum politics they proved of an earlier day. Following the nationalism of Washington and Jefferson rather than the sectionalism of Calhoun and Davis, they shouldered arms in defense of the Union rather than of the cotton kingdom. To this day they possess two attitudes whose combination is incomprehensible to the southern common man of the cotton belt. They hate Negroes, yet vote the Republican ticket.

Offering a replica of its terrain, the Ozarks, settled mainly by its emigrants, have repeated the social economy of Appalachia. But these frontiers, preserved so long as museum pieces to remind us whence came the old South, are changing rapidly. Life in urban centers and fertile river valleys of the mountains has no doubt always equalled the levels of livelihood for their states, and now coal mining, railroads, highways, and industrialism are coming to change further this section of the map. The art of cheesemaking in the little mountain cheese houses has brought steady income to many a cove. The ribbon of North Carolina Route 10, winding magnificently from sea through mountains, wages incessant war against isolation. Prohibition has changed mountain moonshining, however much we may deplore it, into a capitalistic industry with many economic ramifications. Kingsport, Tennessee, once a mountain hamlet, has reached out for northern capital to capture eighteen nationally important manufacturing plants. Aluminum, rayon, paper pulp, lumbering, coal, gas and oil are making new mountains even though but a small fraction of the wealth goes to the native owners of the soil. Missionary effort and equalization of state funds have come to level educational opportunities. The South's retarded frontier is passing, but the picture is not all bright. There are areas which remain so isolated, so barren of resources once the timber is cut, that they should face frankly the need of a new policy. Good schools and churches, missionary efforts and

community organization which cannot and will never be financed from within, should not be used to hold population on eroded ridges and isolated, worn out, sub-marginal areas. The South may have to consider seriously the removal of population from such areas with their reversion to state controlled forestry.

II

THE PIEDMONT, one of the South's oldest regions, has become its newest. Here, in Geddes' phrase, the rustic type is assuming its urban disguise. Curving from Birmingham through north Georgia and the Carolinas to Danville is the piedmont crescent. Here lived a frontier yeomanry which largely came down the great valley from Pennsylvania. Separated by the fall line and the pine barrens from the early tidewater aristocracy, they carved out an area of small farms. Today this emerging zone of industrialism represents the South's most coherent effort to break with its rural past of frontier and plantation. Ranking among the nation's leaders in increasing urban and industrial ratios, sections of this map have seen Henry W. Grady's dreams come true.

The piedmont is in the main a manufacturing area of towns, not of great cities. Basic to its industry and accounting for its even distribution is the network of high tension power lines. Spreading with startling rapidity throughout the area, these lines have created a southern super-power zone and carried potential cotton mills to every hamlet. This is one of the country's few places where the little town is flourishing. There are no great cities, if one excepts Atlanta, but, unusual for the South, the North Carolina piedmont shows a majority of its population urban. The new industrialism still firmly links the South with its past in the processing of its cotton. Its labor, cast out by a niggard highland economy and a decadent cotton system, has been harboured in paternalistic mill villages. Its workers were once untrained as factory operatives, but capital came, training developed leadership, and natural resources anchored the South's industrial renaissance in the piedmont. As for the Negro in the piedmont, although barred from the textile industry, he is an urban dweller rather than a peasant farmer. The proletariat of the odd job, the Negro occupies densely settled slum areas in most piedmont cities. Durham is unique as the capital of the Negro business world, and has created more than one Negro fortune of respectable dimensions. In Winston-Salem, also in Durham, the Negro works in tobacco; in the Birmingham district he helps to man the heavy coal and iron industries.

Birmingham, for all its iron ore, coking coal, and dolomite,

never made more than pig iron until taken in hand by United States Steel and George G. Crawford. North Carolina and Virginia, for all their stock of tobacco, never realized on them until the Dukes, the Reynoldses, and others created brands, mass production, slogans, billboard advertising, and fortunes. High Point has almost come to equal Grand Rapids as a synonym for furniture, though the forests are retreating from her borders. The country's leading textile area, possessing a monopoly of the main branches of tobacco manufacture, the new cotton kingdom harbours the South's largest supply of wage earners and, as we shall see, goes far to set the standard of living for the new economy.

III

THE FALL LINE with the narrow sand hills marks the transition in the South's profile. Beyond center two great zones, the piney woods and the cotton belt. Stretching in a huge crescent through gulf and coastal plains and flatwoods of seven states, the piney woods comprise a third zone, closely linked to the South's past. Once covered with millions of pine, short leaf, long leaf, slash, and loblolly, it furnishes a passing problematic belt in which can be traced the cycle of forest exploitation in the South. First the frontiersmen, facing the shadows of the forest, felled trees for the sake of free land and sacrificed timber as a useless by-product in the great bonfires of log-rollings. Early desired for their naval stores, slash and long-leaf pines were next turpented to death in a crude and wholesale massacre of a great industry. Having retreated from North Carolina, which once really deserved the name Tar Heel state, to Florida, the naval stores industry appears to some observers on its last legs. In the third stage "turpentine ahead of the cut" became a recognized practice, and lumbering had to clean up quickly in order to get the pines before they decayed after turpentine butchery. Exploitation all along the line from high class to "woodpecker" mills is bringing the South to the verge of its resources of yellow pine. Abandoned mill towns, decadent communities with economic support removed, great mills and logging railways whose whistles have blown for the last time, show how pressing is the problem created by the passing of the piney woods. With only cut-over lands left as taxable support for roads, schools, and community services, the population is left stranded. One mill town in Louisiana was picked up bodily and moved to a new forest in Arizona. These thousands of cut-over acres are not needed in the South's farming system, and on lands lacking sodded pastures it seems quite useless to expect a return to the stock

ranching conditions of the early western range.

The South continues to rank second to the Pacific coast area in production of lumber ; and the transient camp, the woods' riders, and turpentine still remain the features of the deep South's naval stores industry. Without new policies they can not continue. Reforestation and the long-time view find lumber men interested in cutting, not in regrowing timber. On the other hand, native inhabitants, hostile to large timber interests and intent on preserving the free range for their scrub cattle, burn off the woods each year. This practice and the hardy porker make the life of the pine seedling hazardous indeed. The demand for pulpwood, the manufacture of kraft paper, and the movement of paper companies South are making serious inroads on young growth. Some few corporations have reforestation projects under way, but the movement waits state action on marginal and tax forfeit lands. Thus there is changing before our eyes another of the South's subregions.

IV

MUCH OF THE piney woods has already fallen before king cotton. Highlands, lowlands, and uplands, these areas may be considered as fringe belts nibbling at the hitherto undisturbed core of the geographic and historic South, her fourth zone, the great cotton belt. Coastal plains, gulf plains, deltas, black belts, and clay hills combine with the beaming sun, the Negro, the landless white, and the mule to supply the world's demand for a cheap fabric. On three per cent of the world's land area 60 per cent of the world's cotton supply is grown. If the highlands represent a relic of the frontier South, the cotton belt stands as a survival of the mid-century South, the cotton kingdom. The historic link which binds cotton culture to the past is the plantation. The plantation demanded four factors : fertile, plentiful land, either level or rolling ; a labor supply, docile and of low social status ; management involving social as well as economic supervision ; and a staple crop. The plantation system came before slavery and outlasted it. Victorious in conflict with the frontier farming system, the plantation set its everlasting stamp on piedmont, black belts, and deltas. In the South it has produced five staple crops : rice, indigo, tobacco, sugar, and cotton, and cotton has outlasted and outdistanced them all. Staggered by the abolition of slavery, the plantation reorganized its labor element into a unique cropping and share tenancy system, admitted the dispossessed poor white farmers into its bounds, advanced upon the western lands of Texas and Oklahoma, and extended production to dizzy heights before unknown.

So deeply has the culture of cotton entered in the mode of life of the American South that the whole area is characterized by activities and attitudes which have grown up about the cultivation of the plant. First of all, the cotton plant lays down an annual cycle of activities concerned with the planting and cultivating, gathering and marketing of the crop which in turn has its effect upon social life and institutions. Thus the school, the church, and other community agencies find their season of intense activity during the two respites of cotton culture, for a few weeks in the late summer between the last chopping and the first picking and for two or three months in the winter between the last picking and the preparation of the ground for the next crop. The demands for hand labor perpetuate the field work of women and children, place a premium on a high birth rate and otherwise affect the standards of domestic life. The demands of the cotton plant are greatest at precisely the period required for the tending of other crops and thus impede diversification. Furthermore since cotton is food for neither man nor beast, and cannot be disposed of except through the local ginnery, it furnishes an excellent basis for the crop lien system of credit, which in turn further fixes the tradition of the one-crop system upon the cotton belt and limits the diet of the cotton farmer to the deadly monotony of meat, meal, and molasses.

The cotton farmer is peculiarly subject to the speculative risk of the market, since his is the one staple grown in America that can contribute nothing directly consumable by the farm family. Moreover, he is entirely dependent on a money economy, upon a crop whose gyrations in market prices make it deservedly called dynamite. Thus the risks of the cotton market combine with the risks of the weather and the weevil to make the climb to ownership all the more difficult and to encourage speculation, to perpetuate tenancy and its attendant evils: inadequate housing, inefficient methods of agriculture, isolation, dependence on credit, backward community institutions, illiteracy, mobility, shiftlessness, and lack of thrift. Chained by inability to finance experiments, diversification, and other types of farm enterprise such as dairying, southern agriculture seems bound today to landlords and supply merchants who hold the economic keys, but are unable or unwilling to unlock the chains.

All study of change in the cotton belt must take into account the fact that it is not one belt but four: southeastern, gulf, delta, and southwestern prairies. The southeastern belt is in the worst way. The upland staple is getting shorter each year, so that much of it

has to be exported to cheaper foreign markets, while piedmont mills import delta staple. The region, cropped since colonial times, uses as much fertilizer as the rest of the United States together, and fertilizer costs are mounting. Moreover, rough topography forbids the extensive use of labor saving machinery and large-scale farming. Cigarette tobacco introduced as the economic salvation of light sandy soils in this area is proving an economic Frankenstein, devouring by its endless demands for hand tasks and fertilization the farmer's surplus of labor and investment with no sustained adequate returns on a gyrating market.

The gulf states with their warm rains have proved most vulnerable to the inroads of the boll weevil and have made unsuccessful attempts to create a permanent agriculture of the velvet beans and peanuts type. Cotton has resumed its sway, however, and in the Mississippi delta with its long staple reigns supreme as always. Delta farmers, organized in levee districts, long burdened to the point of bankruptcy by their hopeless efforts to keep back the Father of Waters, have gladly seen the federal government assume charge. In some sections Mississippi farmers have led a successful escape from the cotton system. Lacking the urban markets for fluid milk, they have attracted the capital and the plants and now sell processed milk—cheese, ice cream, condensed and evaporated milk—in addition to running giant glass tank cars of refrigerated liquid milk to New Orleans.

As for the southwestern belt, it can grow cotton at a profit while all other areas are losing money. The dry heat of the great plains area places a limit on the range of the boll weevil and relieves the area of the expense of weevil doctoring. The level topography makes possible the use of tractors, gang plows, mechanical choppers, and sledding takes the place of hand picking. Moreover, new and improved gins have been introduced which clean bolls and scraps out of sledded cotton with comparatively little damage to lint. The area is comparatively newly cropped, rains have not bleached out its fertility, and the gigantic fertilizer bills of the southeast are unknown. Thus it happens that while the southeast, gulf, and delta may be clamoring for acreage restriction to save the cotton farmer, the southwest is perfectly satisfied to expand acreage. It has consistently done so, and many are the old cattle ranches that have fallen before the advancing cotton croppers of the southwest. The one great drawback is the possibility of drought.

The greatest change possible to the South hinges on a new technology in cotton. There are two such developments within the range of possibility: the perfection, first, of a cotton picker

successful under field conditions; second, the chemical processing of rayon out of the whole stalk. It is impossible to foresee all social effects, but either would knell the passing of ten acres, a Negro, and a mule. Cotton could be harvested mechanically, its culture would assume the aspects of the great wheat ranches, and production would be immensely cheapened and expanded. Tenant croppers and small farmers would be turned loose to drift as seasonal laborers, and we would face the emergence of a new cotton plantation transformed into a mechanical giant and monster. The great Scott plantation in the Yazoo-Mississippi delta points the way. Here 37,000 united acres, owned and managed by a corporation of English mill owners, ship some 15,000 bales yearly to England.

V

A FIFTH REGION, the maritime plain, extends the South's profile of regions and cultures to the Atlantic and the Gulf. If highland and piney woods take the South back to its frontier past, the tide-water of Virginia recalls the day when little sail boats came up sluggish rivers to take tobacco cargoes off the planters' private wharves. Today the South's coastal fringes like Florida beckon it forward to a more exotic future. Here are many subregions.

From the sandbar islands of North Carolina Sounds, the South's fishing fringe extends out past the Georgia-Carolina sea islands to the shrimp, sponge, oyster, and deep-sea fisheries of Florida and the Gulf. Bordering the fringe may be found a great trucking area reaching up from the Rio Grande Valley to Virginia's eastern shores. Centering in Florida, these various areas follow the season up the coast and vie with one another in express shipments of fruits and vegetables to metropolitan areas. Intensive cultivation demanding brains, capital, hand and knee farming, and much fertilization, has cut across the pattern of southern agriculture and changed sandy flats into priceless acres. But neither trucking nor fruit growing is a universal panacea for a decadent agriculture. Two per cent of America's arable land can supply all her vegetable needs, and an orchard once planted can survive the bankruptcy of many owners.

Combining trucking with citrous fruits, Florida has developed an orchard and winter garden culture comparable to that of the tropics. In her beautification program based on speculative exploitation of nature's gifts of air and sea, lakes, beach, and sunshine, she has led the South's largest increases in urban population, saddled south Florida's municipalities with well-nigh hopeless debts, and shown of what grace the tropic shore line of the South is capable

in architecture and landscaping. Throughout she has merely repeated much southern history in waiting for outside capital to lead the development. When in tidewater Louisiana and Texas immigrant farmers from the midwest in 1885 first used the machinery of the wheat belt on the coastal prairies with their artesian wells and impervious clay hardpans, they created a new form of rice culture. All hope that the rice areas of Georgia and the Carolinas could recover from the abolition of slave labor came to a speedy end. Here one man with machinery can grow as much rice as seventy orientals.

Again the famed sugar bowl of Louisiana represents the strange adjustment of the sub-tropics plantation to the factory system. Hundreds of acres are bound by the network of a plantation railroad, supervised by a director of transportation, to a great compressing mill. Seasonal Negro laborers work at breakneck speed to harvest cane before the frost. The introduction of the P. J. O. variety of cane, blight resistant and of high sucrose content, bids fair to revive the hitherto waning sugar zone.

VI

A SIXTH REGION, possibly too young to chart accurately, may be found for our profile in the gulf and high plains of the southwest. The grassy stretches of Texas and Oklahoma were first occupied by that cultural type, the stock herder. The long horn and the cowboy were two Mexican heritages that developed into American types. When grass and the range were free, cattle roamed afar and only brands could be owned. Barbed wire closed the open range and final notice was served to that effect when the Texas legislature in special session made fence cutting a penitentiary offense. The second stage was reached when ranges large as counties fell before the advancing horde of tillers of the soil and were cut up into small farms. The Negro and the cropper followed, and Oklahoma and the Black Waxy of Texas have their cotton tenancy areas to equal those of the old plantation belts. The recent advance of cotton upon the semi-arid plains has been recounted.

There has been erected largely on the foundations of gas and oil an industrial superstructure for the southwest. The transient oil boom town, the derrick, the pipe line, the refinery, and the tanker constitute the main features of its cultural landscape. Although engaged in a crude and lavish exploitation of limited resources, the oil industry has accumulated much of the capital that in the hands of Texas and Oklahoma millionaires will carry on the future constructive development of the area. Its latest achievement has been

to pipe gas from its Louisiana fields to Birmingham and Atlanta and from its Texas field to Chicago by means of relay pumping stations. Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Fort Worth, Dallas, and San Antonio have grown greatly. Texas is over 40 per cent urban, and Houston and Galveston are pushing New Orleans, the nation's second point of export.

VII

WE HAVE SPOKEN of the South's profile of regions with their varying stages from frontier through plantation to industrialism, and of the changes that man is making on the map. Geography, however, offers one factor of superlative importance that has been regarded as not subject to change by man. Let us talk of the weather. Everything from southern high tempers to the section's rank in industry has been accredited to the South's climate. At least one industrious student, Ellsworth Huntington, has assigned the South a low rank in civilization and accounted for this status on the basis of subtropic climate. Although man's technology of apartment house architecture and steam heat has almost conquered cold regions for human habitation, it is noteworthy that man's ingenuity has not proceeded further than ice water, Palm Beach suits, the frigid-aire and artificially cooled movie palaces in combatting enervating heat and humidity. Changes are possible, however, in adjustment to climate, and it is notable that many southern deficiencies and inadequacies find climate a secondary rather than primary factor. Such was yellow fever of unhappy memory, happily passed away. It used to be solemnly asserted by doctors that in the southern climate yellow fever waged war with malarial fever, the first ruled the cities, the second conquered the country. The South has been the home of diseases, whose low death rate has concealed their tremendous importance in lowered vitality and efficiency.

Much of the South's retardation popularly charged to the climate may indeed be rightly transferred to the credit of hookworm, malaria, and ill-chosen diet. Thriving in areas of sandy soils, heavy rainfall, warm winters, and barefeet, the hookworm larvæ have largely created the stereotype of that lean, cadaverous, yellow-complexioned, shiftless southerner known as "poor white." It is noteworthy that after two decades of work on the problem, the International Health Commission's announcement of victory over hookworm closely parallels the upward economic and industrial surge of the South. The menace remains in a very weakened form only for the rural white population of school age living in sandy areas. Malaria, the pioneer's scourge and bar to settlement, has

proved the South's handicap to energy and industry. A public health official writing of the South's mosquito-infested sandy flats, coastal swamps and river deltas, said : "The major health problem of this desolate region is simple enough. Drain all the swamps, sink holes and barrow pits, screen all the houses and put shoes on thousands and then train them all to cleanly habits of living. In brief, the whole thing is as simple and easy as it would be for a one-armed man to empty the Great Lakes with a spoon."

Public health officials and the Rockefeller Commission, it is true, have attained no such triumph of preventive medicine with malaria as with hookworm. Sparsely populated countrysides are still subject to the drain of chills and fever and many southerners unsuspectingly carry malaria microbes dormant in their blood streams. But any city or town that is willing to pay the price may clean up and police its environs to secure freedom from the *Anopheles* mosquito. The South, however, awaits a practical method of control attainable by the countryside.

Pellagra, although primarily confined to the warm South, probably owes nothing to climate as a contributing factor. Serious and until recently increasing in its ravages, it is of chief importance as indicating the dietary maladjustment of a whole section. The social heritage of a crude frontier diet and the exigencies of cotton cropping have brought the southern common man to a diet at variance with his climate. "Several years of experience in the southern field," writes a home demonstration agent, "convince me that pork fat, starch, and sweets constitute the basis of diet at all seasons. Even in growing seasons vegetables are rendered more or less useless by long cooking." E. V. McCollum has said : "Animal experimentation, human geography and history all point in an all but conclusive manner to diet as the principal cause of our health troubles in so far as these are not brought about by communicable diseases." In a land of profusion in plant life, it is tragic that deficiency in fresh fruits, green vegetables, lean meats, eggs, and milk should have produced an insidious and baffling disease and lowered the level of human adequacy. When the reign of hookworm, malaria, meat, meal, and molasses is completely broken, the South may expect a further release of the energies of its people sufficient to throw off cultural stagnation and the domination of the cotton system. The handicaps of the South are not inherent in the geographic and biological scheme of things. They partake of the nature of historical accidents and economic blunderings ; they are amenable to science and social engineering ; and they may be overcome.

VIII

THUS HAVE PASSED in hasty review the panorama of the South's changing regions. A promised glance at the regional cupboards and we have done with this survey of material culture. At what levels of material well-being does the South exist? Clarence Heer, after surveying all the statistical evidence available, holds that incomes and wages in the South range around some two-thirds of the norms for the rest of the country. Just as competition between the South's many regions tends toward but never reaches a sectional plane of living, so does competition between sections fall short of a national plane. In a nation so characterized by mobility as ours, many workers, mainly Negroes, may migrate northward; some industries may move South, but sectional difference in income so far persists. To complicate the picture further there are the differences between occupations and economic classes within the nation and the section.

The twelve southerners who issued a clarion call for the South to return to the agrarian way of life are, of course, aware that the South has never deserted agriculture. In this year of grace it is only 32 per cent urban in a nation preponderantly cityfied. Agriculture sets the mode for southern standards of living, and the cotton belt sets the mode for southern agriculture. Agriculture represents the main source of livelihood for nearly half the South's population, and it is in agriculture that income differences with the rest of the country reach their greatest. Farming, as Mr. Heer shows, pays its southern farmers just about one-half of what it pays its followers elsewhere in this country. At the bottom is the cotton cropper, next the share tenant, above him the small owner, and highest in the scale the planter-landlord. All are likely to pay tribute to the supply merchant and furnisher who takes the dangerous risks of the gyrating cotton market, along with 25 per cent or more for credit. Moreover, many farms outside the cotton belt, capable of sustaining the backwoods mode of living of an earlier day, can never be made to yield the income sufficient for a modern standard of living.

The occupations in the South whose returns approach nearest to national standards are those which have erected highest the barriers of skill against raw recruits from the farm. Very nearly the country's average wage is paid in the railroad shops and the higher mechanical and building trades. Casual farm laborers, on the other hand, obtain about 48 per cent of the wage paid elsewhere. That the greatest wage differential appears in unskilled

trades reflects among other things the presence of the Negro. The cotton mill which excludes the Negro lies especially open to invasion from the cotton farm. The mill village furnishes a house, and the mill technique offers no insuperable barrier of skill. If the jobs were open and it were moving time in the cotton belt, thousands would go tomorrow—so slender and so precarious are the returns from cotton farming. Wages in textiles grow progressively lower the farther we penetrate into the deep South from Virginia to Alabama. This is a measure of the influence of the threatening hordes on the farm. In cold figures Mr. Heer shows that returns from the 1927 census of manufactures assign average annual earnings of \$825 to southern factory workers, \$748 to laborers in lumber, \$671 to cotton goods operatives, and \$519 to farmers.

So far our discourse has been of the southern common man. But the South, we are told, has been the home of aristocracy. How fare the leaders in this economy? That leadership has shifted since the Civil War from agriculture to trade and industry. Moreover, our income differentials go back as far as the Civil War, possibly further. If Pitchfork Ben Tillman of South Carolina be taken to typify the men who wrested political leadership from the old aristocracy like Wade Hampton, then the Dukes, Wash and Buck, represent the new economic leaders from the middle class. Both prestige and wealth have passed from the landed planters to the new industrial leaders. Moreover, much of the development in rayon, aluminum, gas and oil, coal and iron, even in trucking and orcharding has been carried on by outside capital and outside leaders. Thus the gains and losses are absorbed outside the area. Moreover, the South has the largest proportion of the nation's population employed, but with a smaller proportion in the learned professions. This is no doubt due in part to the fact that the census lists as employed a large number of southern farm women and children whose contribution to agriculture may be slight and sporadic. There are certain indices which, following Mr. Heer, point to the South's comparative rank in large incomes. The proportion of persons in the South with incomes large enough to require the filing of a Federal Income Tax Return in 1926 was one-third as great as in the nation—1.43 to 4.01 per cent. Comparative incomes in certain professional and clerical pursuits in the South show city school teachers with 67.6 per cent of average for teachers in the rest of the country, college professors with 87.7 per cent, clergymen with 73 per cent, and male clerks in manufacturing establishments with 91 per cent. Since the great fortunes are averaged in the figures of income per capita, they furnish

another striking comparison. From 1919 to 1921 income per capita for ten southern states ranged from 55 to 42 per cent of the rest of the country. The conclusion is foregone. The South's upper economic classes are not as large and do not receive returns proportionate to those of the nation. Its material culture has not yet provided that economic surplus above bare necessity which in our civilization makes its characteristic appearance in large fortunes. Nor is the agrarian South yet prepared to support learned and professional classes at national standards. Insofar as the development of those imponderables, science, literature, philosophy, and the arts depend on wealth and leisure, the South must admit handicaps. In the main the depression of 1929-1934 has served to make more evident the fundamental weaknesses of southern economy—all along the line from the debacle of the cotton system to the virtual break-down of public education in more than one southern state.

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Up to now the South's most striking achievement has been the futile one of fighting the Civil War to a standstill. If the upper class demonstrated its leadership by maneuvering the conflict, the southern foot soldier, by his tenacious conduct of that same conflict, should have forever laid to rest the bogey of poor white. With its obsequies completed by anti-malaria and hookworm campaigns comes a dawning respect for the Negro, engendered by his modicum of success in the arts and in northern industry. It is time, then, for the South to cease repining at climate, stock, and Reconstruction and to turn to a task greater than the Civil War—that of regional planning.

Here are tasks enough to occupy the next hundred years, but may one ask in no facetious spirit, what else has the South to do with its spare time? Mississippi flood control, with federal direction and support, bids fair to recover the country's most fertile and hazardous area—the delta. Next should come the task of redistributing the highland population now held on barren ridges and marginal areas. A program for reforestation of cut-over lands will conserve resources in the waning piney woods. The stabilization of rural-urban ratios and the development of live stock and dairying to the point reached in certain Blue Grass areas should follow. The orderly exploitation of the South's untouched resources, largely in the field of the chemical industries vies with the social mastery of industrialism and the attainment of labor codes as enlightened as those of New York or Massachusetts. Towering above all is a

challenge that must not be denied. The rationalization of cotton production with realignment of the cotton system and its human factors ranges all the possibilities from co-operative marketing, diversification and controlled production to a new technology of mechanical harvesters and production of rayon from the whole stalk. The domestic allotment program for cotton and tobacco promises a needed reduction in southern crop surpluses ; the Industrial Recovery Act permits integration on a higher economic level for the disorganized southern industries of lumbering, coal mining, and cotton textiles ; while the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority promises the development of the great Muscle Shoals power system in connection with a balanced rural economy based on adequate land utilization and part-time rural industries. Until these tasks are accomplished we may continue to talk of the new South and of its strivings for culture and the imponderables. But the poorer regions on the South's profile must still give us pause before the question of Sirach of old :

The wisdom of the scribes cometh by opportunity of leisure ;
And he that hath little business shall become wise.
How shall he become wise that holdeth the plow,
That glorieth in the shaft of the goad,
That driveth oxen, and is occupied with their labors,
And whose discourse is of the stock of bulls?
He will set his heart upon turning his furrows ;
And his wakefulness is to give his heifers their fodder.

BULWARKS AGAINST CHANGE

BY JOSEPHINE PINCKNEY

TRADITION HAS it that the southern states, of all American groups, stand firmest against the rapid social drift characteristic of this rootless nation. While this finding is grounded on a truth, the economic changes that have occurred in that region since the turn of the century must now be taken into account. Industrialism, having gathered momentum slowly in other sections, has carried away the dam erected by Mason and Dixon, those famous engineers, and pours in full freshet upon the southerner slumbering beneath his live-oak tree. Whether he shall ride the waves or be ignominiously rolled along the bottom is yet to appear, but his movement is certain to be lively.

In taking observations on the social stream in the South, not only must its rapidity be borne in mind but the mixed elements in its composition as well. The influence of older men and women is still strong in society, and their ideals derive directly from the plantation age. They interweave with a younger set, too young to have known plantation life, who matured before the Great War and jazz. These in their turn are being pushed from below by the group just reaching maturity, the inheritors of Prohibition, speed, and the sports page; and few generalizations will stretch to cover such diverse types.

When in 1832 the Reform Bill took the balance of power from the landed gentry of England and gave it to the manufacturing centers, the world thought the Industrial Revolution was over. It had not yet discovered that this movement also was a river, with many crests. Later, at another time and place, the industrial capitalists of the northeast overthrew the agricultural aristocracy of the slave states, and again an epoch seemed to be closed; but the movement goes on. Machines of a force and complexity unglimped when the first crude mechanical appliance displaced the cobbler's awl bear down upon the South today, while agriculture

sickens; and as in other instances, the social order changes, being servant to the economic.

For the commentator on social trends the important question is—can the strongly marked character of the South, that deep provincialism buttressed by homogeneity of stock and the stubborn defenses of a group isolated by defeat in war—can it survive the new invasion? The Briton has maintained up to the present his celebrated British character, but can he or can any people preserve its individuality with the power of industry arrayed against it? He would be a bold prophet who answered in the affirmative.

We will be bold but not too bold. By an analysis of the southern character into those qualities which may be reasonably supposed to be constant and those which are superimposed by the fashions of the times, we may indicate the direction in which it is moving.

II

AT ONE PERIOD in our history it looked as though the South, given enough time, would furnish an American aristocracy comparable to the European. It may now be safely assumed that such will never be the case. The law of primogeniture which preserved as an integer the upper classes in England by securing to certain families their land, wealth, and tradition, was rejected by the South about 1800, and the want of this method of self-preservation is a serious one for an aristocracy. The slave-holders were once a small class with wide political power; their descendants are a small class with no more power than their numbers warrant. The balance of money power—that mud in which the most refined flower of civilization must, alas, have its roots—has gone elsewhere. Above all the spirit of the age is against aristocracy; the world is committed to democracy, and the plantation-owner with his ranks of dependents gathered about him—that vestigial reminder of the chief of the native village—may be seen going down to the place of shades whither his prototype has preceded him. And if a certain kingliness has gone with him, we may comfort ourselves with the theory that the new system will doubtless bring a leveling up of society in general.

A small element remains that did not lose its spiritual heritage when it sold the plantations, yet the very tenets of its creed preclude survival in a self-advertising world. It still holds against overwhelming numbers, South as well as elsewhere, the unpopular doctrine of exclusiveness. It does not want to sell itself to any comer. It holds the theory that a society, like a woman, cheapens itself by too easy accessibility, that a garden with a high wall is more desirable

to live in than one which invites the public gaze across a mere coping. Considered by the world to be eaten up with vanity, it is quite without the kind of vanity that wants itself and its houses reproduced in the magazines and the rotogravure sections. Being confined in its range, it tends to be narrow; instead of growing it tends to lose in numbers through that infection of publicity-seeking which is one of the manias of the twentieth century. It is called unkind in that it raises barriers against its fellow-men; it calls itself discriminating, and maintains that discrimination—a conscious selection of the best—is not only the way of nature but the obligation of man. This point of view, however, doubtless an old-world inheritance, dissolves in the American environment, and will persist as only a slight alluvium in the future.

On further examination of the charge of unkindness we shall find that probably there is no section of the country in which kindness is more natural a trait than in the South, and this extends through all strata of society. The society woman is more cordial, more interested in the people she meets, than her equivalent elsewhere, and the working-girl more courteous, usually, than her hurrying, jostling sister pushing for a seat on the subway in the name of the brotherhood of man. This is, of course, in part the difference between an urban civilization in the North and the still rural character of southern society. The absence of huge cities, the large percentage of townspeople lately recruited from the plantation and the farm, make for simplicity in human intercourse. In the South you have neighbors for better or worse, and you drop in to see them and send them some hot rolls when the cook bakes especially well. You are without that mistrust of strangers that is an inevitable part of metropolitan psychology; the section is not rich enough to be a fruitful field for yeggmen, and you leave the door on the latch, secure in the knowledge that none but friends will open it. Not that the village atmosphere is never souring to the milk of human kindness; where isolation necessarily narrows the range of interest, concern over neighbors' affairs frequently makes a Roman holiday with the Christians in the rôle of the lions. Luckily the climate is ameliorating; the struggle for subsistence is less hardening than in colder temperatures. Further, the South is not yet speeded up to the American tempo, and this results in a leisure that allows time for small courtesies.

Beyond these exterior circumstances there is the southerner's natural liking for people. He is talkative, gregarious, social, and he can usually find time for a chat with either friend or stranger. The governor of Tennessee stops on a corner in Nashville and

talks to friends, gesturing with a palm-leaf fan, glad to break his schedule for a few informal moments. Women go to bridge parties. Sometimes they don't even play bridge at them, they just talk. "She will go where she can see people till the grave closes over her!" exclaimed a Virginia woman, speaking of a friend, and it was true of both of them, though the speaker was an artist of some reputation and a vigorous talent, and her circle of friends rather intellectual. But she loved the rustle of new personalities and found in them a necessary stimulus. This combined liking for people and talk has a tendency to stiffen the conventions of behavior. The aspiring sinner knows only too well how the gossip goes round, and since he likes people, their good opinion is necessary to him ; hence, outward conformity to the code.

This love of talk is the key to many things in the southerner's psychology. It may be an explanation of his lack of prowess in the intellectual world, in the realm of philosophy and pure thought. He puts a high value on personality, and would usually rather be a good raconteur than a good philosopher. In the past he excelled in oratory and considered it both a more gentlemanly and a more manly talent than painting. In the present his ability to express himself readily in words saves him from fashionable self-expression or inhibition, for he makes a direct and an easy contact with the world about him. Nervous disorders are rare in the South compared with other sections, and the ability to talk out complexes is undoubtedly one contributing cause, though of course climate again is a factor, as is also the fact that the northerner is subject to greater pressure on his nervous system. It may even be that he has been talked to death by a southerner, for at times this trait may be a machine-gun fire of misdirected vitality, and since the general level of book-education is low, mere volubility may be seen at its worst in this section. Among the higher types it has a more agreeable effect ; social intercourse is informed with sprightliness and considerable humor, and perhaps the most charming relic of chivalry is the strain of nicely-turned compliment that underlies the badinage which the young blade addresses to his lady.

For her part the modern lady—she does not wholly repudiate the term—tries to preserve the feminine traits admired by her male friends, in spite of her increasing excursions into the world of business. While the pursuit of an income is important to her, it is less so than the older occupation of making herself agreeable to the opposite sex. She likes to "dress up," not always with happy results, but her naïve interest in finery is conspicuously feminine. Her occupations are still differentiated to a considerable extent from the

man's, and this fundamental feeling for differentiation is in sharp conflict with modern life, which tends to level the differences, not only between sections, but between the sexes also. The vogue for sports and sports clothes, automobiles, and the "new freedom" are eliminating these differences as national organizations such as the Junior League and the Rotary Club, country club life and quick transportation are mowing down local prejudices. It is to be hoped that she can resist the pressure of these tendencies and ignore the accusation of flirtatiousness leveled at her by a world less and less aware of the subtler aspects of sex, and that she can maintain her belief in the importance of cultivating her relationship with the male and encouraging him to consider it important.

III

THE STOUTEST BULWARK against the forces of change is undoubtedly the natural conservatism of the southern mind. To the individual with training and ability for original thought who has tried to awaken this mind to modern ideas in education, sociology, business, it has appeared that the South lingers in the dark backward abyss of time, and that an incurable blindness prevents her acknowledging her manifest deficiencies and grasping the new methods of science. Fear of change and comparative poverty with its twin, retarded education, are the causes of her backwardness and must be deplored as having kept her from her place in the American scene. Conservatism, however, has its uses in the body politic, and its worthier aspect will be seen in situations like the present, in which it will slow up the headlong fling of the times.

Many elements are intricately bound up with it—for instance, the hold of the church on the South. Let it not be thought that this means only the evangelical spellbinders enticing the farm yokels; the city-bred and educated, in numbers that always surprise the free-thinking products of a rationalistic education, find church-going an agreeable duty. Now the church is well-known as a powerful influence for conservatism, while the strongly conservative are slow to throw away anything so important as religion, and so the two interact and support each other. Victorian ways of thought have survived beyond their appointed time in the Bible belt, and in the common phenomenon of church-going can be seen vestiges of the wave of revivalism that swept the whole Protestant world in the nineteenth century. Further, there still exists a modicum of true piety in the unsophisticated bosom, and the church as a social gathering-place appeals to that gregariousness which has already been spoken of as one of the South's natural propensities.

Another aid to conservatism is the pressure brought to bear on an individual who stays in one place, and that a small one, by his affections for the people among whom he lives. He makes innumerable connections with his surroundings, and in this his circumstances differ widely from those of men who have gone west to new lands where they could break up the old patterns of behavior with a continent between them and the obligations of their backgrounds. The southerner preserves an uncritical love of the land that bred him—a trait growing out of the landowning structure of southern society which has so fundamentally affected his outlook. When a man's economic interests and his family life are bound up in the same property, he has given hostages to fortune indeed, and he is cautious not to jeopardize them by change.

The persistence of this landowning state of mind among a people who are more and more abandoning their farm lands under economic pressure and moving into the towns, is explained in part by the natural slowness of a people to change its psychology, and in part by the presence of the Negro. Among better classes of people the Negro provides cheap labor so that a larger proportion of housewives can afford servants than in the areas of high wages, and the result of this shows in the smaller number of apartment-dwellers, the larger number of house-owners in the southern community. Here again is the stabilizing effect of property-ownership.

The amazing rise of the Negro race in the last ten years to a position of importance in the artistic life of America affected the South only when its reverberations came back from New York, London, and Paris. The South would have lived indefinitely side by side with jazz and the charleston, enjoying them as a spectacle but never adopting them into either its ballrooms or its musical compositions unless they had become the fashion in the capitals of the world, from which all provincial areas take their cues. Even then it did not take them more seriously than other fads. Parenthetically it may be added that spirituals were conceived of as in a different class, and have been both sung and listened to by generations of southerners with real appreciation long before the present extreme vogue.

But the passive influence of the Negro on the life and character of the southerner is filled with illimitable possibilities for speculation and research. For example, the existence of a class regarded as definitely a servant class and set apart by so marked a differentiation as that of color has contributed to a feeling of caste even in the lowest stratum of white society, and gives the poor white a feeling of superiority which he defends the more savagely the less it is deserved.

Psychology will have more to say of the effects upon each other of these two races living side by side ; for the moment it is sufficient to mention the infectiousness of the Negro's good humor and happy-go-lucky disposition—qualities to which the white citizen is exposed every day of his life—his casualness, his informality, his improvidence. The existence of these same qualities, though in a lesser degree, in the southern white can hardly be put down to coincidence. It might be thought that the dominant race would resist the influence of one considered inferior, but at least one school of psychology tells us that the pull of a race nearer the primitive on one higher up the ladder of civilization has always been strong, since the primitive in all of us answers to the suggestion of primitive behavior. At all events, they both see eye to eye in regarding thrift as the very scullion of the virtues. Lavish hospitality, on the other hand, while partly a matter of a warm heart is also a matter of good servants, and the Negro's contribution to this celebrated southern quality should not be overlooked.

IV

NOT TO EXAGGERATE this contribution, however, there are other inducements to hospitality such as clannishness, or the importance of the family in the lives of its component members. The southerner nourishes an unquestioned faith in the obligation to others of his blood that goes back to the eighteenth century if not to tribal antiquity. This necessitates an elastic household régime that can be stretched to include third-cousin So-and-so and all his progeny as they pass through. Nor has economic necessity, usually an undisputed dictator, affected in the least degree this principle of conduct, and an empty coffer was never a valid reason for failure to offer bed and board to relative, friend, or stranger. This was all very well on the plantation where there was always food in plenty even though there might be no ready cash, but in its town incarnation many a family has found this item of the code a heavy drain. None the less the call of the blood is strong ; though Cousin So-and-so may be Cousin Good-for-naught, his wife dowdy and quarrelsome, his children greedy, they must be asked to the house. The social obligation is a potent factor in the lives of all dwellers below the Line, and extends, of course, beyond the tribe also. The southerner, not being economically-minded, frequently carries this idea to extremes, and the enormous amount of time in his life devoted to the service of this household god might be better spent on other obligations.

On a higher psychological level the sense of obligation operates

more agreeably in that the southerner preserves a feeling for certain niceties of social intercourse that are obsolescent or entirely lacking in a high-pressure twentieth century. He doesn't go to an entertainment solely to be well-fed and amused ; he knows that he owes it to his hostess to make his contribution to the occasion ; he feels that it is incumbent upon him, when he is merely a guest as well as when he is host, to put a visitor at his ease—to give him a chance to talk on his special subjects. He has a spontaneous interest in a stranger bringing news from a far country. No doubt quick and easy transportation, of which the southerner is availing himself more and more and which is bringing people to his doors in numbers unforeseen in a past when manners were cultivated for their own sake, will modify this character. Strangers are less and less strange ; time and interest decrease when every life is full to overcrowding with people.

Another pleasant reflection of the eighteenth century that is not unconnected with the attributes just mentioned is the rather ritualistic attitude of the southerner toward his dinner-table. The superiority of southern cooking is now no more than a tradition, since many of the *cordons bleus* of Paris and Vienna embellish prosperous American cities with their art, and excellent cooking is not regional. For all that, the good southerner treats his pilau with respect and not slighting ; his breakfast of roe-herring and batter-bread demands the tribute of half an hour or more of his time. One of the most amusing spectacles of a certain southern city has been the efforts of an energetic bank-president of the new South to increase efficiency and save time by including a restaurant in the basement of his splendid new plant, wherein his employees could catch a bite of lunch and further fructify the moment by talking business together. In vain did he dash himself against the breakwater of two-o'clock dinner. Catch a bite in a basement—indecent idea—when the dinner-table at home was set with shrimp-pie or okra soup? Expanding cities and shrinking leisure are of course promoting the down-town-lunch habit, and the eighteenth century will have increasingly hard going in the twentieth.

So far this survey has dealt in generalizations about the South as a whole in an attempt to co-ordinate and clarify the special character of its social life, but the picture must be corrected by the recollection that the Union, one and indivisible, is a solid fact in American life, and for every point of difference noted there are many ways in which the northern and western states resemble their sisters. Furthermore, the territory of the late Confederacy is sufficiently large in acreage to contain local divergences. The stream

of industry has deposited new towns on the old battle-grounds. Birmingham has no Confederate past—it is a town nourished on steel with all the vigor and intensity that this diet implies. Its population is committed to the new world for better or worse, though the large number of southerners in its cosmopolitan make-up naturally affects its character. Chattanooga is likewise of the industrial era, and though smaller than Birmingham, has proportionately less of native population. Atlanta is proud to describe itself as the New York of the South.

New Orleans has been fairly successful in combining the old ways and the new ; by far the largest town south of the Line, it has developed an active business in spite of certain disadvantages in the physical geography of its location, at the same time cherishing the fine points of social intercourse and carrying to a high point the conception of food and drink as an ornament to life, rather than as merely a stoking of the human engine. The French Catholic element is strong in its society—"a gay and frivolous people, fond of dancing and light wines," as the old reader charmingly defined the parent race. In contrast, Charleston seems a trifle more austere in spite of its sunny climate and sub-tropical flowers ; the English culture absorbed the French to a surprising degree, and after all the Huguenot was the French Puritan. Her peculiarities—and the South considers her most peculiar—are sympathetic to neither French nor American culture. For one thing, she has always cultivated privacy ; she built her piazzas on the side of houses rather than the front, with the street end blocked off from the public interview ; the front shutters are kept bowed, giving the impression of a sleeping town ; the most select entertainments are scrupulously kept out of the society columns of the newspapers. The Chamber of Commerce does all in its power to offset this damaging behavior, and a large portion of the population submits to booster programs because the economic pressure on them is very real. Richmond is quite successful in commercial enterprise and has proportionately little indigenous flavor ; her physical appearance differs slightly from that of other American towns, though her population is remarkable even in the South for at least two native characteristics—its talent for conversation and its devotion to the memory of the Confederacy. Nashville also resembles the new South in its outward conformation though its tempo is of the old and its propensities are toward conversation in the best sense, as opposed to mere talk—chiefly, one suspects, because of the presence there of the strongest and most original literary group in the South. Mississippi, like South Carolina, is still largely rural, and Vicksburg and Natchez, although

remaining native in character, suffer from the westward drift of the cotton-bred population of their hinterland.

Of all the southern states Texas grows most rapidly in agricultural importance; not only the production of cotton, but its shipment and other related activities tend to focus in that quarter; yet Texas is not so much South as southwest, with the accent on the west. The survival in the eastern section of the state of the plantation rhythm with its Negro population and its émigrés from the southeast, is offset by the other great industries—oil production through the “foreign” agencies of the large companies, and the raising of cattle and other livestock—the strong rhythm of the ranch. Social life varies with these dissimilar backgrounds, and the elements which tie it together are the standardization of the nineteen-twenties and not a common tradition in the ante-bellum South. This last will not be assisted, where it does exist, by the rapid infiltration of new people into the vast acreage of Texas; of all southern communities she is the most subject to peaceful penetration.

The South in general, moreover, has to face this problem of penetration by the winter tourists and the industrial fortunes that are buying up the plantations. It is indeed ironical that the families of rich men should, in their new endowment of leisure, turn to the aristocratic plantation pattern which their fathers destroyed. Aristocracy, however, is not easily come by; it is an obligation as well as a reward, and the ownership of land begets deep-rooted responsibilities only when its lords are bound to it by the combination of material and sentimental interest that occurs when the land itself is the home that shelters the family as well as the source of that family's living. The industrial family, on the other hand, has no vital connection with its winter playground, as it has no personal interest in the factory that grinds out its income with the same detachment that the mint turns out its specie. The question of whether or not these families and their descendants will take root in their new homes and become southerners is one which deeply interests the South; but even if they do, the cleavage of economic and social interests makes it pretty certain that the resulting society will not be southern in the old sense.

The native country families, for their part, lack the means to live according to the old tradition. This class was affected as a class more generally than any other, perhaps, by the economic débacle following the Confederate war, because agriculture has not proved a way to financial recovery. Deprived in increasing numbers of their lands, they are liable to the inferiority complexes of poverty and defeat, so that they lack the courage of their provincialism,

as their exaggerated sensitiveness to criticism demonstrates, and the simple pastimes of a rural society suffer in their eyes by comparison with the functions of their rich metropolitan neighbors. Perhaps the last stand of the Thin Gray Line is here; it buckles, but will it break under the new invasion?

V

AND WHAT OF the youngest generation, the immediate present which is also the future of the South, and on which the pressure of the machine rests most heavily? Obviously the organism must adapt itself to some extent in order to survive, to "make good" in the world in which it finds itself. Misgiving is not unmixed with sympathy as one observes the young people conforming to the national pattern in which social life is a matter of trains, automobiles, cocktails, and clubs of various sorts. They share with the rest of American youth the advantages of the new education, freedom of movement, and frankness of speech, and it is certain that a fairly large number has managed to preserve a good taste, a feeling for courtesy that checks extravagance along these lines. The easy attitude, the sprightly turn of speech, and good manners have come through to the young, the last-named quite surprisingly when the vitiating influence of corn-whiskey is taken into consideration. This native drink is one of the most widely spread and worst enemies of what the old South stood for; for there is no more characteristic section of the old code than that which decreed that a gentleman should know his wines, enjoy them as a connoisseur, and hold them like a gentleman; and the prevailing mode of drinking "white mule" or "red-eye" is an infraction of every rule of the art of living in which the old South sought to excel.

What will these young people do for a living? The voice of the Chamber of Commerce is loud in their ears. Agriculture is suffering from over-production; planting in the South is broken up into small farms cultivated by owner or renter in defiance of both the plantation tradition and the new economy of centralization. In fact, agriculture everywhere seems to have gone communist; so if, as seems logical, farming will have to be confined to smaller and richer areas, the new alignment is likely to be the agrarian northwest and southwest, against the industrial northeast and southeast. Meantime, the factories multiplied, and until the drear days following 1929, there was hardly a paper in the country that did not carry an article on the industrial growth of the South. "In two decades the industrial output of the South has trebled," sing the hymnologists of business, and it is the only hopeful song the up-and-coming young

man hears. The South is the poor relation of the other sections; she does not want that rôle forever.

A few thoughtful ones see which way they are headed and prepare to stem the flood, but they are faced with the hard task of finding other means of expansion for the South; she will need a reasonable economic security if she is to recover her ideal of fine living. Failing this, the only hope that she may be able to resist mechanization somehow—retain something of her own skeleton under the standardized skin—lies in the deeply-rooted habits of a people disliking change. To this end she will be assisted, perhaps, by her critics' dearest reproach—her alleged laziness and shiftlessness. She would prefer to call it a natural aptitude for taking time. Perhaps it is impossible really to hurry a southerner. And so there is a battle toward, and on one side are the fragile tissues of the brain, infinitely delicate, yet incredibly strong and deeply channelled by old patterns, and on the other the forces of steel and electricity. Which will be the masters?

SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE

BY A. E. PARKINS

THE DOMINANCE OF AGRICULTURE

THE FLYING SHUTTLE, the water frame, the spinning jenny, and the power loom, those harbingers of a coming industrial order, had not yet been devised in old England when groups of her sons and daughters first began to cross the stormy Atlantic to found homes in the new continent called America. England was rural and overpopulated. The fecundity of the British people and the healthfulness of their environment had outrun the sustaining power of the tight little island. New homes were sought in a new land where each man might have his thousand rood, or more if he wished, without fealty to king, lord, or sire. It was largely British farmers that colonized the eastern seaboard of America and it was largely British-American farmers that left the seaboard and pushed civilization's frontier across plateau, mountain range, and valley and plateau again, out upon the great fertile plains of the Mississippi, the heart of the great continent of North America. They erected their cabins beside copious springs or clear rivers, and cleared the forests for their fields of corn, wheat, tobacco, of hemp, rice, sugar cane, indigo, and cotton, and built a civilization based on the church, the school, and political freedom.

Behind the conquest of the wilderness there was an economic motive—the acquisition of land that they might live without fear of penury, with assurance of sustenance in old age, and patrimony for the generation which they fathered and mothered. Land, land, and the abundance thereof, the farmer, and his needs and desires are written big in the history of the South down to the present and will continue as factors for many a day.

The dominance of agriculture in the South since its beginning is due partly to its being settled by land lovers, but man tends to pursue that occupation which yields him the greatest returns for energy expended in the environment in which he lives, even though

he must change his occupation. It was the superior environmental advantages for agriculture in the South Atlantic colonies over the North Atlantic that led the South early to become a land of farms and the North a land of factories. Factories there have been all along in the South, but they have attracted only a small percentage of the people. It is only in recent decades in the South that man is beginning actively to seek a livelihood in pursuits other than agriculture.

Our newspapers and journals in both North and South have in the last two or more decades carried many items and articles about the industrialization of the South. We have made a beginning, but only a beginning. The entire South produces less manufactured goods (based on either the "value added by manufacture" or "value of product") than the single state of New York, only about 25 per cent more than Pennsylvania, and 50 per cent more than Illinois. It is probable that the annual value of our farm products, including livestock, does not exceed greatly, if at all, the "value added by manufacture" to the raw products fabricated, but far more people are engaged in work on the farm than in the factories. More than twice as many males are employed in agriculture, forestry, and animal industry as in manufacturing and mechanical industries and their concomitant activity, the extraction of minerals. Moreover, the population of the South is dominantly rural. In the South Atlantic states the percentage rural of the total in 1930 was 64, in the East South Central section 72, and in the West South Central 63.6. The comparable figure for the United States was 43.8 per cent. While the total population of the South is but 31 per cent of the total for the country, this section has about 50 per cent of the farm population of the whole United States. We are therefore an agricultural section.

Chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, and civic organizations of our cities are increasing in importance in guiding public affairs. The farmer, however, continues to rule, indirectly at least, the destinies of our southern commonwealths.

THE SOUTH IN COMPARISON

THE SOUTH IN 1929 produced crops (based on "value of 67 crops") to the value of nearly \$3,200,000,000. This was 37 per cent of the crop value of the entire country. This immense wealth, the product of nature and man, was obtained with 33 per cent of the country's farm implements and machinery, and represents the returns on 23 per cent of the value of the entire country's farm property—land, buildings, and machinery. Evidently agriculture in the South is

more profitable, judged by capital returns, than in the country at large, though the returns per capita of rural population are lower.

The South in recent years has been producing about :

- 96 per cent of the cotton of the United States (in quantity),
- 94 per cent of the sweet potatoes,
- 87 per cent of the tobacco,
- 84 per cent of the rice,
- 37 per cent of the strawberries,
- 33 per cent of the apples,
- 96 per cent of the grape fruit,
- 29 per cent of the corn, and
- 25-40 per cent of the peaches ;

but only 16 per cent of the white potatoes,

- 12 per cent of the tame hay,
- 9 per cent of the wild hay,
- 25 per cent of the cattle and calves,
- 25 per cent of the dairy cattle,
- 20 per cent of the swine,
- 18 per cent of the sheep, and
- 9 per cent of the beef cattle.

The South has, roughly, 30 per cent of the area and 31 per cent of the population of the United States.

What a region produces and the relative quantity of its products are conditioned by the natural environment and determined by the enterprise and experience of the people who occupy this environment, and by human demands. We will now turn to a consideration of the natural environment in the South and later consider the utilization man makes of this environment.

Figure 1 attempts to present in graphic form the essential physical environmental conditions of the South that have attracted man to the land.

The Surface of the Land.—First of all there is an immense area of plains land. The Atlantic Coastal Plain, Gulf Coastal Plain, Great Central Plain, Mississippi Alluvial plains, also the Piedmont, Interior Low Plateaus, and the High Plains region, which is essentially a plateau, all have surfaces so flat in most parts that agricultural operations are in no way hindered. Corn fields and orchards are numerous also on the slopes of the Blue Ridge and Southern Appalachian Mountains. The broad valleys in mountains and plateaus, the largest of which is the Great Appalachian Valley, have some of the most productive soils of the South. Very few acres are too steep for cultivation and none is so high as to be above the productive zone.

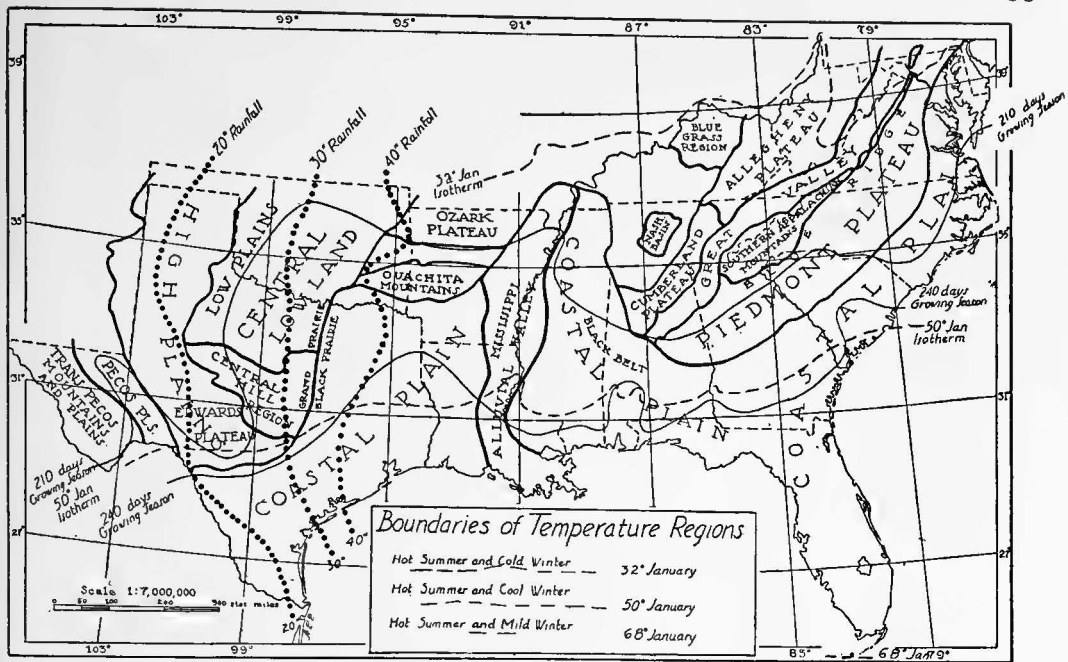


FIG. 1. ELEMENTS OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE SOUTH

The boundaries of the physiographic provinces are heavy solid lines. Each major province is named. The long dashes are isotherms—32°, 50°, and 68° for January. These are the boundaries of temperature regions as shown in the inset at the bottom of the map. The rows of heavy dots are the 20 inch, 30 inch, and 40 inch rainfall lines (isohyets). The entire south east of the 40 inch isohyet has more than 40 inches of rainfall for the year. The two faint continuous lines connect places having the same average length of growing season—the northern line 210 and the southern 240 days of frost free weather. The southern half of Florida has 300 to 365 days of growing weather. The soils of the South are not shown on the map. Yellow sandy loams dominate the middle coastal plain; red clay loam in most of the piedmont; red silt loams with strip of stony loam in the Great Valley; most of the upper South has gray-brown silty soils; dark brown soils dominate in the black prairie, the low plains and high plains, also the coastal prairie land of Louisiana and Texas and the black belt of Alabama. (Composite map based on official government data and maps.)

The low coastline on the east and south, the numerous deep rivers, and the flatness of the plains all favor the movement of man and goods. The Southern Appalachian Mountains have numerous passes. Until recently many mountain valleys were isolated, but the road builder has put most of them in touch with the nearby rapidly developing industrial centers as well as distant markets. The eastern front of the Appalachian Plateaus, which was the most formidable barrier met with by the westward moving farmers in pioneer days, is now crossed by numerous roads and railroads. There are large areas undeveloped in the South but not, in general, because of adverse topographic conditions. Markets are all too few and too small

to consume the huge amounts of agricultural products the southern farmers are potentially able to produce.

Rainfall.—The dry land farmer in recent decades has pushed the agricultural frontier into western Texas into areas once considered fit only for the pastoralist because of scanty rainfall, just as near the middle of the last century the farmers of eastern Texas, who had laboriously removed dense forests to get to what they considered productive soils, discovered the productivity of the sub-humid grasslands of middle Texas and moved upon them. The dry tree line in the South coincides quite closely with the thirty-inch isohyet or rainfall line. The dry land farmer is now cultivating land that receives even as little as twenty to twenty-five inches of rainfall a year. This is possible largely because the soil is porous and deep and mellow and the surface flat. Nearly every drop of rain sinks in and accumulates for several months, and evaporation, because of the cool temperature and lack of free water surfaces, is slight. Moreover, the farmer grows only drought-resisting crops. It is probable that man here has about reached the limit in the utilization of low rainfall lands without the artificial application of water. Dry land irrigation (in distinction from humid land irrigation in the rice districts of Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas), confined almost entirely to the Rio Grande Valley, is limited in Texas because of lack of water. Only a small part, therefore, probably not more than 60,000 square miles of the immense area of the South (902,000 square miles), is too dry to be used by the agriculturist, and most of this dry area is now supporting herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats. About two-thirds of the South has more than forty inches of rain a year, well distributed seasonally, and a fourth (approximately) more than fifty inches.

Temperature Conditions.—Rainfall and temperature are the major limiting climatic factors. The temperature conditions of the South are expressed on the map¹ in terms of temperature regions. That section equatorward from the 50° isotherm for January is in the hot summer and mild winter temperature region. The July temperature (average) is above 68° (New Orleans has a July average of 82°) and the January average is between 50° and 68°. This region may also be called sub-tropical. Most of the South—between the 32° isotherm and the 50°, both for January—is in the hot summer and cool winter region. The January average lies between 32° and 50° and the July above 68°, but lower than the July average of the region to the South. The July average at Nashville is 79°. Only parts of the Appalachian Highlands have temperatures charac-

¹ Figure 1. Isotherms are drawn across the map. Inset shows isotherms and titles of temperature regions.

teristic of the North, hot summer and cold winter. Not only are the summers hotter in the lower South than the upper, they are longer. New Orleans has seven months with temperatures at 68° or above; Louisville, Kentucky, but four. Many whites in the lower South, and even in the middle South, rest from field work during the hottest hours of the day, but the siesta is far from being the widespread custom it is in the tropics. Conditions in the hot, moist, coastal sections of the South are enervating.

The Growing Season.—The long frost-free growing season in the South is a condition of great economic significance. The lower South has more than two-hundred-ten days of growing weather; most of the upper, from one hundred-eighty to two-hundred-ten; and the gulf region more than two hundred-forty. Southern Florida and the lower Rio Grande Valley grow vegetables and fruit the year round. The mild winter and early spring give southern truck and fruit growers a strong position in northern markets from November to May. The early vegetable and fruit industry over the entire South brings in tens of millions of dollars each year and is an adjustment to the early advent of spring. In the middle latitudes of the South two short season crops may be produced, in the Gulf states three, on the same ground. It is the short-season, cool-weather crops—such as peas, lettuce, radishes, Irish potatoes, strawberries, and others—that are grown during the cooler months. Beans, corn, and tomatoes are hot season plants. The staple crops like cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar cane, and deciduous and citrous fruits receive the attention of the farmer most of the growing season.

Soils.—In few regions of the world does man find environmental conditions wholly ideal for agricultural operations. In the preceding paragraphs some of the environmental conditions that are particularly favorable to the farmer in his attempts to wrest a living from nature have been sketched. We now turn to a consideration of certain conditions that are a challenge to his efforts.

First of all, let us consider the soils, and soils in relation to the physiographic and climatic conditions. While the South has many large fertile areas, such as most of the Shenandoah Valley, as the Kentucky Blue Grass region, the Nashville Basin, the Yazoo Delta, the Prairies of Texas, Louisiana, and Alabama, and some mountain valleys, it has immense areas of soils that must be classed as moderate to poor in productivity. These latter are largely to be found in parts of the Coastal Plain, the Piedmont, the Great Appalachian Valley in Tennessee and Alabama, the Cumberland Plateau, and the Ouachita-Arbuckle ridge and valley area in Arkansas and Oklahoma. Attention here is directed only to the humid areas. The soils

of these areas were originally deficient in those soluble minerals that plants demand, and because of heavy rainfall and mature topography have been leached, washed, and eroded. They are not only deficient in soluble mineral plant food but are lacking in humus. They are mostly pine forest soils, and may originally have had a fair amount of humus, but surface wash and erosion and excessive drying under a hot sun have greatly reduced the amount of humus or removed it entirely. The deciduous forest soils of the upper South, the grey-brown earths, are superior in quality to most of the red and yellow soils of the Piedmont, Great Appalachian Valley, and the Coastal Plain. Nearly all the regions listed above as having better soils are in the grey-brown earth region. There are few sections of the South, however, so hopeless in quality of soil as to be shunned entirely by the agriculturist. Deficiencies in mineral plant food are overcome by the application of commercial fertilizers. The farmers of the South Atlantic States in 1924 purchased \$110,500,000 worth of fertilizer, which is nearly half the money spent for this purpose by all the farmers of the United States (\$230,500,000). The South Atlantic States used about 80 per cent of the total for the South. This is evidence enough of low fertility of this section. Most of this was used for cotton, tobacco, vegetables and fruit. Some of this "drag" on present-day farmers for fertilizer can be laid to the neglect of past generations, but much to the nature of the soil and the climate.

The major discovery of the last century was the high agricultural value of the brown and black soils of the humid and sub-humid grasslands. They surpass the forest soils in productiveness and lasting quality. That twenty-five to thirty inches of rain on grassland soils will give greater yields than thirty to sixty inches on forest soils in the same latitude is not easy to believe, yet such is the fact. Unfortunately the South has only a small area of black and brown sub-humid lands, mostly in Texas and Oklahoma.

Insect Pests and Diseases.—The long growing season and mild winters, climatic concomitants of a high sun and abundance of moisture, aid the farmer in many ways, as previously indicated; but the conditions favorable to plant growth are also favorable for the growth of insect pests and diseases.

A careful estimate made in 1921 placed the reduction of potential production of cotton due to the ravages of the boll weevil at 31 to 34 per cent for the entire South. The estimate for Georgia was 45 per cent. The total annual yield in number of bales for the entire South shows no reduction, but more acres must be utilized and more labor expended.

Several years ago the annual loss to cattle growers from fever spread by the cattle tick was estimated at \$40,000,000; and it was further estimated that "to this should be added \$30,000,000 for lowered assets of the South." Beef from infected regions sold for one-half cent to one and one-half cents per pound less than beef from tick-free sections. Thanks to federal and state enterprise only about one-fourth of the original area remains infested.

The Mediterranean fruit fly, which occupied a large part of the citrous fruit area of Florida in 1929 and 1930, cost the nation and the state in 1930 about \$15,000,000 for eradication work alone. This does not include the losses to the orange and grapefruit growers, which were estimated at \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000.

It is not easy to estimate the cost in deaths, sickness, and reduced vitality due to malaria, prevalent in most low altitude areas of the South, near swamps or wet ground, except where costly sanitary measures have been instituted. It is the farmer folk that are most affected.

Only a very few of the more important pests and diseases have been mentioned. Every crop, every forest tree has its enemies that require man's attention. The long southern border facing the tropical lands of Middle America, across which the boll weevil came (about 1892) and across which other pests and diseases may easily and doubtless do come, calls for vigilance on the part of the South. A successful farmer in the South must be conversant with practical entomology.

Some Adverse Weather Conditions.—Man tends to "tune" his agricultural operations, time of planting and harvesting, types of crops, and methods of cultivation, to the average weather and climate. While he deals with fairly reliable and fairly favorable atmospheric conditions in the South, there are types of weather phenomena that may be considered departures from the normal and that challenge his dominance. These are droughts, cold spells, and tropical hurricanes.

Droughts² are the rule in western Texas and Oklahoma. They are normal to this region, and the farmers have adjusted the type of crop and method of cultivation to this condition, but in portions of the humid South there is scarcely a season that crops do not suffer from want of water and there are occasional years that crop failures are general over large areas. In areas of tight sub-soil or thin soil, if the interval between rains is protracted, the high hot summer sun soon dries up the moisture in the upper horizon and the crops suffer

² A drought, as defined by the Weather Bureau, is a period of 30 consecutive days with a precipitation less than one-tenth of an inch.

from a lack of soil moisture. To droughts, as much as to any of the other causes frequently assigned, the lower yield of many crops in the South is to be ascribed.

Cold spells³, which spread over the South when a well-developed, slow-moving high pressure area moves eastward across the United States, bring havoc to the winter vegetable and fruit growers of Florida and the lower Rio Grande Valley during the winter months. Farther north, cold weather is expected and most farmers are prepared during this season. Cold spells in the spring, however, particularly after a spell of mild weather occasioned by southerly winds and a bright sun, during which buds begin to swell or burst, are dreaded by the peach and apple orchardists in Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas.

The havoc is greatest where the cold spell is most abnormal. A cold spell with severe freezing weather in Florida in January is abnormal but not so in the upper South and in the North. The frequency of cold spells in Florida varies greatly, severe freezes coming once in three or four to eight years or possibly more. Probably the coldest weather ever experienced in Florida was on February 7, 1835, when the temperature (unofficial) at Jacksonville fell to 7° and the St. Johns River was frozen several feet from the shore. Fruit trees were killed over much of the state. On January 12, 1886, the temperature at Jacksonville dropped to 15°, and on February 13, 1899, to 10°. Because of these severe though infrequent cold spells, citrus fruit orchardists in Florida have migrated southward, out of the northern section of the state, into more certain climates. In the interior of the state they are utilizing the slopes on which there is air drainage and the slopes over-looking small lakes. The ocean coast lands are much desired on both east and west sides of the state. It takes from seven to eight years to repair the damages of a single freeze of a few hours.

Cold spells in Texas are known as northers. They sweep as far southward as the Gulf. On the open plains, where lumber is scarce, man makes little provision for his livestock in winter and thousands of cattle may freeze in a single cold spell. Cattle growers even in the Rio Grande Valley suffer staggering losses.

The most dreaded weather phenomenon in the lower South coastal sections from Charleston to the mouth of the Rio Grande is the tropical hurricane, which is most frequent in the early fall particularly in September and October. The more destructive in the past have come once in a decade or so, but of course no one

³ As defined by the Weather Bureau, a cold spell is a drop of 16° or more in 36 hours to a temperature of 32° or lower.

can predict their arrival in the future. Several may come in a single season. The Galveston storm in 1900 caused the loss of 6,000 lives and \$30,000,000 worth of property. The property loss at Miami, Florida, in 1926 was \$76,000,000. More than 100 persons were killed and thousands injured. In late years southern Florida, at the edge of the tropics, has suffered more than any other section of the coast. Storms are no more frequent in late years in Florida than formerly, but with the building of cities and other works of man there is more property to be destroyed. Tropical hurricanes, as a rule, prove a blessing to sections of the South beyond the coastal areas, for they often bring much needed rains. In the coastal sections orchards are blown down, crops flooded and destroyed, roads washed out. The farmer suffers quite as much as the city dweller, though the total destruction per square mile is not so great in the farming districts as in the cities.

THE AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF THE SOUTH

MAN HAS BEEN cultivating certain crops, like cotton, corn, tobacco and others, so long in the South that we may safely conclude that these crops represent fairly complete adjustments to the natural environmental complex and to human demands. A century hence cotton will probably be grown in much the same sections as now. New varieties may be developed for dryer and colder conditions but the western and northern borders will certainly not shift much. So it is with corn. Corn has been the staple food for man and feed for animals since pioneer days. The demand for corn in the South is certain to continue and southern consumed corn will be grown in the South. A bulky, low value (per unit of measure) crop, like corn, tends to be raised where, or near where, used ; and even though the land may be adapted to more profitable crops, space is given the less profitable crop. The corn belt of the north central states will never dominate southern markets for its product. These more staple crops are, therefore, fixtures in southern agriculture, because of their lineage and utility. But not so for most or many of the minor commercial crops, recent arrivals in southern agriculture, like early vegetables of many sorts and bush and orchard fruits. These are now grown widely but, as a rule, in small isolated areas. Each succeeding census report indicates many changes in their distribution. Apples are replaced by grapes or bush fruits, strawberries by vegetables, or the farmer may drop special crops entirely and return to the old staples. The area over which any one of the special crops may be grown is so great there is the constant threat that other areas, better fitted by climate, soil, or contact with markets, may

come to supplant them. The growing of these special intensive crops in a section whose population density is low and where farmers therefore, should normally practice extensive agriculture, is due largely to the activity of railroad agents, county agents, or some unusually enterprising local farmer. The early spring, however, is a favorable environmental factor, and so also is rapid and direct contact with the large markets of the industrial North.

The boundaries of agricultural regions are outlined on the accompanying map (Fig. 2). The titles are based on the acreage distribution of the dominant crops or groups of crops. The approximate distribution of special crops, the dominant crop (or crops) in these areas of special crops, is indicated by lined areas and by letters.

Six major crop regions are recognized in the South on this map, namely,

1. The Corn, Tobacco, Forage region
2. The Cotton and Corn region
3. The Rice, Sugar cane, Citrous Fruits, and Vegetable region
4. The Chesapeake Vegetable and Fruit region
5. The Sorghum, Winter Wheat, and Cotton region
6. The Semi-Arid Grazing and Irrigated Crop region.

Certain areas of non-agricultural land along the Atlantic coast are not included in any of these regions.

1. The corn, tobacco, and forage region stretches all across the upper South from the Fall Line in Virginia and Maryland to central Oklahoma. Its soils are largely grey-brown earths that have their greatest development in the states to the north. The region has moderate summers and short yet distinct winters, occupying as it does the northern half of the hot summer and cool winter temperature region. The moderate rainfall is well distributed seasonally except in parts of Tennessee and near by states which normally have dry summers. Corn for grain and forage and wild and tame grasses are to be found in all parts of the region. Tobacco production is more restricted in its distribution, being confined largely to parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. Kentucky has by far the largest acreage, about one-fifth to one-fourth of the total for the country, but on any one farm its production is usually limited to the area that may be cared for by the farmer's family and the all-season hired help, if there is any. The acreage in comparison to corn, even in Kentucky, is small—about 400,000 to 500,000 acres of tobacco to about 3,000,000 of corn.

The region has a fair quota of the cattle of the South, both beef and dairy. The number per square mile, however, is less than in

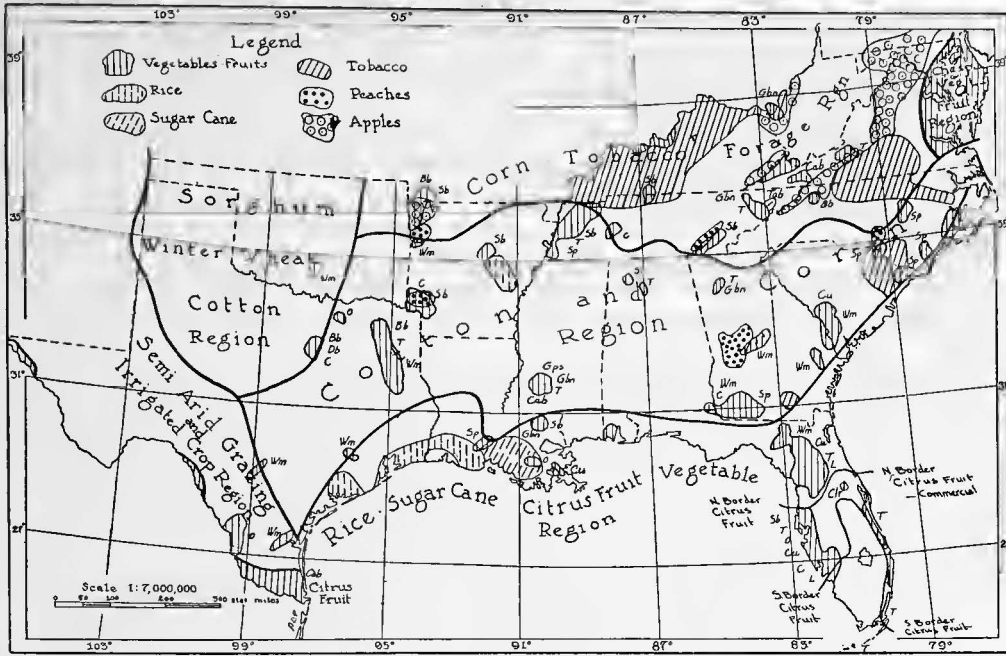


FIG. 2. AGRICULTURAL REGIONS AND AREAS OF SPECIAL CROPS

Six regions are recognized, based on distribution of crop acreage for late years. The distribution of a few of the lesser major crops and the special crops is indicated by special symbols. See the legend. The particular vegetable (or vegetables) dominating in each of the vegetable areas is indicated by abbreviations, as follows : C—Cantaloupes or Muskmelons, Cu—Cucumbers, Cab—Cabbage, Clr—Celery, Bb—Blackberries, Db—Dewberries, Gps—Green peas, Gbn—Greenbeans, L—Lettuce, O—Onions, Sb—Strawberries, Sp—Sweet potatoes, T—Tomatoes, Wm—Watermelons.

Texas. On many ridges in Virginia and West Virginia cattle and sheep are grazed on upland pastures during the summer and driven to the valleys for fall or winter fattening before being sent to market. It has the average quota of swine. The Blue Grass region of Kentucky is one of the leading sheep areas of the South. The most important apple producing areas of the South are in the corn, tobacco, and forage region. The southern limit of the apple tree is slightly south of the southern border of this region. Apple orchards are widely distributed but commercial production is limited largely to northwest Arkansas, the Blue Ridge in North Carolina and Virginia, and the ridges of the Great Appalachian Valley in northern Virginia and north eastern West Virginia extending on into Maryland. Vegetables for northern markets and local canning are grown in small special crop areas in northwestern Arkansas, western West Virginia, southwestern Virginia, and northeastern Tennessee, and bush fruits in northwest Arkansas and western North Carolina. (See the areas of special crops.)

Taken as a whole, the region is one of diversified agriculture, a greater variety of crops being raised than in any other region in the South. It is not outstanding in any crops, except tobacco and apples, and it excels other sections of our country only in tobacco. The Shenandoah Valley, the Blue Grass Region, and the Nashville Basin are among the best agricultural sections of the South. In these sections there are to be found beautiful country estates of "dirt" farmers that have the air of comfort and refinement; but wealth and comfort are not so uniform in distribution as in the broad plains of the corn belt of the north central states. From these favored regions in the South have come a large percentage of the educational, social, and political leaders. On the other hand, there are vast areas where life is indeed a struggle for existence, where poor food, disease, and ignorance tend to limit man's horizon, starve his aspirations, and hold him bound to a life above which only the strongest rise. Out of such environments a few strong men have come, but they are few indeed. Such regions of penury and repression are not to be associated with mountain districts any more than with dissected plains. In the broad mountain valleys and basins in the southern Appalachian Highlands and the Ozark Plateau are to be found some of the most pleasing agricultural landscapes in the South.

2. The cotton and corn agricultural region is the largest in the South. For twelve hundred or more miles, from eastern North Carolina to central Texas, and for four hundred miles north and south, there is scarcely a landscape that does not contain patches of cotton or corn or both. The northern border of the region is the approximate northern limit of cotton acreage and this coincides fairly well with the line of two hundred days of continuous growing weather. The western boundary is approximately the western extent of corn acreage and is to be correlated with the thirty inch isohyet; and the southern and eastern boundaries are fixed by the low density of acreage of both cotton and corn. Climatic and topographic conditions are probably the limiting factors here in restricting the acreage in cotton and corn. Subtropical temperature conditions prevail to the south. The rain is excessive, particularly in the summer, and the land is flat and drainage is imperfect in both the Gulf and Atlantic coastal lands.

The cotton and corn region lies in the southern half of the hot summer and cool winter temperature region with a growing season averaging between 200 and about 280 days. It is a land of plains, well drained for the most part so that the run-off from the moderate to heavy rains is carried readily to the natural drainage channels.

Excessive rains do sometimes flood large areas ; but it were better for crops in many parts if drainage were not so perfect and a larger portion of the rainfall could go to swell the meager supply of soil water, for summer droughts are common. Yellow sandy and reddish sandy, cherty, and clay loams dominate in the cotton and corn region. The areas of greatest acreage and production density (acres and production per square mile) of cotton are the Black Prairie of central Texas (clay and clay loams), the alluvial lands of the Mississippi and other rivers, the inner piedmont in Georgia and inner and dryer parts of the coastal plain in the Carolinas. The large production in the Carolinas and Georgia comes from heavy fertilization rather than the superior fertility of the soil.

The acreage in corn is more uniform in the density of its distribution than cotton. Corn is a secondary crop, a supply crop, a food and feed crop. Its acreage any year bears roughly an inverse relation to that planted to cotton for they compete for the same land. The acreage of cotton is the determining factor, however.

Tenancy (includes cash tenants and croppers) is dominant in the cotton and corn region as in no other. In the corn, tobacco, and forage region from 10 to 30 per cent of the improved land is cultivated by tenants. Over most of the cotton and corn region the percentage runs between 40 and 70 per cent, and in sections of heaviest acreage in cotton the percentage may reach 70 to 80, and even 90. There is a direct relation, therefore, of cotton culture and tenancy. Colored tenants dominate in the region as a whole but there is a tendency toward segregation. White tenants are more numerous in Texas and in the northern border sections of the cotton and corn region, and colored in the alluvial valley of the Mississippi, the outer piedmont, and the inner part of the coastal plain. Colored tenants and white tenants, however, will be found in most cotton and corn sections. About one-fifth of the colored farmers own their own farms in the South.

As previously stated, about 50 per cent of the farm population of the United States lives in the southern states, which have about 31 per cent of the nation's area. The density of rural population, therefore, is greater in the South than in any other major section of the country. In North Carolina the acres of crop land and pasture land per person on the farm is only about 7. It is 7 also for Arkansas, 7.5 for South Carolina, 9 for Alabama, 10 for Mississippi, and 12 for Kentucky and Virginia. In comparison, the acres per person on the farms in Ohio is 20, in Wisconsin 22, in Iowa 33, and in Kansas 41. This means that whereas a person—man, woman, or child—has only 7 acres of crop land to supply him with sustenance

in North Carolina, a person in Iowa has 33. The cotton and corn region has a greater density of farm population than the other regions, as the data reveal; but the density is far from being uniform. It is greatest in areas of greatest cotton production where the number of small tenant farms is greatest and here, interestingly, the value per farm of farm property is less, for the value of farm property is mostly land, not buildings and equipment.

In the cotton and corn region agriculture is less diverse than in the agricultural region to the north. There are less sheep to the square mile, fewer dairy or beef cattle, and less poultry, but about the same number of swine, and horses and mules. Fewer acres are in potatoes, and fewer vegetables for home use and fewer apple orchards. The farmers concentrate their attention largely on the production of cotton and corn. Near the northern border of the cotton and corn region wheat and oats are sown in crop combinations with cotton and corn; farther south velvet beans, cow peas, and peanuts are being introduced. Oats in the north are often used as a winter crop and are grazed or cut for hay. The leguminous crops in the South are "hogged" or cut for hay. As soil builders they function well in a region where nature has left much to be desired in soil fertility.

Tenant farming tends to be an extractive industry. Most farms are being "mined" even to a greater degree than in ante-bellum days when the plantation owners exercised far greater supervision over the farming operations. The owner of a small farm is forced by competition, and follows by example, much the same exploitive practices. There is less evidence of wealth and refinement in the cotton and corn region than in the agricultural region to the north. The casual visitor travelling through the region by the highways sees little more of habitations, in the richest agricultural sections, than Negro homes and cabins, generally mean and repulsive both inside and out. Most of the larger land owners live in "town" houses or if the plantation is on a large navigable stream and long established, the "big house" may overlook a river, which in former days, more so than now, was the line of communication between the plantation and the outside world. Many of these old homes are as beautiful and reposeful as romantic writers have pictured them. Since the plantations in the cotton and corn region are larger than the farms in the Blue Grass and similar regions, there are fewer owners' homes. In any section there are small farmers and large land owners, and the former in many sections outnumber the latter. The large land owners are more numerous in the more productive areas of the cotton belt.

The tenant's house, as a rule, is anything but home-like. From South Carolina to Texas, almost invariably, it is of rough boards, battened (rarely of clapboards), of two, three, or four rooms, and is usually whitewashed. It is a mere shell. It is furnished sparsely and its surroundings are ill-kept. Only a small percentage has flowers and a garden. Not an uncommon decoration for the doorway of a Negro tenant home is an old automobile, often a Cadillac, devoid of tires and top, a playhouse for the pickaninnies and a roost for the chickens.

There is great economic inequality on the large plantations in the cotton belt, and little that makes for democracy even where there are white tenants, for they are as much economic slaves as the Negro. The slums of our great manufacturing centers are no more an indictment of our industrial and commercial age than the tenants' huts on some of our cotton plantations. Yet many, if not most, plantation owners are furnishing as good homes as economic conditions will permit. Nearly a fifth of all tenants in the South own neither work animals nor implements. They have nothing to offer to the economic world but their labor. The plantation owner must supply them with a mule, implements, seed, and generally subsistence until a crop is raised. They are the croppers. Not all croppers are shiftless, it should be said. Some cotton farmers made their start as croppers, but most croppers remain croppers, and not a few tenants slip from the implement-owning tenant stage to the cropper stage. When cotton prices are low or there are crop failures, the plantation owner generally suffers more financial loss than the tenant or cropper, for it is he who either loans sustenance to the latter or guarantees payment of money or supplies advanced by banks or merchants.

In contrast to the monotony of the succession of cotton and corn fields is the wide variety of special, and for the most part money crops that occupy small isolated areas here and there over the cotton and corn region. (See Figure 2.) The farmers of northeastern North Carolina and near by portions of Virginia raise peanuts for one of their cash crops. Astride the fall line in North Carolina and near the South Carolina boundary is a small peach area. The largest of all peach areas occupies the hill lands bordering the fall line of western Georgia. Tobacco brings ready cash to the farmers of eastern South Carolina and southeastern and also southwestern Georgia. There are small areas specializing in early vegetables, watermelons, cantaloupes, strawberries, bush fruits, or sweet potatoes in the Carolinas, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. Arkansas has a small rice region on the alluvial lands of the

Mississippi River, the water demands of this hydrophyte being met by well irrigation. Some of these special crops are conditioned by rapid and direct transportation, and by an early spring which enables the farmer to supply, as earlier stated, market demands for off-season products in large northern population centers. It is generally the small farmer, not the large cotton planter, who specializes in these more intensive money crops. In some, if not in many, of these areas of special crops a prosperous middle class farmer is arising.

3. The rice, sugar cane, citrous fruit, and vegetable region is subtropical, and the distribution of the major crops is quite unlike that in the two regions just described. In these any one farm may be growing all the major crop combinations. But the region under discussion is in reality an assemblage of four areas each quite distinct, if not isolated, from the others. The rice region is on the prairie land of southern Louisiana and southeastern Texas. The sugar cane area, the so-called "Sugar Bowl of America," is to the east of the rice region and between it and the Mississippi River. In Florida citrous fruit trees and vegetables are found on the same farms. On some, while the trees are developing to the production stage, vegetables are grown on the inter-tree spaces. Yet there are distinct areas where vegetables dominate and others where the major attention of the farmer is given to his orchard.

The most important citrous fruit area is in central Florida, in Polk, Orange, Lake, and Marion counties. Polk County has more than 3,000,000 trees. The orchards here occupy the slopes of the "karst land" that forms the central highlands of the peninsula. Orchards spread westward from this to the coast and southwestward to Fort Myers. The Indian River area extends along the east coast for nearly 200 miles. Citrous orchards are numerous also in the vicinity of Orlando, Orange City, and Deland, thus connecting the east coast area with the central area. As a rule, the more important orange counties are also the important grapefruit counties. Florida is not active in the production of lemons.

The more important vegetable areas of Florida are in the north central part of the state, about Tampa and Fort Myers, and along the east coast. Some tomatoes are raised on the Keys. There is a tendency toward regional specialization in vegetable production, some sections specializing in tomatoes, others lettuce, celery, radishes, or cucumbers.

Florida raises little else in the sections of special crops but the special crops, for these products, when the markets are active, bring good returns, in spite of the long distance they must be car-

ried in refrigerator cars. For the winter and early spring months Florida has the monopoly of northern markets, except for the slight competition that comes from "gardens under glass" in a few of the northern states. In the rice region little else than rice is grown for no other crops could survive flooding, but corn and fodders are produced in the sugar cane area.

In its land utilization Florida shows great contrasts. Lumbering operations are still active but there is an immense area of cut-over land untilled. More than 80 per cent of the area is forest, cut-over land, or swamp. Some of these lands are used for grazing. In striking contrast to these primitive conditions the truck gardeners and the orchardists are engaged in intensive agriculture and occupy small farms. About 30 per cent of the farms are less than twenty acres and 80 per cent less than one hundred. Field crops and pasture, largely outside the fruit and vegetable sections, still occupy by far the bulk of the farm land. About 30 per cent of the crop land is in corn, but this is by far the largest acreage of field crops.

There are strong contrasts in farm life. The farmers raising corn, peanuts, velvet beans, swine, and cattle are largely southern born and of southern lineage. Many live much as they did in pioneer days, when they or their ancestors moved southward from the Carolinas or Georgia. Some of the cut-over land is held by lumber or turpentine companies. Some companies are southern, some are northern. Most of the truck farms and orchards are owned by northern "invaders" with homes, premises, and enterprise characteristic of a people born in cool or cold climates. A large part of the wealth of the newcomers was brought with them.

The rice and sugar cane areas are also extra-southern in many respects. Rice culture as now practiced in Louisiana was introduced by northern grain growers in the 1880's. Some outside capital has come in. Southerners entered later. There is little tenancy in the rice area, the farms being small and the farm owners for the most part cultivating their lands themselves. Sugar cane culture calls for large capital, for lands and the sugar mills meet the strong competition from the outside and must be large-scale enterprises.

Farming in this subtropical region is today not on so permanent a basis as it is in the two older regions to the north. The Louisiana-Texas rice area must meet competition from Arkansas, California, and the Orient. Sugar cane production continues only because of a protective tariff, for sugar is raised at a much lower cost in Cuba. The citrous fruit growers of Florida must meet the competition of Texas and California. They produce a semi-luxury rather than an absolute necessity. Their crops and even their orchards may be

destroyed by hurricanes or freezes. The producers of early spring vegetables, if the market season is delayed by cool weather, may find producers nearer the northern markets holding the monopoly. Less than twenty per cent of the land area of Florida, for example, is in farms and the land in crop not more than a half or a third of the land in farms. This large area of potential vegetable and fruit land, which is open for development by newcomers is a constant threat to the present producers.

4. The Chesapeake vegetable and fruit region includes both the east and west shore lands of Chesapeake Bay and extends on over to Delaware Bay and the Atlantic. It includes all of Delaware and parts of Maryland and Virginia. The portion east of the Bay some "boosters" have labelled Del-Mar-Va. The whole region is in the coastal plain with the characteristic sandy and loamy soils of that physiographic province—light and porous, into which the rain readily sinks, yet it is fairly well retentive of moisture, particularly on flat fields and flat lands in which the water table is near the surface. The soil is superior to that farther south. There is less drying and burning of the soil, for the summers are shorter. Leaching and surface wash are in progress fewer months in the year, for the winters are cold enough to freeze the ground. The sandy, well-drained, fine-grained soil, with good tilth is admirable for vegetable growing as well as other forms of agriculture. The proximity to large bodies of water—ocean, bays, estuaries, and marshes—tends to protect the plants from untimely frosts. Man is stimulated into the utilization of this land for intensive crops, partly at least, by proximity of the region to excellent markets, and fast direct transportation facilities to these markets. Hard surfaced roads connect most of the towns with large cities. The Norfolk area is the oldest trucking section in the South. Only about a third to a half of the total area is in farms and the crop land is not more than a third of the farm land. Corn fields cover more acres by far than any other crop. Peanuts in the last decade or so have become an important crop in southern Virginia. Strawberries, early potatoes, and vegetables are the leading money crops and occupy a large part of the attention of the more progressive farmers. Among the vegetables produced are tomatoes, and green peas. Watermelons and cantaloupes utilize a lesser acreage.

This is one of the more prosperous farming sections of the South. The homes and the premises are well kept. From 70 to 80 per cent of the farms are worked by the owners. There are excellent elementary and secondary schools and for the more advanced, high grade colleges.

The tidewater section of this region is quite as attractive today as it was in colonial days when most of Virginia's economic and social life centered on the shores of the estuaries and the bay. The region is rich in historic interest, for here was the beginning of English civilization in America and the corner stone of southern civilization. Facing the estuaries are numerous historic colonial Virginia homes, whose earlier owners played an active part in our national life. Here in the Chesapeake tidewater began the first culture of corn and tobacco in America by Europeans. Here were the first experiments in raising cotton, rice, grapes, even silk ; and here were bred the first cattle, horses, sheep, and swine in English America from imported stocks. For three centuries the waters of this bay have borne the products of the farmer to markets in the North Atlantic states or across the Atlantic.

5. The sorghum, winter wheat, and cotton region is in the far west, one of the last farming areas of the South to be developed. Until late decades it was the domain of the hunter, the cattleman, or the sheep herder. For untold centuries buffalo-hunting Indians, the fierce Comanches and Apaches, held sway. Eventually the Spanish-Mexican cattlemen began to dispute Indian dominance and in the latter half of the last century, particularly after the Civil War, American cattlemen gradually took possession, only to be supplanted in part by the dry land farmer. The conquest of the dry land farmer is not yet complete and never will be. His operations are restricted to the flatter undissected lands with deep soils, the rough, dissected, and stony lands being still held by cattlemen. Not all the flatter lands have been released to the farmer. The agricultural lands in this region are on the low plains and the high plains.

The sorghums, which include a great variety of grain and fodder plants, were among the first dry land crops to be experimented with. These crops were first raised as supplementary to cattle raising, to be used to tide over feed shortage during dry spells and cold spells. The ravages of the boll weevil in the more humid sections of the South so increased the cost of production of cotton that the dry land farmers are able to bid for a place in the world cotton markets. The yield is low, yet not lower than the average for the South, about a third of a bale to the acre. Cheap land and the extensive use of machinery for preparation of the ground, cultivating, and harvesting—the sled is used by many for picking cotton—keep the production costs low. Hard winter wheat has spread into the region from Kansas, particularly since the introduction of the combine, which greatly facilitates harvesting in both time and

labor requirements. While the older agricultural regions in most parts of the United States have experienced a decline in the number of farms and acres in crops, this region has had a slight advance.

One who travels over the hundreds of miles of well-graded roads on the high plains sees spread out before him a panorama of apparent fertility : here a field of a hundred acres or so with its mellow, dark brown mother earth freshened by recent work of the tractor, gang plow, and harrow, there a field of sorghum or cotton stretching away almost to the horizon. In the northern portion of this region waving fields of wheat are of equal extent. Sorghum is well distributed over the entire area and competes with wheat and cotton for acreage. The pasture lands, to be found on most if not every farm, are more permanent in their location. A water hole or pond, which may be ten to twenty acres or more in extent, if the ranch possesses one, is always the focus of the area devoted to grazing. There is remarkable equality in personal possessions on both the low and high plains. The uniformity of the physical environment, topography, and quality of soil is reflected in the size of the home, the type of architecture, and the farm home equipment. The average, one may almost say universal, home is a neat one-story, clapboard house, with a cottage roof. It is usually painted white, sits near the road in a small yard enclosed by a picket or wire fence. A few shade trees and shrubs, a small garden with a few fruit trees add a touch of verdure to the picture. Behind the house there are on most ranches a horse stable, a garage, a hen house, a corral or cow barn, and, towering above all, the inevitable windmill, usually at work, certainly never ceasing its operation for lack of wind.

The discordant note in this picture of rural comfort, neatness, and simple refinement is the apparent lack of care given the farm machinery, more numerous and expensive than in any other section of the South. It is to be seen, when not in use, scattered about the grounds near the barn and thus in the open the year round. But one must remember lumber is expensive and machinery is bulky. To house some of the combines would require a "berth" nearly as capacious as the farm house.

The evidence of prosperity, the productive crops, the neat though simple homes, the well-fed cattle, the large amount of machinery, the attractive enterprising trade centers, and the good roads, all are likely to stir one's enthusiasm to the degree that he may forget that these farmers have their problems as other farmers have, of adverse weather conditions, glutted markets, heavy taxes and interests, and notes to pay. They waste little time praying for rain for it may take months for returns. No doubt they thank the Giver

when it does come. Their task is to husband the little moisture that falls, by deep plowing, clean tillage, and the use of drought-resisting crops. A cold winter with heavy snows brings rejoicing. The farmers of this region are certainly on the margin of the cultivated area of the South. There are frequent failures of individuals and in some years crop failures over large areas. Are we certain that the farmer has demonstrated his permanence in the region? He has yet to weather a spell of lean years that have in the past befallen marginal hyetal lands when the normal rains fail to come.

6. The semi-arid grazing and irrigated crop region covers a large area of southwestern Texas, approximately a third of the state. The one agricultural resource of the grazing section of the region is grass, mesquite and others, with a carrying capacity of one animal to fifteen to fifty acres. The better grazing lands are in the high plains and in the pinon-juniper "forests" in the higher sections of the Davis and Guadalupe Mountains. Most of the grazing lands are utilized for cattle, but sheep and goats almost monopolize the grass resources of the stony Edwards Plateau, to the east of the lower Pecos. Cattle and sheep and goats graze on the same land, the cattle feeding on the grass, the sheep and goats on the coarser woody, herbaceous plants. The latter are far more numerous. San Angelo is an important shipping point for wool, mohair, and fat animals. Texas has about 12 per cent of the sheep and lambs of the country, nearly all of which are in this region, and was the leading state of the union in 1931. It also has 80 per cent of the goats. Texas leads all states in the production of wool and mohair. This is a thinly settled section, for the herds and flocks require large acreage. The improvements are meagre, consisting largely of small, low ranch homes, corrals, wire fences, and windmills. In its social and economic evolution this grazing section has made little advance in the last half century or more. No longer are there "open ranges," but the cultural landscape differs but slightly from the natural.

In striking contrast to the primitive type of land utilization found in the grazing areas are the irrigated tracts along the Rio Grande, near El Paso, Eagle Pass (just being developed), and Brownsville. The largest area is near the latter city in the lower Rio Grande Valley. In the irrigated districts is to be found the most intensive cultivation in the South. The El Paso district has had the assistance of the Federal Bureau of Reclamation in the preparation of the necessary irrigation works; the other two are the result of private initiative. Garden truck, deciduous fruits, and alfalfa (for feeding dairy cattle) take up the major part of the acreage near El Paso. The lower Rio Grande, having temperatures similar to central

Florida, is an active producer of citrous fruits and vegetables. Being a new region and having Florida to surpass, its growers have selected improved varieties of citrous trees. The intensive cultivation permits small farms and there is accordingly a dense population. No great wealth per farm is in evidence, but there is comfort and a high type of home life. The irrigation farmers, however, like the humid and dry land cultivators, have their troubles. Water costs are high. They frequently face water shortage, occasional frosts, glutted markets, and strong competition. In the lower Rio Grande, because of adverse topographic conditions, drainage is difficult and alkalinity is forcing the abandonment of some of the lands. A heavy frost in the spring and floods in the summer of 1932 caused immense damage. So also did a destructive hurricane in the late summer of 1933.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTHERN FARMER

Soil Erosion.—The problem of paramount importance for many parts of the South is soil erosion. It should be attacked on many fronts and by all directly or indirectly concerned, for a precious heritage that took nature thousands of years to produce is slowly being dissipated, so slowly that few farmers are aware that the basis of their existence is being gradually lost. The United States Bureau of Chemistry and Soils reported nearly a decade ago that Fairfield County, South Carolina, had lost 90,000 acres of productive land and that Stewart County, Georgia, had had its farm land, which had been producing crops for more than a century, reduced by 70,000. In the hilly sections of the upper coastal plain millions of acres have been abandoned in late years and the same story may be told of a large part of the piedmont, particularly those sections near the large rivers. One soil expert says "Probably not less than 60 per cent of all the upland (of the piedmont) has lost from 4 to 18 inches of soil and subsoil and many gullies have cut down to bed rock." Western Tennessee was reported to have had its productive area reduced 300,000 acres. This is equivalent to 10,000 farms of thirty acres each. On the basis of the average density of rural population in the humid portion of the South, the 300,000 acres would support more than 40,000 people. Think of it! In one part of one state, land that in its pristine state could have provided sustenance for more than 40,000 people, has been carried away by surface wash and gullying. And this is not the end of the damage. The material carried away is deposited on valley flats, covering valuable soil with sand and gravel, it fills reservoirs above power and navigation dams, and forms bars in navigable streams. Competent authority places the annual loss in the United States due to both soil wash

and erosion at \$200,000,000. An observant student who has traveled in all parts of our country would certainly assign more than a third of this to the South—an annual loss of \$70,000,000 to \$80,000,000 due to erosion alone. And remember this is a resource that can not be restored in scores of generations.

Why is the South a great sufferer? First of all, much of the surface of the South is in slope. Because of the open winters, the precipitation is in the form of rain. Many of the rains are torrential. The ground is frozen only for a few weeks even in the northern part of the upper South, in the latitude of Tennessee for only a few days each year, and farther south rarely, if ever. Soil wash and erosion may therefore go on unrestricted, so far as nature is involved, when once the forest or brush cover is removed. In many of the agricultural regions, particularly in the cotton and corn belt, there is much bare ground throughout the year. Few farmers provide a winter crop cover, and even though cultivation keeps the surface soil mulched during crop season, heavy rains result in much surface wash. The amount of wash is closely related to the angle of slope.

The solution of the soil erosion problem is simple in principle and easily comprehended, but it will take much effort to bring the farmers to a realization of the danger that confronts future generations in the South. The fundamental process is to check the down-slope movement of the water. Start early when evidences are first discernible. Better, never permit soil erosion to start. The county farm agents in scores of counties in the South have taken the problem in hand and through contour plowing, ridging, and terracing have retarded further destruction, but all too few farmers have profited from the lessons taught. Winter cover crops are an essential. In the lower South cultivated crops will probably always dominate. Here special precautions must be taken on all slopes. Slopes so steep that erosion persists in spite of preventive or remedial measures should be reforested. Grass cover materially reduces wash and erosion, in fact, all but prevents it except on steep slopes. In sections where climatic conditions are favorable, grass might be worked into the crop rotation scheme. In cultivated fields grass may be grown in the shallow "draws."

Erosion of the soil sets a train of evils into action. The ground water table tends to be lowered by gullying and the available soil water for the plant growth is reduced. This lowering of the water table increases the leaching of soluble mineral matter. Moreover, dry soil is heated to a higher temperature by the sun than moist soil. This tends to kill certain soil bacteria and destroy the humus. The formation of rivulet channels hastens run-off and less water

therefore enters the ground. Because of reduced productivity, resulting from all these processes, the farmer "drugs" his soils with commercial fertilizers, increasing their acidity and further sickens them. This vicious circle tends to so deteriorate the soil that eventually its cultivation will no longer be possible. What fraction of the 36,000,000 or more acres abandoned between 1925 and 1930 is due to soil erosion is impossible to say, but certainly a large portion of these millions have been rendered worthless by washing and gullying.

Marketing of Crops.—It is advantageous that the wide range of temperature and rainfall conditions permits the growth of a wide variety of crops, but the great distance from the active markets of the North is a serious handicap in the production of crops whose habitat covers both North and South. In all forms of vegetables, for example, the southern truck gardener is limited largely to the production of early varieties. He utilizes his "plant" for only a small portion of the year. Canning factories would extend his productive season and bring much greater returns, but whether he markets his products canned or fresh, distance is against him. Southern produced apples, citrous fruits, peaches, beef, pork, butter, cheese, condensed milk, potatoes, and others are in active competition in the large eastern markets with products from the North and West. Southern markets, that will come in with the more active growth of urban centers are needed, but this is a remedy beyond the farmer. He can, however, organize marketing associations, more of them than he has now, and more active ones. Florida orange growers should be able to compete successfully in all cities in the eastern South with California producers. They certainly do not now. Virginia and North Carolina apples should supplant Washington grown ones, which are shipped two thousand miles to southern markets; and would if strong marketing organizations were to be formed.

A More Self-Sufficing Basis.—The southern farmers and city dwellers must learn to live more within their section. They must go back, to a certain degree, to the self-sufficing basis so widely practiced before the maelstrom of modern transportation sucked them into the currents of world commerce. The cotton South was the first to lose its economic independence early in the nineteenth century. Before 1860 the cotton planters came to realize the harmful effects of dependence on northern capital and enterprise for their very existence. It was not until the coming of the railroad that the farms and cities of the interior were tied to northern factories. The southerner may never again be able to live within his own

neighborhood as his eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century forbears did, but it should not be necessary for him to import Michigan canned peas, beans, and corn, Ohio tomatoes and New Jersey catsup, California peaches, Chicago meats, and a vast quantity of manufactured goods, when the raw products for all these are in abundance in the South. The southern states have all the resources essential for a well-rounded, complete economic existence. The highest type of economic development is one in which all the resources of a region are exploited, not just the one most easily worked. Diversification should be carried on to such a degree that the "resources" will be utilized to their fullest extent, every farmer should work his "plant" to its capacity and for the largest number of days a year possible. This means the production of the staples natural to his region, vegetables, fruit, beef cattle, dairy cattle, sheep, swine, orchard fruits, small fruits and the canning, preserving, and curing of many sorts of food products. The most successful farmers have many and diverse activities.

Stabilization of Cotton Production.—For the cotton farmer stabilization of production is one of his greatest problems. With 300,000,000 acres in the cotton belt, a third to a half of which is potential cotton land, and with only an average of 30,000,000 to 40,000,000 acres used, the possible production in comparison with the actual is immense. The United States leads all other nations of the world to the extent of producing more than half the world's crop. Our production has varied in late years from 14,000,000 to 18,000,000 bales. Our largest competitor is India with less than 5,000,000 bales. Some forty countries grow cotton. Control of production and price thus rests largely with us. The history of cotton in America has been one of ups and downs, mostly down, with prices below cost of production. A high price one year almost invariably means overproduction and low prices the year following. Cheap American cotton can practically dominate the world's markets and force many countries out of production, for nowhere else in the world is there such a large area of land with the climate and transportation facilities so favorable, such large numbers of experienced farmers, and such smoothly working machinery for financing and moving crops on a large scale. King Cotton, like a giant in leash, is cowed when prices stand at five cents, but uncontrollable when the returns to the producers are fifteen, twenty, or thirty-five cents. The big task in stabilization of price is to control production. But how will it be done? Events in 1930 and 1931 indicate that legislation will be resisted. Southern individualism will not easily acquiesce to legislative control. Co-operative associations have never proved successful

for the same reason. The nearest approach to concerted action in 1931 and 1932 was the formation of some co-operative associations under the stimulus of the Federal Farm Board. But such associations have little support as yet. Co-operative associations controlling production and marketing have not been formed to any large extent in the South even though the need has been extreme.⁴ The only possible scheme, it would seem, for the next few years at least, is some form of allotment by the federal government of acreage among the states and a further allocation to counties or districts, combined with an education campaign through the farm agents. A more certain way of relieving the situation permanently—it will never be settled until world consumption approaches the limits of world production—is to reduce the cost of production, with the idea of indirectly increasing consumption. Several individuals and organizations are now occupied in increasing the use of cotton and thus the consumption.

But how produce cotton at a lower price and prosper? We should modernize cotton production as we have wheat. Cereal culture has been mechanized. Tractors, gang plows, harrows, and seeders prepare the seed bed, and sow the grain in a "once over" and the combine harvests and threshes the crop in one operation. The labor cost of raising wheat has been reduced from about sixty-hours of man labor per acre in 1830 to less than two in 1930. Cotton, as now grown demands nearly as much human labor as it did a century ago. And mechanization is not easy. Because the bolls ripen so irregularly and have so scattered a location on the plant, cotton has thus far practically defied the would-be inventor of a successful cotton picker. Many machines have been devised but none yet has met with popular acclaim. Either new machines or new cotton plants must be perfected.

But this is not the only point of attack that should receive attention. Tenant farming, with its cheap labor equipped with the crudest of tools may have for the present solved the problem of the cotton planter who has an abundance of land and no available efficient hired labor; but it is uneconomical and not at all in harmony with modern commercial agriculture. Two and a half million tenant farmers in semi-poverty with low standards of living and low purchasing power, with little desire to lift themselves above their present level and less desire to be efficient economic producers, are a dead weight that no section of a civilized country can long

⁴ The crop destruction program carried out in the summer of 1933 afforded only temporary relief, and was intended only as an expediency. This applies to tobacco as well as cotton.

carry and prosper in a competitive world. Is the solution big-unit farming or more owner-operated farms?

THE CHANGING ORDER

IN A SMALL town in northern Alabama the citizens a few years ago erected a monument to the boll-weevil out of gratitude to the influence which that little pest had had in forcing the farmers out of a cotton and corn régime into diversified agriculture, particularly the raising of special money crops which had brought prosperity to many a homestead. On a score of hills in a large portion of the 1,300 or more counties of the South similar monuments might well be erected to the passing of an old order of conservatism, isolation, provincialism, and traditional agricultural practices. The solid South politically is surely breaking down, but in no other section of our country can one experience the universality of interest in agricultural improvement. From Virginia to Texas country newspapers and "metropolitan" dailies carry reports of the introduction of improved breeds of cattle and swine, new orchards coming into bearing, of expanding acreage in vegetables and strawberries, of recently established milk condensers, new canneries, newly organized marketing associations, new sweet potato storage houses, tobacco "floors," cotton storage houses, and others. All agricultural sections are by nature conservative when once they settle down to an unvarying régime of crops and tillage practices. It generally takes mighty and numerous forces to break a well established order. Faster and cheaper rail transportation, the refrigerator car, industrialization both North and South, improved roads and motor transportation, along with the excellent work of county farm agents, home demonstration agents, agricultural experimental stations, railway industrial agents, banks, and agricultural journals, are all playing a part in breaking through the shell of conservatism, teaching new methods, developing new markets, and widening the horizon of that great group upon whose welfare so much of the prosperity of our country and the South depends.

A SURVEY OF INDUSTRY

BY BROADUS MITCHELL

AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION is to the observer of history what the loco-weed is to the mustang—once experience it, and it fills the picture. Everything else is temporary, inconsequential. Every chapter in this book may be derived, more or less accurately, from a knowledge of the economic past of the South. Our religion, letters, laws, arts, social amenities, and race relations are all functions of our economic life. An illustration of this is furnished by Cairnes' celebrated book, *The Slave Power*. Here was an Irish economist who had never seen the South, and yet, beginning with a few accepted economic facts, he was able to body forth the whole of southern life. A palæontologist finds a jaw-bone at the foot of a rock-shelter, and gives you ancient man entire—height, weight, walk, almost his speech.

The economic explanation of the contemporary South has been slow to make its appearance. This has been due to long economic stagnation under the plantation system. In that pond there were no currents. Organic matter decayed, and a miasma hung above the surface. This noxious emanation was so heavy with partisan politics, mass ignorance, religious obscurantism, labor exploitation, and race feeling, that the effect was apt to be taken for the cause. The Civil War opened an outlet to the pond of the old plantation South, and, after the uncertain period of Reconstruction, industry began to scour a channel through the muddy bottom. But the old habit of social interpretation persisted. We tried to explain ourselves to ourselves and the world, in terms of symptoms only.

First of all in this false account came racial integrity. We said we were pure Anglo-Saxons, proud, noble, justice-loving. We were a people of principle. We quite forgot that a large proportion of the southern population was black and enslaved, with the cultural tradition of the thorn hedge against the tiger rather than that of the viking ship and the witenagemot. However inarticulate, the

Negro was bound to emerge with a growing measure of autonomy, but this we quite neglected.

We affected to believe that the way of life of the old South needed no defense, but awoke admiration. If it had drawbacks in general illiteracy, lack of inventiveness, absence of economic incentive, and the banishing of political democracy, these were minor debits. The great fact was that we developed "culture." If we did, it was so elusive that the observer today can not find it. It did not take form in music, poetry, prose, building, works of engineering, jurisprudence, science or theology, let alone the infinitely more difficult matter of decent human comfort and independence for the average man within the South. A staple agriculture with slave labor gave us only exploitation—cunning, suave, inveterate. By and large, every principle gave way before the support of this interest; every contrivance was in its service.

The new South of free labor, economic enterprise, industry, nimble transportation, public education is bringing us fresh air which dispels the old vapors. I do not condemn the old South. It was a social consequence, not a public sin. But I refuse, in setting forth recent economic changes toward industry, to shed a tear for the passing of the ancient régime. Whatever industry killed should, by comparison with social change elsewhere, have perished before.

It is a platitude that the invention of the cotton gin wedded the South to the black slave with the hoe, the little mule pulling the bull-tongue plow, the "mining" of the soil, and the constant trek toward new lands of the Southwest. And yet economic diversification lingered; it was given a spurt by the vigorous young southerners who came into national prominence just before the War of 1812, and the "American System" was not shown the door by the South until the late twenties. Manumission societies hung on a few years longer. Then slowly, with the tightening grip of slavery, nationalism turned to sectionalism; men in the South still spoke of factories and promoted railroads, but the program of internal improvements was inspired now by partisan spirit, by the desire for southern autonomy. A few tried to reverse the trend. William Gregg, of South Carolina, in the manner of the Philadelphia school of Henry C. Carey, preached, and practiced, the doctrine of variety of economic pursuits. He recognized that agriculture, industry and commerce were conjoint; that to starve one—industry—was to destroy the others. But by the decade of the fifties it was too late. Passion took the place of sense. The South must reap its whirlwind.

When the war was over, defeat brought reflection. The southern states were technically returned to the national union by repeal of

secession ordinances, but their true re-entry began with the establishment of cotton factories in the late seventies and early eighties. The process has taken fifty years, and still goes forward. The next developments are likely to be of two sorts. The first is physical: the growth of industries of new kinds, and the extension of manufactures to parts of the South hitherto little touched. The list of important industries is still confined to textiles, lumbering, tobacco, iron and steel, cotton seed oil, chemicals, and furniture, with, however, promising recent progress in ceramics, cement, and paper. Industry naturally has spread from Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia toward the Southwest; Tennessee and Alabama are further along in the process of industrialization than Mississippi, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas. In Arkansas less than 44,000 out of 519,000 gainfully employed are in factories; and lumbering, petroleum refining, and canning are still of more consequence than other industries. Louisiana and Oklahoma, though they have important raw materials, are almost entirely undeveloped industrially. Texas has moved faster in textiles, heavy machinery, steel fabricating, clay products, and paper, for Texas markets are not profitably reached from a distance; low labor costs will prevail there longer than in the Southeast, but the habit of speculative investment will have to weaken before industry is the chief claimant for capital in that state. Here, then, in the Southwest is a new frontier for industry.

The other development which lies next in the future is not physical, but social and spiritual. It goes a stage beyond elation at industrial accomplishment, and is concerned with having industry serve society, instead of being an inconvenience to it. It looks to distribution of wealth, rather than to its production. This is a national and world problem, but the South is still a novice in the school of its solution. The rights of workers, unemployment, crises and depressions, and the form of industrial ownership and control—all of these problems will increasingly claim the attention of the southern people. There will be no avoiding the issue, for the greater part of southern industry is southern-owned.

II

THE SOUTHERN STATES (by which are meant Virginia, West Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas), had in 1927 (the latest year for which there are representative figures), 29,720 manufacturing establishments, with 1,348,201 wage earners, using 6,000,891 primary horsepower, turning out products worth

\$7,674,480,997. The value added by manufacture was \$3,188,584,000, which was 41.5 per cent of the value of the products. This last percentage, which is significant of the degree of manufacturing development, was not quite so high as the figure for the country as a whole, which was 43.9 per cent.

The value of products manufactured in the South in 1914 was \$2,723,443,000; that this was hardly more than a third of the value of southern manufactures in 1927 is due in part, of course, to the increase in prices; the number of wage earners, which was 1,028,953 in 1914, increased rather more than a fourth by 1927.

The value of products manufactured in the South in 1925 was \$7,746,895,000, or \$72,415,000 more than in 1927. The loss in these two years is proportionately much heavier than that for the country as a whole, but only about half as heavy, proportionately, as the loss of New England in the same period. On the other hand, the value added by manufacture in the South in 1925 was only \$3,109,874,000, or \$78,710,000 less than in 1927; that is, while the value of southern manufactured products fell off in this two-year period, the value added by manufacturing processes more than equalled the difference. This last indicates, of course, how southern industry is progressing; cost of raw material is playing a smaller part, and the degree of fabrication is advancing.

The five leading southern states, in value of manufactures in 1927, were Texas (\$1,206,579,962), North Carolina (\$1,154,646,612), Virginia (\$671,346,808), Louisiana (\$638,361,215), and Tennessee (\$614,040,524). The others followed in the order of Georgia, Alabama, West Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, and Arkansas. The standing of Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma was due to their petroleum refining; in Texas this was responsible for a third of the total value of manufactured products, in Louisiana for more than a fifth, and in Oklahoma for between a third and a half. In number of wage earners in manufactures in 1927, the ranking five states were North Carolina (204,590), Georgia (154,168), Alabama (119,093), Tennessee (114,968), and Virginia (114,918).

North Carolina is the leading southern industrial state. Between 1925 and 1927 the value of manufactures increased in this state by \$100,213,000, and the value added by manufacture increased \$94,100,000.

The proportion of southerners gainfully employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries rose from 14.7 per cent in 1910 to 18.2 per cent in 1920. In the first year the South, by the criterion of proportion of workers, was half as far industrialized as the coun-

try as a whole, in the last year three-fifths as far. In percentage increase in number of factory wage earners, five southern states led the country between 1919 and 1927—South Carolina, 37 per cent; North Carolina, 30 per cent; Georgia, 25 per cent; Tennessee, 21 per cent; Alabama, 11 per cent.

The South's total horsepower in prime movers was in 1927, 6,289,602, something less than a sixth of the country's total. Of this capacity, 2,934,600 horsepower was in electric motors driven by purchased current. More of this electrical energy is generated in the South by coal, oil, natural gas, and lignite than by water power. However produced, it is at once a principal cause and effect in southern industrial advance. Electric power plants, most of them constructed by private capital, are being developed on an exceedingly large scale, and with great rapidity, all over the southern states. They form the most spectacular single item in southern industrial building. Thus in 1929, steam and hydro-electric plants in the South generated 17,847,648,000 kilowatt-hours, an increase of 2,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours in one year. Electric power carried long distances over transmission lines, interconnected for steadiness of supply, is assisting in the South as elsewhere in the decentralization of industry; not only are small places enabled to manufacture for local markets, but industries seeking wider markets may locate plants in small towns near their raw material. A principal incentive to dispersion of plants to smaller places, operative elsewhere in the country, is the design of reaching cheap labor; in the South, due to abundance of workers, this factor has not operated to the same extent as it has elsewhere in the country.

The manufacture of cotton is the most important single industry in the South. In 1927 the cotton-growing states (Missouri and California included, but neither is of consequence in cotton manufactures), used 2,601,664,374 pounds of raw cotton, a gain of 526,308,840 pounds since 1925. In 1927 the New England states used 820,697,182 pounds, or 39,692,345 pounds less than two years before. It is significant that between these two years the southern mills more than trebled their use of foreign cotton. The value of cotton manufactured in the cotton-growing states in 1927 was \$900,626,448, contrasted with \$519,218,869 for the New England states. In 1921 the value of New England cotton manufactures exceeded that of the South, but by 1923 the South was ahead by nearly sixty million dollars in this particular, and has continued to widen the gap. By 1927 New England was trailing the South's 17,756,619 spindles with 14,564,589, or 3,192,030 fewer.

The number of idle spindles decreased in North Carolina between

1919 and 1927 by 25,468, while the idle spindles in Massachusetts increased by 938,265. In 1927 the South had 341,973 looms, or 413 more than New England; in 1919 New England had 85,322 more. The southern mills in 1927 used over 72 per cent of all the cotton processed in American mills, had almost 53 per cent of the country's active spindles, and produced over 57 per cent of the country's cotton goods by value. The southern states in 1927 had 277,820 wage earners in cotton mills, which was almost 59 per cent of the country's total. Not quite half of the number of textile plants in the South are other than cotton mills. This growing diversification of the industry is one of its prominent tendencies in the South, particularly marked in the recent erection of 35 rayon mills.

Mr. Clarence Heer has shown that the wage of southern factory workers from 1849 to 1927 has been from 30 to 40 per cent lower than that for the rest of the country. He computed wages by dividing the total wage bill by the average number of wage-earners employed, a device which has unimportant limitations for purposes of comparison. In 1927 about a third of the South's industrial workers were in the textile industry, of which cotton manufacture is the leading branch. The average annual wage of the cotton mill operative in the five leading southern states, in 1927, was \$673.12, or a weekly wage of \$12.94. It is to be said that the mills have on their payrolls a good percentage of people who work full time only part of the time, and others who regularly work for only a few hours a week, which means that the steady worker, if he had regular employment, would receive more than the average wage.

On the basis of the first method of computation, the average weekly wage in the cotton mills of the four leading New England states and Pennsylvania was \$19.82 in 1927; that is, the wage of the five leading southern states was only 65.49 per cent of that of the four leading New England states and Pennsylvania.

Southern iron and steel plants are concentrated chiefly in Alabama, Tennessee and West Virginia. In 1927 the value of products of blast furnaces, steel works and rolling mills, and cast iron pipe plants was \$395,911,530; not quite two-thirds of this value was due to steel works and rolling mills. Alabama reported 21 establishments, with 11,630 wage earners, and products valued at \$122,943,350. Alabama ranks fifth in pig iron production in the country; the ratio of the state's product to the country's total has increased slightly since 1921.

Birmingham, founded in 1870, became the center of the southern iron industry because here ores, coal and fluxes occur in close juxtaposition. The superior soft ore was taken out first, but now the

hard ore is reached by deep diggings. Its metallic iron content is from 32 to 45 per cent; its phosphorous content is so high as to render it unfit for the Bessemer process of steel making, a fact which held the Birmingham district back until about 1900, when Birmingham basic pig iron was turned into steel by the open-hearth process. The years since have been marked by consolidation of companies and a greatly augmented investment by the United States Steel Corporation, the chief operator in the region, and by increasing use of Birmingham iron and steel within the South. The industrial and engineering advance of the southern states is opening widening home markets, and basic processes are being rapidly augmented by special fabrications. The iron and steel industry, fertilizer plants, tobacco factories and cotton seed oil mills furnish the chief examples of the industrial employment of Negroes in the South.

The cotton seed oil industry, after much earlier experimental beginnings, was firmly established in the South by 1880, following which it required only consolidation and engineering skill to enable the industry to avail itself of the surprising new opportunities which opened for the use of its products. This industry is confined almost entirely to the South. In the year ending July 31, 1929, the South's 520 plants crushed 4,839,845 tons of seed, 349,197 more than the year before. Texas is far and away the leading state in this manufacture, crushing almost three times as much seed as Mississippi, its nearest rival. The value of all the products was in this year \$253,325,000, more than half of this being the value of the oil. This industry has been built upon what was for many years a waste product. It contributes directly to agriculture by giving a high price for seed and by supplying cattle feed and fertilizer. Linters, or short fibers adhering to the seed, were produced to the extent of 1,039,284 bales; linters are used in a variety of products—artificial leather, collodion, photographic films, gun cotton, writing paper, waterproofing compounds—but their most spectacular success has been in artificial silks; probably from a fourth to a third of the rayon produced in this country is from cotton linters.

The furniture industry, centering in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, exploits a native raw material, at first manufactured for a local market. Since the opening of the first plant, at High Point, N. C., in 1888, the number increased to 384 in 1927. The value of products in the last year was \$121,972,444. North Carolina has three times as many factories as Virginia or Tennessee, and High Point, the parent center, has grown into a national furniture market. Developments of recent years are improvement in quality of the product and gradual disappearance of the advantage

in proximity to hard woods, since supplies of the piedmont are being exhausted, and the lower Mississippi Valley is being looked to. More plants will be established in the Southwest. The largest single item in the cost of furniture manufacture is labor, and in this particular the South has an advantage ; northern manufacturers coming into the South declare that the native labor rapidly becomes highly skilled.

Tobacco manufacture developed from a plantation industry. The next stage was that of small factories, making snuff, twist and plug, many of which were ruined by the Civil War. Then came, almost simultaneously, the era of concentration and the introduction of cigarette machines. Just as the most successful mechanical device was invented by a Virginian, Bonsack, so a North Carolinian, James B. Duke, supplied the necessary business device in the American Tobacco Company, which at the time of its dissolution controlled the tobacco industry in all its branches in half the world. North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky are the leading southern states in this industry ; the first two in 1927 produced 78,567,136,000 cigarettes, about four-fifths of the country's total. North Carolina had 14,081 workers in this manufacture. The same state produced 122,065,000 pounds of snuff and smoking tobacco, and Virginia 616,103,000 cigars, most of them by machine methods. Florida, where the hand method has continued, made 559,373,000 cigars. The industry is the most highly concentrated physically and in management, of all the industries in the South. Winston-Salem, North Carolina, is the leading tobacco manufacturing center of the country. In the South as a whole, in 1927, there were 36,118 workers in the cigar and cigarette branch of the industry, and 4,764 making other tobacco products.

Fertilizer manufacture is an old industry in the South. Georgia is the leading state in the country except Maryland, having 2,509 wage earners and products valued at \$22,093,903 in 1927. The next four southern states, in order of the value of products, are North Carolina, Virginia, Florida and South Carolina. The total product of the South was valued at \$106,535,526. Expansions in the industry are taking place, particularly in the Southwest.

The paper industry is developing in Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, and West Virginia. The South is now in control of the coarse wrapping paper industry, and methods of turning the pulp of quick-growing southern pines into better grades of paper are being introduced. Pulp from other materials, notably sugar cane bagasse, is being used in the production of paper products, particularly wall board and insulating materials. Virginia is the principal paper-

making state of the South, but new large plants are being erected elsewhere.

Our knowledge of the recent drift of industry to the South is enlarged by a survey co-operatively made by the National Electric Light Association and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company covering the years 1926 and 1927.¹ This is a remarkably realistic and precise report showing relative growth of American industry by geographical sections in the years 1926 and 1927. Data were received from communities representing 75 per cent of the total urban population of the country. The migration of industry (that is, the actual relocation of plants), played a smaller part than the establishment of branch plants and the starting of new local industries. The southern states did not stand high in gains from relocation of industries; the South Atlantic states (including Maryland and Delaware) followed the Middle Atlantic and East South Central—the latter consisting of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi—almost tied with the East North Central states for third place in gains from establishment of local plants. However, in the South Atlantic states the average size of plants gained was 75 employes, or more than twice the size for the country as a whole. Plants lost in this area averaged 39 employes. In New England plants gained averaged 47 workers, while those lost averaged 71.

The South's showing is more remarkable because it has few cities, relatively, of 50,000 population and over. The survey demonstrated that while branches and relocations were divided nearly equally between cities under and above this population, three-fourths of the new local plants were established in the larger places. This advantage of the larger cities is due to the "satellite" plants established near existing industries. The South's handicap in not having large cities is somewhat overcome by the fact that it has particularly received accessions in the textile industry, which in relocation has generally sought the smaller centers.

In this movement the southern states proper gained from all sources 1,429 plants with 76,613 employes. The leading states in this group in number of plants and number of employes gained were North Carolina (177 plants, 11,014 employes), Alabama (204 plants, 10,863 employes), and Georgia (102 plants, 10,455 employes).

In the South Atlantic states, new local industries were the most important factor in gains, but these were followed more closely by branches and relocation than in other sections of the country. Advantageous labor conditions were oftenest mentioned as the reason for plant location in this area; other reasons, in order of

¹ *Industrial Development in the United States and Canada*, n. d.

frequency being transportation, markets, material, power, personal reasons, available factory building, and living conditions. In the country as a whole, markets came first, labor second.

Seventy-two per cent of the firms coming into this region moved from the Middle Atlantic states and 17 per cent from New England.

Textile firms particularly stressed cheap labor as their reason for moving into the South Atlantic states. The nature and order of other reasons is significant: they were transportation, living conditions (closely allied to cheap labor), financial aid, nearness to markets, available factory building, power and fuel, nearness to materials, low taxes, and favorable laws (also closely allied to cheap labor). Said a manufacturer of silk underwear going from New York to South Carolina: "We moved to the South in order to obtain plenty of American labor at less price than labor cost in the North and East. Reason for selecting this particular location was because local capital was willing to . . . help finance the business."

Accumulating capital resources in the South are indicated by the fact that of the new industries reporting the source of their capital, 77 per cent said it was local, 13 per cent that it came from outside, and 10 per cent that it came from both sources.

The growth of industry in the South, coming particularly in the last decade, has been due to many causes—lower labor costs, increase of population and increasing urbanization of the people, depression in agriculture, depression in industry elsewhere, favorable tax laws, proximity to raw materials, available factory sites and buildings, increase in wealth, improvement in education, presence of fuels and electric power. Not all of these factors apply in the same way to the autonomous growth of southern industries and to industrial investment in the South from without. The enterprise of southern chambers of commerce in stimulating manufacture, whether springing up locally or induced to come from other sections, is to be accounted as a secondary cause.

The chief reason for the migration of industry southward, by relocation of plants or establishment of branch plants, has been the low labor costs. This item consists of three parts—low absolute and relative wage, low legal requirement as to hours of work and age of workers, and belief of enterprisers that southern labor is opposed to unionism. The same causes have operated, with less said about them, in the home growth of southern industry.

Cotton mills have been most conspicuous in the recent drift southward of industry. In the period of greatest southern gains, northern mills ran from 8 to 9½ hours a day, with some running 9½ to 10 hours, or a week of from 48 to 54 hours; southern mills ran 10 to

11 eleven hours a day, or 55 to 60 hours a week. All southern states except Arkansas allow women to work at least 10 hours a day, and no southern states prohibit night work of women, except South Carolina in stores. With minor exceptions in North Carolina and Alabama, children of 14 may work in factories. Georgia, North and South Carolina permit children of 14 to 16 to work 10 hours a day or longer. Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina have no mother's pension laws.

The docility of southern white labor was more cried up before the series of textile strikes of the spring and summer of 1929 than it has been since. It was widely thought and proclaimed that southern workers must be proof against unionism because of their short acquaintance with industry, surplus of numbers wanting industrial employment, absence of foreign or outside operatives, low income prevailing in agriculture, welfare work and other forms of management paternalism, competition—actual or potential—offered by the Negro, hostility toward unionism on the part of the middle class, and the rural or semi-rural location of many industries, among other causes.

Much of this reasoning still holds, but the strikes of 1929, the American Federation of Labor, together with a growing pro-labor attitude on the part of clergymen, university communities and newspapers, threw the question open to speculation. The established union in the South must not be forgotten. In 1900, only 10 southern cities had central labor unions; by 1930 there were 160. Then there was no state federation, now all states have them. The South has 6,000 local unions affiliated with national unions and the American Federation of Labor. In 1930, sixteen national unions spent annually in excess of \$550,000 in maintaining organizers and otherwise assisting locals in the South.

In the last strikes southern workers showed readiness and even enthusiasm in joining unions; they were not discriminating as to leadership or generous or steadfast in financial contribution, but the first defect proceeds from inexperience and the latter from poverty and lack of discipline. They exhibited courage, patience, self-respect, orderliness and a sense of justice.

The fierce textile strikes which coincided with the peak of the business boom, and the bitter court trials which followed two of them, set a group of southerners to wondering whether we had not embarked too many hopes in the industrial argosy. Was not the old rural culture, depending upon agriculture, better suited to the needs of the southern people, or, beyond that, perhaps to the needs of all people? Were not the maladjustments of industry too exasperating

to be borne? Manufactures had promised an escape for the South, but did they not simply provide an open door to new and worse troubles?

This view, right ably presented, fell short in knowledge of the past and in forecast of the future. The economic life of the old South was not romantic. It seemed to be so only because the single devotion to agriculture stifled the cries of the disadvantaged and the discontented, whereas industry has, in several ways, made us aware of inequality which all along existed. Factories and the growth of urban centers have brought the workers into close physical association, where they are conscious of each other and the general community is conscious of the labor problem. It is possible to compare the South with national industrial standards. Labor leaders, from within and without the South, can now come at the workers, and stir them to protect themselves.

That the forecast of the agrarians as to industry was mistaken, is, strangely enough, made surer by the business depression. In the first place, farmers are shown to be as badly off as industrial workers, unless we are to contemplate a subsistence agriculture, which has never found favor in the South. In the next place, the distress of industry has turned the public mind powerfully toward projects of socialization. The southern industrial enterpriser, prior to 1929, was largely protected against criticism because he was getting us out of the old mire of agricultural stagnation. His social sway was based upon his economic contribution. But the depression has proved him to be a physician who can not heal himself. If he was pompous, he is now meek. Instead of engaging himself with punishing presumptuous operatives, he is now occupied in sending up pitiable cries to his creditors.

It is certain that henceforth the national government is to exercise a readier control over the human incidence of industry, southern industry with the rest. The Technocrats—who are thrown out of Columbia University more easily than their thesis is eliminated from the national consciousness—have shown that prosperity can never return through application of the maxims of private enterprise.

We have passed the stage where we must occupy ourselves with speculating as to whether individual employers may be brought to do their social duty. We have entered the period of compulsions in accordance with something like a rational industrial plan. When better times emerge, we shall forget many of our high resolves, it is true, but two definite and increasingly important gains will have been realized so far as the South is concerned. These are that the industrial South will continue to be envisaged as a part of the

nation, and that deliberate and collective industrial control will be our permanent policy. Southern industrial leaders will have to conform with those of the remainder of the country. Workers will be given legislative protection transcending anything that weak trade unions have been able to bestow. And the southern region is already becoming a field for elaborate governmental economic enterprise. It is impossible to make the Tennessee valley a ward of the nation, and leave southerners elsewhere to be stepchildren.

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THE COTTON TEXTILE CODE, and codes in other industries which are important in the South, have been inaugurated since the above was written. These codes bear out the forecast made in the last paragraphs of the article. The codes narrow and stabilize or entirely eliminate differentials between northern and southern plants, as to wages, hours of operation, hours of labor; child labor is practically abolished, and the principle and practice of collective bargaining are recognized. These provisions have much more than local significance, for they will allay the desperate competition which has resulted in the abandonment of northern locations and the ruthless exploitation of southern workers.

DEPRESSION AND THE FUTURE OF BUSINESS

BY CLAUDIUS MURCHISON

THE SOUTH IN depression suffered about the same degree of business contraction as did the rest of the country, if its behavior be judged by the usual type of composite index. Certain specialized data support the suggestion of similar reaction, as for example, construction awards, which declined at about the same rate as in the outside area. In pig iron production and in coal mining the same was true, until the end of 1932. For the first quarter of 1933, however, the Birmingham area was producing at a much lower rate than its northern rivals. The decline in car loadings originating in the South was about on a par with the national average.

Taking certain representative southern cities for comparison with analogous cities in other areas, we find that in 1932 business activity as measured by bank debits declined 29 per cent in Birmingham and 36 per cent in Pittsburgh. While Charlotte was suffering a shrinkage of 18 per cent, Fall River was shrinking 25 per cent. While Savannah was declining 21 per cent, Seattle fell 28 per cent. Atlanta's decline was 18 per cent as compared with a decline of 26 per cent in St. Louis. New Orleans declined 20 per cent, while New York declined 27 per cent. Charleston, South Carolina, made partial amends, however, by falling 47 per cent, while Boston declined only 29.

One of the leading forecasting services, comparing bank debits by states, found that from December, 1931, to December, 1932, the sixteen states suffering the worst contractions contained only one southern state, South Carolina.

It is important to note, however, that business recession began in the South a year in advance of the national business curve. Southern activity in 1929 was approximately 10 per cent under that of 1928. Hence declines in the South measured as percentages of the 1929 level are of somewhat more serious significance than the figures indicate.

My purpose in presenting such comparative data is to suggest the probability that the most worth while findings from a study of depression in the South will come from an examination of the social incidence of depression, the effect of depression upon business thought and policy and its bearing upon those parts of the economic situation not usually embraced in the statistics of industry and trade. It is in these respects that the imprints of the depression upon the South will be found to be unique.

To be considered first is the fact that money incomes in the South are chronically lower by approximately one-third than the national average. The disparity applies with deadly accuracy to all relatively unskilled groups—the mill workers, the tenant farmers, the coal miners, the iron and steel workers, the saw mill operatives, school teachers, and clerks. Whether their economic status be judged by money earnings, by bank savings, by building and loan assets, by ownership of automobiles and radios, by family budget exhibits, or by expenditures for books and magazines, all findings converge upon the one conclusion that the bulk of the population is barely above a minimum of subsistence level, even in so-called normal times. In such a community it is likely that a given decline in incomes, over the short run, will work a more generalized havoc than in a community where prosperity means comfortable margins for savings and luxuries.

This likelihood as regards the South approaches certainty by reason of one peculiar characteristic of the economics of that section, namely: that it is designed primarily for the production of goods which are not food-stuffs and which are intended for export to other states and to foreign countries. The South during prosperity and for the first two years of the depression was devoting its agricultural energies almost entirely to money crops, mainly cotton and tobacco. The typical tenant farmer and, indeed, many farm owners, had neither cow nor vegetable garden. His canned goods came from New England, Pennsylvania, or the Pacific Coast, his beef from the Southwest, his bacon and flour from the grain belt, his butter and eggs from Wisconsin, hay for his mules from Kansas or Indiana. Such an arrangement is in accordance with the doctrines of comparative costs and regional specialization and worked beautifully so long as the exchange mechanisms functioned. But when the price of cotton and tobacco toboganned to points below their cost of production, it mattered little to the southern farmer that the farmers in Iowa could grow corn and hogs cheaper than he could. They were unavailable to him at any price. Had southern agriculture grown its own supplies of foodstuffs, so diminishing its

dependence on money economy, the market history of cotton and tobacco might have been unchanged thereby, but the consequences would have been vastly different.

The southern farmer received for his 1931 cotton only 484 million dollars as compared with 1,245 million for the 1929 crop, a reduction of 62 per cent. For the same period wheat declined almost as much, but the shrinkage in the nation's total farm income was only about 42 per cent, the better national showing being attributable to those commodities which are relatively unimportant in the South. Agricultural distress in the South, therefore, has been paralleled only in those states devoted almost exclusively to the growing of wheat. In 1932 the farm income from cotton shrank to the appallingly low figure of 374 million dollars, a decline from 1929 of 70 per cent. By this time, however, the majority of farmers were beginning to learn the importance of providing their own food and feedstuffs and there is good reason to believe that actual destitution on the farms was less general in 1932 than in 1931, despite the lower money incomes.

That the depression struck with especial severity those agricultural states devoted mainly to the growing of money crops is further evidenced by the data of forced farm sales. During the twelve months ending in March, 1932, forced sales of farms on account of tax delinquency, foreclosures and insolvencies in the southern states were 46 per 1,000 farms. The comparable figure for 1927 was 21 per 1,000 farms. In North Carolina forced sales for 1932 were 68.2 per 1,000; in Mississippi they reached the appalling figure of 99.9 per 1,000. Only in the states of the West North Central division—Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas—and in certain of the Rocky Mountain states such as Montana and Idaho, were forced transfers in such huge volume.

Additional light is thrown upon the social and economic incidence of the depression by certain population traits. The southern population is from two-thirds to three-fourths rural and is extraordinarily prolific. Since the agricultural economy upon which this population depends has for the time being reached the limits of its expansion and tends to contract rather than grow, the tendency to greater numbers becomes a factor of instability, a social and economic menace. The southern white population is homogeneous and long established in its environment. Until the world war, it was indeed a rare thing to find an individual, except in mill villages, whose habitat was further than a day's walk from the ancestral homestead. The same is true of the Negro population whose attachment to the familiar and whose desire to abide are even more pronounced.

Such a population does not become migrant within a short time from preference, but only from compulsion. The wholesale disgorging of farm population in the 1920's, therefore, was a forced exodus, a violent eruption of human projectiles toward whatever objective might offer a lodging. South Carolina and Georgia lost approximately 10 per cent of their Negro population, a loss barely off-set by the increase in the number of whites. Only North Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Texas showed appreciable gains in total population.⁴ Within every state, even those whose populations were virtually unchanged, there was a huge movement cityward producing urban growths ranging from 40 to 65 per cent. Against such a bombardment from the unemployed and the dispossessed it is not surprising that the weak citadels of industrial standards were forced to capitulate.

These facts are of especial significance because they are the facts of prosperity. Though accentuated by the depression, they are not consequences of the depression. They are the starting points in ascertaining the depths of the depression incidence. In 1931 and 1932 as the trough of the depression was approached, it became the turn of the towns and the factories to begin the disgorging process. The backward trek to the abandoned farm is now under way, with what results we do not yet exactly know.

The industrial organization of the South, as we shall now see, is for the most part of the type which is inherently eager to take advantage of such a situation by lowering wage scales and lengthening hours out of all proportion to the dictates of their own markets. But in so doing, they of course undermine the public buying power upon which they depend and so eventually stumble into their own pitfalls. No durable prosperity ever has been, or ever will be, based on the doctrine that profits vary inversely with wages.

Two extractive industries of the type here referred to are coal mining and petroleum production whose outputs have been relatively well sustained in physical volume as compared with the behavior of general production. Yet price and wage demoralization in these industries has been more complete than in the iron and steel industry or in the building trades where depression curtailment of volume was far more drastic. The explanation is to be found in the atomic, disjointed character of these industries. Composed as they are of multitudinous competitors, the first sign of market weakness, even if it come from a consumption reduction of only 5 or 10 per cent, is a signal for each competitor to reduce prices, in order to retain accustomed volume, or possibly to increase volume at the expense of rivals. Retaliatory or defensive action on

the part of the others is at once forthcoming and an endless spiral of downward readjustments in price at once gets under way. The ultimate limit, of course, lies in the defensive power of labor against continued wage cuts, or other forms of exploitation. In a region where this defensive power is negligible, as in the South, the results are disastrous to employer and employee alike. Industries such as these under discussion, should be, and eventually will be, bulwarks of stability when depression threatens ; but under the present scheme of things they have been serving as agencies of disintegration. Happily programs of more rational action are now emerging.

The lumbering industry proved far more sensitive to depression than the two just mentioned. By 1932 virtually 90 per cent of its former market had dried up. We can only view with regret the fate of its workers and owners and pass on.

Among the manufacturing industries of the South, the iron and steel industry was most seriously affected. After 1931 the situation went from bad to worse with extraordinary rapidity. For the first quarter of 1932 operations were only about one-third of the 1923-25 average. From then the decline was steady until by the first quarter of 1933 operations were only about 10 per cent of the prosperity average. The resulting wage and employment conditions in the Birmingham area found no relief from alternative occupations, since that section lacks a diversity of industries and has an especially unprofitable agriculture. The Tennessee area was less adversely affected, its industries being much more varied and, in the case of rayon and certain chemical establishments, able to maintain a fairly high level of employment. The agriculture of that state is also far less specialized and on a more self-sufficing basis than that of Alabama.

From the standpoint of stability, the antithesis of the iron industry is the tobacco manufacturing industry. This well organized, integrated industry, under the dominance of the "big four" suffered a decline in consumption of less than twenty per cent and continued to make handsome profits through the worst of the depression. It has been charged, with some truth possibly, that much of this profit was at the expense of the farmer, yet the statistics show that the tobacco farmer has fared better in the market than has the cotton farmer. The major portion of the industry is highly localized, the more important production centres being Durham, Winston-Salem, Reidsville, Richmond, and Tampa. The factories are highly mechanized and employ cheap labor, the majority of whom are women. A fairly large percentage of the employees are Negroes. Wage data are extremely difficult to obtain. That considerable

declines occurred is well known, but they were not so drastic as in the textile industry. In general, the tobacco industry may be regarded as a stabilizing influence in the communities where it operates. During the depression, Winston-Salem and Durham were North Carolina's most stable business centres.

The southern division of the textile industry, like the tobacco industry, has enjoyed relatively good fortune in the maintenance of physical volume. The 1932 consumption of its products was only 20 per cent under that of 1929. But here the parallel stops. In spite of its relatively large volume, the industry experienced the utmost demoralization of prices, wages and employment; with profits virtually non-existent, except in a few isolated cases, and for short periods.

Increased mechanization and the widening use of the so-called "stretch-out systems" served to reduce employment more rapidly than production. Wages declined at a still more rapid pace. A recent study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics reveals that average weekly earnings for all workers in North Carolina, as of March, 1932, were \$11.69; for Alabama, \$10.49; for Georgia, \$10.26; for South Carolina, \$9.06. In many mills, I am told, earnings were running considerably lower than these figures. It was not uncommon for women to receive as low as six and seven dollars a week.

Whether there be depression or prosperity, the industry chronically suffers from violent short time fluctuations in addition to those of a seasonal character. Since 1923, the average amplitude of these fortuitous fluctuations has been about 25 per cent. In a year's period, it is difficult for the labor force as a whole to work more than three-fourths of full time, even in prosperity.

Not only is employment irregular, but at any given time there is amazing variance in employment conditions from one mill to another. While certain mills are operating both day and night, full time, which usually means 55 hours for each shift, there will be other mills running three days and three nights per week; still others may be working only by day; others at the same time may be working only three days per week with no night work; and the remainder may not be working at all. This illustrates the extreme difficulty of gaining a clear picture of textile conditions from a study of averages or of samples.

The industry is composed of a vast number of relatively small, widely scattered units, most of which are locally owned and managed. Some units make only yarn, some make only cloth, some do both; but very few do their own finishing and selling. The greater part of cloth output is sold as "grey goods" through a commission house, the first purchaser usually being a converter who is a specialist

in determining the type of finish which best meets current fashion requirements. The wearer of a cotton dress, checking back over the history of the garment, would discover that the first owner of the materials was a spinning mill; the next owner was a weaving mill which purchased the yarn through a broker; the next owner was a converter who bought the fabric in the grey through a commission merchant and then employed a finisher to do the appropriate dyeing or printing; the next owner, a garment manufacturer who also bought through a commission merchant; then the garment wholesaler; then the retailer—and at last the dress is upon my lady's back.

This long series of ownership changes and fragmentary processing is the chief reason for the industry's inability to adjust production to consumption, except by frequent spasmodic contortions. Each transaction which carries forward the evolving fabric is accomplished in an open market under competitive conditions with buyers and sellers functioning through intermediaries instead of with each other directly. Each individual in that long line of processors and dealers has a speculative eye open for scalping operations.

An expected rise in the price of cotton starts the yarn and cloth markets upward. The desire to get in on the movement early produces a perfect avalanche of orders. Mills work frenziedly, converters fill their warehouses, jobbers and garments manufacturers pack their store rooms; chain stores, mail order houses and buying syndicates crowd their shelves; the tire manufacturers, the sugar refiners, the upholsterers, all do the same thing; and when finally stocks are bulging out of the windows, despite the frequency of the happening, there is always surprise that consumption hasn't kept up. On such occasions which are almost annual, the textile industry like the racing rabbit must sit down for a nap while the tortoise of consumption catches up.

If the current tendency is one of deflation, the eager anxiety of each component processor, or dealer, to get rid of his inventory, or make the other fellow carry it for him, produces just the opposite situation. Mill orders for a time must decline much more than consumption, and likewise operations, unless the mills choose the dangerous alternative of manufacturing to stock.

The disjointed character of the industry also means awkward and ill-proportioned adaptation to the changing character of consumption as distinct from volume. A few years ago style changes were slow and affected but a small proportion of textile output. Today they affect virtually every type of fabric in all areas with lightning like speed. Caught thus between two types of forces—

changing prices, which usually begin in the raw cotton market, and changing composition of demand—the typical mill is in a chronic state of jitters.

It is not difficult to visualize the proprietor-treasurer of a typical grey goods mill sitting at his desk in depression times listening to the clatter of his looms, every clatter representing another yard added to his already over-stocked inventory, figuring the extent of last month's deficit and wondering why he heard nothing from that New York commission house. Finally the telephone rings and the long awaited voice of the one who stands between him and economic ruin mumbles the news that a prospective client has been nibbling, but just now is talking with another house which, according to rumor, is preparing to shade quotations. "Can you stand another cut of a half cent per yard on that number? The market isn't so strong today."

What can the treasurer of a little mill down in North Carolina do when the voice from Worth Street has thus spoken and when every whack of the looms adds to his deficit and to his inventory and the market is weak today? A price cut so induced means a wage reduction. Shortly, other mills hearing of the cut, are forced to do likewise and the circulatory process is repeated over and over again. Labor pays through the nose, management gets no profit, deflation gets another fillip. Thus it is that in a blind, impersonal, but altogether logical way, the multitudinous rivals press each other down into the muck. Starvation of workers, heavy losses for management, merely because yardage has declined twenty per cent.

There is a doctrine abroad, and it comes from highly respectable sources, which advocates a speedy and widely diffused downward readjustment of everything as the best procedure for meeting depression. If some prices are high while others are low and some wages are sustained while others fall, the fault is with those that stay up. Such a doctrine is fallacious in theory because a proportionate downward readjustment of all values would still leave pre-existing ratios as they were, and so everybody relatively would be where he started from. In practice, it is not only fallacious, but utterly vicious, in that presumably corrective actions once started put in motion an unending sequence of reactions which find no stopping place short of disintegration. So-called downward readjustment should be confined to the correction of obvious abuses and elsewhere the utmost resistance should be opposed to it. From the first year of the depression the greatest enemy of recovery was the prevailing defeatist attitude that things "must run their course," that somewhere in the downward plunge a "natural bottom" would be reached.

Subsequent events have shown that the natural bottom was another name for economic and social degradation.

There are defenses against the extreme manifestations of depression and from time to time more will be devised as they are needed.

The Cotton Textile Institute, since its establishment in 1926, has done its utmost to persuade the industry to accept scientific methods of production control, of cost determination and marketing procedure. Its ideas were acceptable to 80 per cent of the industry, but a recalcitrant 20 per cent greatly reduced the effectiveness of the endeavor. The plan, therefore, obviously needs reinforcement in the form of government regulation of hours. Such regulation needs to be of wider scope than that which can be imposed by individual states. Co-operative regulation by a group of states with similar industries, as has been urged for the South by the Southern Committee of the National Consumers League, would be the next best alternative. It is my belief that in the present emergency the great majority of mill men, for the first time in history, would welcome Federal regulation of hours, provided it was somewhat less drastic than that contemplated in the Black Bill.

The textile industry needs in addition the stabilizing influence which would be supplied by a greater integration of the industry. Its convulsive reactions to speculative opportunity, or to vague fears, can not be effectively checked until the long series of independent processors and dealers has been shortened. The movement toward further integration is already under way and should be encouraged to the utmost.

An improvement of fundamental importance is promised to the coal industry by the recent Supreme Court decision in the Appalachian Coals case. The co-operative action in marketing which this decision allows has long been needed and will no doubt effectually preclude a repetition of the utter demoralization which has made the coal fields one of the ulcerous spots in our economic system. That this decision may also lead to desirable collective action in the marketing of textile products and lumber is to be expected.

The petroleum industry, forced into reasonably intelligent action both by martial and economic law, shows signs of recovering from the morass of depression through a form of co-operative procedure which promises to be lasting in character. Unless this promise is fulfilled, the intervention of the government to the end of more rational production policies seems certain.¹

¹ Since the preparation of this article the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act has imposed upon the industries here discussed a speedier adoption of reform measures than the author anticipated.

But the premier problem of the South in its search for greater resistance to depression is concerned with its agriculture and its agricultural population. So long as an unprofitable, commercialized type of farming persists, so long will the farms continue to spew forth their unusable excess workers to besiege the factories for jobs at any price. The labor supply is too great to be taken care of by the single device of restriction of factory working hours. It is hardly likely that the resumption of southern industrial expansion after the depression will be rapid enough to assure a satisfactory reduction of the labor surplus.

The only answer seems to be that southern agriculture must be made to provide an ever increasing number of livelihoods. This can be accomplished only by changing the southern concept of farming. In the first place, tenancy must be greatly diminished, if the incentive to money crops is to be eliminated. Bringing about a wider diffusion of farm ownership will be difficult ; but there will be further difficulty in procuring universal acceptance of self-sufficing, non-commercialized farming. It will need the aid of whatever government legislation may seem practicable ; but more than that, it must have the support of educational agencies and the press. Public spirited organizations such as the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the Southeastern Economic Council must hammer on the idea incessantly. The banks must co-operate by policies of credit extension only to those agriculturists who conform to the self-sustaining program. The plan contemplates that farming should cease to be a hazardous business enterprise and become a mode of life. The farm house instead of being a desolate structure in the midst of cotton and tobacco fields, must become a home which is the centre of a rather complete economy—orchards, vegetable gardens, food crops, live stock and poultry. It will possess its own cannery, smoke-house and storage bins. In such wise the South may provide for many additional millions and, at the same time, raise the level of well-being for those who labor in its factories.

II

WHILE SOUTHERN industries have grown rapidly in the last few decades and now bulk gigantically, representing achievement which is inferior to none of like type, yet they stand far apart and isolated like towering pinnacles virtually unbuttressed by allied or complementary industries. The South awaits a host of specialty enterprises before she may be said to possess a well rounded economy. Their coming must be sequential rather than simultaneous, so that there is no cause for impatience in the matter.

But in the meantime their absence leaves the South with the worst form of economic disadvantage, that is of having to exchange a few bulky staple products for the myriads of highly manufactured specialty goods which she must consume. It is a relationship with the outside world which breeds three great evils : a chronic underpricing of the things sold ; a condition of extreme instability, since the most extreme reactions to the forces of the business cycle are centered in the markets for staples ; and, finally, a lack of alternative occupations at home, which intensifies the problems of unemployment and wages.

With respect to the first of these evils, the major portion of southern exports still consists of commodities which are either crude or semi-manufactured : petroleum, cotton, lumber and naval stores, coal, phosphates, tobacco, and fruits. Petroleum has verged on over-production for five years and has enjoyed fair prosperity only because of the phenomenal increase in the use of internal combustion engines. Now that the curve of growth in automobile registrations is flattening out, drastic measures of control will be necessary to prevent a real crisis. In the case of cotton, the sorry plight of the farmer is an old story. In the old cotton belt, cotton culture has become economic tragedy, the areas of prosperity now being confined to the new lands of the Southwest. As the gradually sinking average of cotton prices has crushed the farmer, the wild gyrations in the short-time movements of cotton prices have likewise played havoc with the prosperity of the mills. The same story is to be told of the naval stores producers who for some years have witnessed a relentless narrowing of the margin between costs and prices. The bituminous coal area has not paid expenses since the cessation of the great British coal strike. Lumber has been chronically depressed since the 1920 deflation, despite the greatest building boom the country has ever known, although here the difficulty is largely one of organization within the industry.

As a result of this accumulation of regressive developments, the course of business activity in the South was dragged below the line of normal growth in 1926 ; and there it has remained, although the rest of the country enjoyed phenomenal prosperity until the summer of 1929. In displaying this behavior, the South has classified itself with other areas the world over which have depended largely on the production and export of raw materials, areas such as Brazil with its coffee, Cuba with its sugar, Australia with its wool, the Argentine with its grain and cattle, Malaya with its rubber. These have consistently paid tribute to the sections whose industries are integrated, varied and highly mechanistic.

Regardless of the course of long-time tendencies, the business world continually has to cope with what have come to be known as cyclical fluctuations, ever ranging from boom to crisis and back again. Cyclical forces, if distributed over diverse activities, tend to lose step and so neutralize each other to a certain extent. Except in the most violent instances of readjustment, such as those which follow intense inflation, there are always some industries to escape serious injury. The best protection therefore against the extremes of cyclical behavior is diversification. It not only protects from the standpoint of a maintained trade volume, it also protects from a too intense localization of depression. And in accomplishing this, it minimizes as nothing else can the cruel consequences of unemployment in particular industries. Even from the management point of view the sole dependence of the community upon one industry is not a desirable thing. In the South probably the greatest single obstacle to speedy readjustment in the textile industry is the fact that entire communities are dependent upon the local mills for meat and bread. However desirable curtailment may appear at a particular time to correct an overloaded market, one dreads to take the step when it means unleashing the wolves of starvation.

The imagination shrinks from any such undertaking as suggesting the innumerable possibilities for industrial diversification in the South. To mention just a few of the more conspicuous gaps in the economic structure: there is first, the almost complete absence of machinery manufacture. The South, having attained predominance in textiles, still buys 90 per cent of its machinery from New England. Neither does it produce its share of agricultural implements, and it makes practically no attempt at the manufacture of precision tools of any variety.

In garment manufacturing the deficiency is equally pronounced. Credit must be given for efforts in this direction in the city of Atlanta, but with the exception of a fair amount of work clothing, the garments of the South are supplied almost entirely from the outside. The manufacture of food products is still in its infancy. There are almost no canneries; only in certain areas have dairying and poultry raising been attempted on any other than a purely local basis; and meat packing is in the deep South negligible, despite the enormous land areas available for cattle raising.

But probably more eloquent than any of these of the scantiness in variety of southern enterprise is the failure of any of the long list of modern inventions and their products to hail from the South. It is the age of electricity; yet the South with its vast power possibilities, its coal and its iron, has not shared in the industrial im-

pulses which have come from the wide application of electricity, except as consumer on the payment of the price. It produces no dynamos, no artificial refrigerators, no radios, fireless cookers, percolators, or vacuum cleaners. It provides no telephone or telegraph equipment. It has not invaded perceptibly the field of jewelry manufacture ; it has not ventured into the making of safety razors ; it has refrained from compounding soaps and cosmetics on any important scale, and boasts of no nationally known tooth paste. It has done well with ceramics, yet with the exception of a few recently revived hand-crafts, it is a stranger to the fabrication of *objets d'art*. It buys its footballs and its tennis rackets from other areas. It looks to the North and the West for most of its composition roofing, its hardware, and its glass.

In short, that numerous and varied class of goods which are associated more or less with the amenities of life and which are tremendously important in the aggregate, despite their relative insignificance taken singly, does not find origin in the South. Something has been lacking, whether resourcefulness, ingenuity, technical skill, aggressiveness in salesmanship, adequate financing, or irresponsiveness of local markets. Whatever it is, there is no reason to believe that the characteristics which constitute the deficiency are fundamental. They have probably been engendered by nothing more than preoccupation with a different type of economy. Given the material bases for a changed economy as we have them in the South the only limiting factor to retard the inevitable transition is the element of time. This presumption does not lack for convincing support in the events of the past decade. Within this period, the manufacture of rayon in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee has grown from minute proportions to a position of national leadership.

As indicated in the preceding chapter, the manufacture of paper and wood pulp on an enormous scale is a development of the past decade ; and the great expansion in the variety of chemical manufacture has come in the same period. An industry of imposing magnitude has sprung from the utilization of sugar cane fibre in the manufacture of insulating materials. In the Alabama area the manufacture of freight and refrigerator cars has begun. The production of tire fabric has grown apace in Georgia and Alabama, accompanied by an appreciable output of completed tires, and beginnings have been made toward the production of asphalt roofing. In Tennessee a nationally known corporation has erected a plant for the manufacture of automobile bodies.

Perhaps more reassuring than developments of this character is

the progress made by the older industries toward greater refinement of products. In this respect the record of the textile industry is truly remarkable. A decade ago, the South was thought qualified only for the production of coarser fabrics. Today the South is not only weaving in large volume fabrics of the finest quality, but is rapidly taking away from New England its virtual monopoly of the finishing processes.

Progress of a similar type has been made by the furniture industry, whose product in quality, variety and beauty of design far outstrips that of a decade ago. Epochal changes have been wrought in the character of the southern division of the iron and steel industry. Equipment has been thoroughly modernized, and gains made in quality and diversification of products, which compare favorably with the Pittsburgh division. The South is giving evidence of the greater skill which comes from experience.

Much of the recent growth in new undertakings is due to the influx of outside capital and management. All of the larger rayon plants of the South are financed and directed by outside interests. The greater part of the tire and tire fabric business is subsidiary to the Goodyear and Goodrich rubber companies. The new paper developments are largely the property of the International Paper Company and other outside companies. There have recently come into the South plants controlled primarily by the Eastman Kodak Company of Rochester, the Corning Glass Works of New York, the American Printing Company of Fall River, the Aluminum Company of America, the United States Steel Corporation, and the Continental Can Company. Also a great number of southern textile plants have been purchased, or constructed in recent years by eastern capital.

The southward movement of outside capital is just now particularly significant, not so much on account of its magnitude as compared with the flow of local resources, but because of its penetration into enterprises which are either new or comparatively undeveloped. It is only through the continuous acquisition of that which is new, that the South can hope to enjoy indefinite expansion economically, and at the same time attain business stability and a wider distribution of material well-being.

Perhaps in no section of the country is there displayed so insistent an eagerness for the influx of foreign capital. The various cities of the South through their respective chambers of commerce have not hesitated to resort to high-powered salesmanship tactics. Nationwide advertising in trade journals and popular magazines is supplemented in many cases by elaborate brochures to make known

the business advantages of particular communities. This form of publicity has been vigorously supported by the railroads and the power companies. Special inducements in the form of tax modifications are sometimes offered by the municipalities. Many city governments have also at the public expense financed business "surveys" executed by experts in the hope that the information thus revealed would lead to additional enterprises. The South is no longer hostile or indifferent to the opulent Yankee. She calls for him, greets him effusively, places at his disposal every possible facility to aid him in the prosecution of his business.

Not less important than the breaking down of certain psychological barriers is the rapid dissolution of the more tangible barrier of distance. Ten years ago good roads were practically non-existent in any portion of the South. Rural and inter-urban use of motor trucks on any large scale was impossible. Likewise the difficulties of local travel caused the population to be rooted to small communities so far as its routine economic activities were concerned. Hence retail trading areas were of necessity narrowly restricted. For the same reason industry suffered in many cases from inaccessibility of raw materials, and food stuffs which should have been available for urban populations were appallingly wasted.

From these handicaps the South has gained almost complete emancipation since 1923. A closely meshed network of good roads covers every important area, and the program of road extension and improvement proceeds apace, adequately financed in most cases by gasoline taxes which average higher in the South than in any other section. Daily truck deliveries from wholesaler to retailer over distances as long as 150 miles are now not uncommon—a form of transportation which achieves greater promptness and regularity in commodity movements and at the same time connects with the channels of trade a vast hinterland consisting of the numerous sections which a decade ago were in virtual isolation.

One of the most pervasive of the recently added factors favorable to southern industrial growth is the wide availability of electric power as supplied by the public utility power companies. It is estimated that since 1914 approximately two and one-half billion dollars have been spent in southern power developments. Into the various plants has gone the best in design and equipment that modern engineering has to offer, and a particularly high grade of competence has been displayed in the organization of interconnecting power systems of the giant type. The rate of growth in power production has been more rapid than in any other area. North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia possess outstanding

advantage as regards water power, with Louisiana and Texas possessing a counterbalancing advantage from the abundance of cheap fuel in the form of petroleum and natural gas. Southern rates as an average are said to be materially lower than for any other of the regional areas except the Pacific coast.

From the ease with which southern road financing has been accomplished by the public treasuries, and with which public utility financing has been accomplished by private means it would seem that the South is not wanting in the matter of capital resources. Yet such a deduction would require qualification. Large bond issuances for public improvements have almost invariably been floated through the New York banks. Power developments have likewise drawn funds from the national reservoir to supplement those of local origin. Many of the large new enterprises, as we have seen, are fostered by outside interests, and not a few of the largest units of native origin and control maintain metropolitan bank connections. It is clear that the more obvious economic opportunities of the South will not have to await the application of local capital. Their exploitation is assured.

Yet if the material well-being of the South is to approach the national average its industrial fabric must be fashioned of something more than the obvious. It must be closely woven of innumerable threads. Their interlacing into the patterns and designs of the modern industrial state *par excellence* is an intricate and intimate process, and cannot be successfully accomplished by long distance methods either in spirit or substance. The southerner need not primarily be concerned about the things that are big and spectacular. These latter will be swept into full fruition by nation-wide forces which, if necessary, will proceed without him. But it is otherwise with the things that constitute what we might term the filler, the weft of the fabric, as distinguished from the warp. Toward this task there must be conscious direction of promotion and research.

The question is pertinent whether the South can accumulate the desired volume of investment capital and whether it has the facilities for its proper guidance. The obstacles in the way are not merely matters of financial mechanisms. They spring partly from ingrained customs as to the use of surplus funds. In the days when the South looked mainly to agricultural origins for its loanable funds, the placing of investments was a highly personal matter. The lender, if particularly opulent, might do a more or less regular business of lending on mortgage security and at high rates to needy local residents. A more customary procedure was to make use of excess funds in land speculation. Security trading was virtually unknown.

A third alternative, and one that was important in certain communities, was to participate in some business venture promoted by local interests personally known and trusted by the lender, which might, or might not, take the form of stock ownership. This latter type of financing was almost exclusively resorted to in the establishment of the textile mills, and accounts for the widely scattered atomistic character of that industry. With lenders reluctant to go beyond community borders, enterprisers in most cases were held within similar limits for the funds necessary to the financing of new business.

A psychological limitation of this type, coupled with the physical limitation imposed by the absence of large cities, not only assured that the typical business enterprise of the South would be small, but in reducing the number of alternative opportunities open to the lender, it also heightened the degree of his risk. Under such circumstances, the percentage of business failures would naturally be higher than where a wider range of choices was available. An even more serious leakage of southern capital is due to the wide tendency, now quiescent, to speculate in land. The South lost heavily, as did the Middle West, from this cause in the 1921 débâcle, but came back, eager for more punishment of the same type when the Florida land boom of 1923 and 1924 created a fever of land speculation which extended as far north as the Asheville area. Of all forms of unwise speculation this is probably the most destructive. Practically none of the capital diverted thereto can be salvaged. It would probably be ultra-conservative to say that of the enormous funds which the South utilized in this fashion in the years from 1923 to 1927, more than 90 per cent is still beyond recovery. Real land values have also suffered heavily from the recently pronounced diminution of agricultural profits.

The capital situation in the South has been further aggravated by too great a fixation of loanable funds for consumption purposes. Landlords, merchants, cotton factors, turpentine factors, fertilizer companies, are forced to keep a large proportion of their assets in the form of long time loans. Hence, credit for consumption and working capital does not have the same fluidity in the South as in the East and North, which means that it assumes the form of investment credit without its purpose. A shortening of the average interval between expenditure and settlement in the South would therefore release large funds for more constructive uses.

As one might surmise from what has already been said, institutions for the promotion of thrift have not flourished in the South. Simon-pure savings banks are practically unknown. Savings depart-

ments in commercial banks are common, but only in the pay-roll centers are they active in their search for depositors. According to the last report of the Comptroller of the Currency, per capita savings in the South were \$57 as compared with a national average of \$204. The total number of savings depositors in the South, as evidenced by pass books and time certificates of deposit, was, for the sixteen states, 2,300,000 as compared with 15,400,000 for the country as a whole.

The comparative exhibit of building and loan associations is scarcely more complimentary, the sixteen southern states having total assets in this classification of \$1,300,000,000 as against the country's total of eight billions. In the national ranking the states of Maryland, Louisiana, and Missouri stand 10th, 11th, and 12th respectively, Oklahoma comes 16th, Texas, Kentucky and North Carolina 19th, 20th, and 21st.

The most energetic and successful of the southern thrift institutions are the insurance companies. Southern life insurance companies have total insurance in force of over eight billion dollars and are writing annually about \$2,900,000,000 of new business, whereas the total of new business by all insurance companies in the South was in 1928 only about \$4,600,000,000. Funds accumulated by its insurance companies are coming to be one of the most fertile sources of capital for the South. Aggregate investments of insurance companies in the South are said to approximate already something like three billion dollars.

With 29 per cent of the national banks, the South has 19 per cent of the national bank resources; with 39 per cent of all state commercial banks it has 22 per cent of the aggregate state bank resources—figures clearly indicative of the smallness of the average southern bank. The total of individual deposits in all banks in 1929 was 53½ billions approximately; for the South the corresponding total was about 7½ billions. That the South is relatively more strained to meet its fixed capital requirements than most other areas is further revealed by the investment holdings of southern banks as compared with their direct loans and discounts. In the South, bank investments bear a ratio to direct loans which is only about one-half the corresponding ratio for all banks in the United States. This gives additional statistical support to the implication previously drawn, that too much of the South's lending power is being utilized by non-fluid loans which are either of the consumption variety, or closely allied thereto.

During the past decade, bank failures in the South have occurred at a rate so appalling as to be exceeded only by the states in the

grain belt. In Florida there were 190 failures, or 71 per cent of the total number of banks in existence in that state in 1920; in South Carolina 49 per cent of the banks failed; in North Carolina 20 per cent; in Texas 19 per cent; in Louisiana and Tennessee 12 per cent. These figures lose much of their distinction, when we note that in the same period South Dakota had a failure percentage of 56; Montana of 47; Minnesota of 27; Oregon of 15. But in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Jersey the failures averaged less than 2 per cent.

At the door of the Florida land boom may be laid the major blame for the South's priority in bank failures, although it was abetted by the general agricultural depression. Despite the acute financial weakness which followed this holocaust of failures, one does not need to be an unreasoning optimist to see some tangible gains from the experience. It has meant, for one thing, the elimination of hundreds of managements which have no business in the banking field. It has given tremendous impetus to the professionalization movement in banking. It has at the same time stimulated consolidations and laid the groundwork for a more rapid growth of branch banking. There is no intention here to imply that unit banks should or will be displaced by branch bank systems. In the larger cities the former type will continue to thrive without disadvantage in those cases where management is efficient. But in the many smaller cities and towns, capably managed branch systems are essential, not only for the provision of sound management, but in order to marshal the resources which are necessary to the financing of the modern large-scale business units. In North Carolina this principle has been accepted without question, and it is gathering rapid headway in such states as Louisiana, Georgia, Maryland, South Carolina and Tennessee. In those states where branch systems are prohibited by law, as for example Texas, Arkansas and Florida, the less desirable chain systems are taking root.

Nowhere in the South have banks and the larger business interests been welded into so close a union as is familiar in the eastern and north central states. There are but few financial institutions whose influence, financial or otherwise, extends beyond the community or the local enterprises. The South still awaits from its banks the dynamic power of which they are capable and which they may in the near future come to exercise.

In any grouping of the fundamental characteristics of the southern business scene, an important place must be given to the business man with his distinctive attitudes and philosophy. Thinking

of southerners in the mass as consumers, we have represented them as being distinctive only in the sense of reflecting the character of their environment. Remove the economic limitations to which they have been subject and the distinctions, however closely integrated to the pre-existing economic mould, at once become highly vulnerable to forces of change.

But the southern business man is something more than merely conformative. At times he is highly dynamic. He may always be counted on to be either a hastening or a retarding influence. As a class he is apart, extremely self-conscious, and at least for short periods definitely self-controlling. In southern civilization he is for the moment the man of destiny, more achieving, more respected and more followed than preacher, politician, teacher, journalist, lawyer, or technician. In the rising machine order he will build the foundations upon which all these others will stand and function. Not that he knows better than any one else what sort of structure will eventually materialize. But he has from day to day the power of selection and he will exercise it in accordance with a certain deep-rooted philosophy. He may not be aware of possessing it as a formal doctrine, but nevertheless he will not be stampeded into relinquishing it.

It is not necessary to go back to the Civil War or to Reconstruction to find the influences which shape his behavior and notions. Of the present generation of southern business men, the older and still dominant members were bred for the most part in a rural community or in a hamlet, any roof of which afforded a view of where the houses ended and the cotton rows began. He knew all the members of his community, and he usually was on a basis of personal friendship with the leading business men of the nearest city of any size. His business affairs were comparatively simple, or, if they were not, he was usually none the wiser. He had no business schools to inform him of the structure of corporate organization and the procedure of personnel management; no daily trade journals to reveal the status of the markets; no connections with strangers in distant areas who might acquaint him with complicated techniques. He merely knew that in the outside world there were factories creating wealth and power and cities and payrolls from the same materials that lay outside his own door and everything in his philosophy and his environment challenged him toward similar undertakings. With the courage that is distinctive of all pioneers he attacked the distrust of the small encircling group which must supply the meager capital; he searched out and won the support of those who provided machinery; he wheeled the engineers

into action ; he gained the interest of bankers ; he solved the mysteries of the markets, and learned the mechanisms of administration.

He spent his days arguing with unconvinced backers or conferring with technicians, or puzzling over strange formulas, or pondering unfamiliar price movements ; he lay awake by night thrilling to exorbitant hope or harassed by fear. He learned what it was like to be victimized and what it meant to bungle.

Finally there stood before him the incarnation of his dreams. For the first time, he saw a spindle and at the same moment became master of 50,000 of them. Or perhaps it was not a cotton mill at all, but a manufactory of cigarettes or of furniture or fertilizer, mayhap a gaping quarry where once was a landscape of futile boulders, or an oil gusher where before was desert sand, or a gigantic power dam where an unharnessed river had squandered itself for a million years. Not much of skill in the achievement, but sublime courage.

He became a dispenser of work to hungry recipients who came clamoring from the hovels of cove and cotton field. He provided the community with a pay roll. He saw a village spring up and thrive. He brought a new economic life of money and machinery to replace barter and the hoe ; food and society to replace hunger and isolation.

If for him there was a big house on the hill, a command over the amenities of life, a new prestige for his family—that was a just and natural reward, and moreover was incidental. The big thing was his achievement and he performed it in accordance with his religion, his philosophy, and his society.

Although the genesis of the southern business man made him an intense individualist with a fixed thought pattern, he is himself actively destroying the foundations of his own individualism and rapidly investing himself with a new logic. Before the war the chief ingredient of success was individual initiative. What with the cheapness of materials and labor, given a fair amount of capital, there was no problem whose solution required more than the application of energy and courage. Since the war, and particularly since 1923, this type of procedure no longer succeeds. In textiles, in oil, in lumber, in mining, in naval stores, in all of our complicated manufacturing and trading enterprises, the markets no longer take uncomplainingly all that is offered. For the first time the miasma of overproduction refuses to be dissipated. Individual enterprise can not fight it. The business man singly is helpless. To be sure there are amelioratives, a cessation of waste here, an application of the new efficiency there, but these possess advantage only

so long as they are the property of the minority. In the main the southern business man is being pushed into group action. He is being compelled to turn collectivist. He is now being forced to keep step with his fellows in the ranks of trade associations; to participate in group effort at production control and in co-operative selling policies; to affiliate actively with industrial "institutes," and join hands with competitors in the fostering of regional economic conferences. He subscribes to membership in Kiwanis clubs, chambers of commerce and merchants' associations. He acknowledges that the problems of individual enterprise can not be dissociated from the problems of the industry to which it belongs; and that the success of an entire industry in turn is inseparable from phenomena which are nation wide in scope.

The old notions of the individual employer-employee relationship are being supplemented by the concept of capital and labor. The old doctrines of personal responsibility are being softened by the acceptance of the principles of workmen's compensation. Allegiance to the gospel of freedom of contract is being qualified by constructive co-operative action in the limitation of hours, in the restriction of night work, in the diminishing employment of women and children. There is a new flexibility of mind which is more receptive to human values, but which at the same time will be more resourceful in its business methods and its business products. If it seems slow in its evolution, it is because all economic and social change which involves a change in thought patterns seems slow when currently viewed. We need but to look backward twenty years to gain the feeling of breathless speed.

ALSO THERE IS POLITICS

BY GEORGE FORT MILTON

IN THE HALCYON DAYS at the turn of the century, there was a saying that in three things, and three alone, did the South unreservedly put her faith : in Hell, calomel and the Democratic party. No such aphorism could be coined of the modern South. It is not only that many years have elapsed since the statement might have been true ; not infrequently the passing years merely operate to add gossamer to ancient ghosts. But southerners of today live in a different world. Regardless of the highly advertised Daytonian gyrations, southern belief in a hereafter of fire and brimstone is a bit outmoded, new medicaments are rivalling calomel, and within the decade the Democratic party once descended from its whilom high estate.

Thus one can not consider the recent record of politics below the Potomac without being struck by the inappropriateness of that sloppy phrase, "the solid South." In all but the last of the four presidential elections since the Armistice, one notes, some southern electoral votes have gone to Republican nominees. During the 'twenties there was a significant increase in the Republican presidential vote percentage throughout the region. Even 1932's reversal of this statistical trend does not lessen the need for inquiry into the whys and wherefores of this drift.

I

SOCIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY, we are confronted with a changing and, one hopes, an advancing South, and inevitably the shifting social and economic patterns of southern life have their political repercussions. Even the casually observant can discern that southern politics is beginning to lose that musty odor of traditions faintly scented with lavender and old rose, of ancient shibboleth and Confederate battle cry, which so long benumbed realistic consideration of Dixie's basic problems.

As found in the South today, the Democratic party seems the

fruit of a curious cross-fertilization of soundly-based economic attachment, of lingering tradition and regional heritage, pollenized by the practical politician, ever zealous to bear aloft that party banner which wins elections and safeguards jobs.

The statistics of the rate of increase of manufacture in the various states shows the South's startling industrial growth. None the less, it would be a mistake to conclude that the section is now or will soon be dominantly industrial. At the present time, probably from two-thirds to three-fourths of the southern workers wrest their living from the soil. Consequently, the greatest immediate need of the greatest part of the southern people is a profitable and stable agronomy. Thus there exists a sound and honest relation between the tradition-born policies of the southern Democratic party of fifty years ago and today's economic realities of a great agricultural kingdom where cotton may no longer be monarch, but continues to receive obeisance.

A further reason for the lingering Democratic hold upon the South is to be found in the universal zeal of politicians to cling to those party labels which win elections. The particular political attachment of the politician for revenue only is chiefly a matter of geographical chance. Just as "practical" politicians in many northern states cling to the Republican party name as the surest sesame to the public till, southern machine politicians mouth vaguely of Jefferson and Jackson, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, yes, and of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his "New Deal"—without real admiration for their careers or agreement with their philosophies of life. When one totals up the number of place-men thus sheltered under southern governments, one can better understand the force of patronage-animated party fealty.

Beyond this fathoming of sound economic attachment, and beyond this lure of public office, the South's Democracy is bravely sustained by ghosts. Although the roll of "Unreconstructed Rebels" is fast shrinking, the shadows of Reconstruction yet linger large in southern politics, the fetid airs of Chamberlain and Pinchback, of Kellogg and Moses, coloring southern politics to the present day. More than war, Reconstruction brought bitterness to the southern heart; and the Radicals, motley band that they were of mad-cap idealists and bitter partisans, sowed the wind, for the South and the nation since to reap the whirlwind of passion and prejudice, of cankered politics and deep-rooted, resentful memories.

Much as moderns may lament its present flower, the South's one-party system was the fruit of the grim necessity of Reconstruction. The remnants of "old-line" Whigs, Native Americans, Know-

Nothings were compelled to disregard their feuds with pre-war Democrats, accept the latter's label, and unite to fight the foe. Otherwise Carpetbagger and Scalawag would have continued their freebooting carnival.

Initially the means for the redemption of a prostrate people, this one-party government has become a curse upon the nation as well as upon the South. The Sumners, Stevens, and Ben Butlers have much to answer for, and not the least of their responsibilities is that for their share in the creation of that incubus of modern Democracy—the solid South.

II

AT THAT, ONE can not fail to wonder if the significance of the phrase is not as much historical as actual. The results of the 1928 election did much damage to the legend. Any election in which a Republican presidential nominee can secure the electoral votes of eleven southern and border states lends a tentativeness to the merit of the label of "The Solid South." Nor is judgment markedly vitiated by 1932's universal return to Democratic normalcy because for Texas to go Republican in 1928 is quite as extraordinary, as politically revolutionary, as for Iowa and California four years later to desert the G. O. P.

And yet, judged from the cold figures of the election tables, even in pre-Hoover years the southern states seem much more elastic than what may well be termed the solid North. From the standpoint of percentages of votes cast in 1920 and 1924, for candidates of the unsuccessful parties in the states affected, the solid South was a quivering mass of political jelly compared to the solid North.

Consider 1920. In Alabama, for example, the Harding vote of 74,690 was over 45 per cent of the Cox total. In Arkansas, over 71,000 ballots were cast for Harding, and a change of 18,146 votes in that state would have given its electoral strength to the G. O. P. The Florida Republican vote of 44,853 portended the growth of a healthy minority party. Harding carried the city of Atlanta, and received more than 45,000 Georgia votes. In North Carolina, the Harding tally totalled 232,848, a vote so large that, had 36,500 voters shifted from the Democratic to the Republican electors, Harding would have carried the state. In both Oklahoma and Tennessee, the Republican electoral tickets won.

The results of 1924 were similarly significant. In that year, the Coolidge vote of 1,547,422 in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia was sub-

stantially more than half of the 2,463,468 Democratic total. Coolidge carried Kentucky and West Virginia; in Tennessee he received more than 80 per cent of the Davis figure; in North Carolina, over 70 per cent, and in Virginia better than half.

When one contrasts such southern Republican vote percentages with Democratic percentages in the solid North in years from 1896 to 1924, one begins to suspect that the North is politically more rigid than the South. Davis received considerably less than half as many votes as did Coolidge in New England in 1924. In the next tier of northern states, the Coolidge vote ran about two and one-half times the Davis vote. In Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, the Republican total was more than twice the Democratic. In Michigan it was six to one, in Wisconsin five to one, in Pennsylvania more than three to one, in Ohio and Illinois almost three to one. In New York, the Coolidge vote was 80 per cent more than that cast for the Madison Square nominee. In the light of these facts, the solid South would seem almost an out-moded myth.

III

SUCH FIGURES BEAR testimony as to the existence of a strong and vigorous non-Democratic vote throughout the South. Thereupon the question naturally arises as to why, under such circumstances, the southern Republican party does not assume a more commanding political rôle.

In the fall of 1928, when he was presidential candidate, Herbert Hoover seemed to understand that a main reason for Republican debility in the South was the vicious use of federal patronage for the profit and perpetuation of the Republican office-holding shell which has so long dominated the southern G. O. P.

At Elizabethton, Candidate Hoover pledged his determination to effect a change in these conditions. "I believe . . . that appointive offices must be filled," he said, "by those who deserve the confidence and respect of the communities they serve." As Mr. Hoover must have known, the rigorous application of any such principle would have dealt a death-blow to most of the existing southern Republican machines. But the death-blow was never dealt.

The truth is that most of the South's so-called Republican leaders, despite such important party titles as national committeemen and state chairmen, and despite the promise of the elections of 1920, 1924 and 1928 seem not to wish a strong, virile opposition party in the South. The very existence of a Republican party which would occasionally elect Senators, Governors, and Congressmen, with

their resultant "rights" to a controlling voice in appointments, would interfere with the bosses' customary dispensation of federal jobs, a profitable perquisite. Thus the southern Republican bosses generally prefer and seek to secure local Democratic success. This result they usually assure through unofficial alliances with Democratic machines, through failure to put nominees in the field against the Democrats, by sending forth candidates so ludicrously weak that independent Democrats could not possibly vote for them and by making Republican campaigns mere sham-battles.

By and large, the practice and policy of the southern Republican leadership has made it plain that it much prefers postoffice patronage to party growth. In consequence, the chief usefulness of G. O. P. office-holders in the South has been to insure the dispatch of administration delegates to Republican National Conventions. Conversely, the chief care of the Republican administrations toward the Republican organization in the South seems heretofore to have been to assure the efficiency of these self-perpetuating patronage-sustained machines.

Details of federal patronage barter in many states of the South have been given before committees of Congress. In many states, both of the border and of the deep South, penitentiaries have yawned in vain for these corrupt federal patronage engineers.

Many thoughtful Democrats, concerned over the political future of the South, and anxious for a rebirth of southern Democracy, believe that the lack of a vigorous and honorable opposition party is one of the chief causes for the often somewhat comatose condition of the Democratic party below the Potomac. They feel that nothing could so surely reinvigorate the Democracy, reinspire its leaders with attachment to its principles, better cleanse the party leadership of demagogues and second-raters, than the existence of an active, formidable and occasionally successful opposition group.

But a political party has to be built from the bottom to the top, rather than the other way. The precinct is the foundation unit. Popular and respected candidates for sheriff, constable and justice of the peace are essential for real party life and strength. Such cellular organization the Republican party lacks in nearly all the southern states. So far as its organized entities are concerned, outside of the border states and perhaps of Alabama, it is little more than a federal office-holding shell.

Adequate materials for the construction of a vigorous and formidable opposition party might be found in the South, but heretofore most of this raw material has been forced to remain in the Democratic party, and the principal southern contests between rival

social, economic, and political philosophies have been fought in Democratic primaries, these intra-Democratic conflicts thus affording the South about its only offsets to the usual sordid scrambles of rival spoilsmen.

And yet, for the last three decades, the industrialization of the South has proceeded at a notably increasing pace. Federal census statistics indicate the shifting of economic emphasis in most of the Dixie states. With it has grown a formidable and increasing southern industrial group committed to Hamiltonian fiscal policies. While the South is not yet dominantly industrial, and while Hamiltonian views are not as yet in the majority, yet those who feel them strongly are sufficient in number and in importance to furnish a real backbone for an anti-Democratic party throughout the South.

There is a second available element, made up of a growing group of independents alarmed at the uncontrolled power of the various state Democratic machines. The bureaucracies of education and road-building, the state-directed public health work, the control of state deposit of public funds in favored banks, and an infinite variety of state inspections, has resulted in the building up of strong state machines. Experience with such machine control has brought general disillusion, so that in many states, groups which were willing to join hands with a vigorous opposition party in seeking the overthrow of these payroll armies might be found. Such elements would further subserve an opposition party.

None the less, despite these and other ready-made elements of opposition, the present southern Republican party is generally recognized as being as bad in its practices and as corrupt in its leadership as are even the most insolent of the Democratic rings. The southern G. O. P. organizations are so staffed by federal office-holders past, present or potential, that they can frustrate any incipient reform movements almost before they start. Before a real opposition party can grow in the South, such cormorants must be driven forth. No real anti-Democratic party could be built up under such Republican leadership—the cure would be worse than the disease.

No realist can escape the patent fact that the South needs a political system based upon two vigorous parties. The raw materials of variant economic interests and social viewpoints to sustain a two-party system are on hand. Will the familiar Republican office-holding shells ever become the nucleus of a real opposition group? Or must the South's two-party system wait for that happy day, perhaps far in the future, when there comes a general and much-needed reclassification of American politics into liberal and conservative

groups through the country as a whole? It is far casier to ask such questions than to answer them. But it is not out of place to reiterate that the South will enjoy cleaner politics, more competent government, a generally finer administration of public affairs, when a strong opposition party establishes its right and its power to live.

IV

IT IS A RELIEF to shift attention from a consideration of politics in a party sense to that in a more philosophic conception of the word, the general status of southern polity. While the present state of southern parties may seem woefully disappointing and unpromising, in the other field definite trends are to be observed.

Throughout the South one finds a new view of the purposes and duties of the commonwealth. State governments have greatly widened their horizons of public service. Today little is heard of state rights, much of state duties and responsibilities, and state administrative machinery has been burdened almost to the breaking point with new and enlarged tasks of education, communication, sanitation, and general social betterment.

To be sure, this amplification of state responsibilities is but another manifestation of that nationwide broadening of public service which is characteristic, perhaps inevitable, in the latter phase of this age of the machine. Gasoline engine, iron horse and radio, talking machine and motion picture, turbine and printing press have had such impact upon the American scene that the pattern of government, in a practical, though not a constitutional, sense, has been recut.

Within the past twenty years the functions of southern state government have been strikingly expanded. Tennessee affords an illustration. In 1920 the total expenditure of the state government was, in round figures, \$9,000,000. By 1929, it had grown to some \$25,000,000, almost a three-fold increase, the greatest share of which was spent in building roads, erecting schools and extending school terms, constructing and conducting more modern institutions for the state's unfortunates, and state-wide supervision of sanitation and health. Since the depression there has been sharp reduction, but the current totals remain far above those of 1920.

In that year Tennessee had less than 500 miles of improved, hard-surfaced road. In 1928 this figure had grown to 4,000 miles, and the adopted road program called for twice that amount. In 1920, less than one-third of Tennessee's counties offered more than a five months school term. In 1929, all but thirteen of Tennessee's ninety-five counties had financial provision for and actually had more than an eight months school term. Similar indices of the increasing scope

and adequacy of state service can be furnished in related fields of public work.

The experiences of Tennessee are not unique but typical. State after state through the South has been pulling itself out of the mud, and Dixie commonwealths have vied with one another in seeking to escape the unenviable distinction of low educational rank. State after state has intensified its health work, has put emphasis on library extension, has undertaken new social services, and has sought in other ways to redeem itself from an unenviable notoriety.

These functional expansions have occasioned a rather general modernization of state administrative machinery. Several southern commonwealths have revamped their executive organization by constitutional amendment, while others have gone to the uttermost limits of their state constitutions. Modern practices of concentration of responsibility, centralization of authority, insistence on efficiency, have been applied. Notable in these lines have been North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee.

At the outset, such state-wide reorganization was greeted with real wails of distress by the job-holders, and viewed with apprehension by many who feared undue concentration of executive power. None the less, it proved a happy experiment. Administration became more competent. Responsibility was concentrated and definite. At a time when state after state was assuming formidable new functions, such reorganization was indispensable for efficiency.

Taxation has been another conspicuous field of recent southern reform. For more than a century, the southern states went along placing their chief revenue dependence upon an outworn and unjust general property tax. It is true that Virginia has had a constitutional state income tax since before the Civil War; yet until the last few years it was not seriously depended on for replacement of *ad valorem* revenues. North Carolina has adopted a scientifically devised state income tax. Mississippi and Arkansas followed her lead, and have had state income tax laws in operation for several years.

Constitutional provisions have kept Tennessee from a thorough-going property classification for tax purposes, but in the past eight years the state *ad valorem* rate has been sharply cut, and a strong campaign has been launched for a complete modernization of the state tax system. Virginia has undertaken complete tax modernization. Under her present system, not only does she classify types of property, but also segregates various forms of tax revenue to her differentiated units of government. Thus no piece of property is twice taxed. In 1930, Georgia adopted a state income tax, and other southern states are contemplating modernization of tax laws.

Due first to the functional pressure, and then to the grim realities of the depression, the South's general tax scheme has shown some improvement, and this will undoubtedly continue. With the axis of southern economics shifting so rapidly from an almost exclusively agricultural toward a balanced economy, the modification of the taxation system to tap the new sources of wealth is inevitable. The general property tax, at least as a chief source of state support, is doomed.

This amplification of state activities has involved fearful problems, new types of political machines have arisen, machines which are dangerous in their scope and power, as the public has found out. Road-building programs have become the nuclei, through contracts and jobs, of great state political machines. Naturally no state could spend from \$15,000,000 to \$30,000,000 in construction within the limits of a single year without attaching to the political fortunes of the particular administration in power an enormous weight of bankers, note brokers, deposit seekers, contractors, cement manufacturers, sand and gravel men, supply and equipment dealers, engineers, supervisors, inspectors and laborers galore. In one state in which these elements have been marshalled for party domination it has been estimated that some 20,000 votes are directly controlled through interests of this type.

The road force is but one element of this new machine strength. One must keep in mind the political potentialities of such agencies as the deposit of enormous public funds in favored banks, the supervision of insurance and banking, directly impinging upon every financial institution and insurance agent in a state; public health work, which installs state agents in every county; great new school programs, which permit the administration to favor or to frown upon a particular county; the armies of inspectors of tobacco stamp tax receipts, of state income and corporation excise tax payments, and so on through the catalogue. The list alone of these politically serviceable elements reveals an alarming picture. "The cohesive force of predatory plunder"—to employ "Sunset" Cox's flashing phrase—is manifest in abundant measure in the South's new commonwealths.

V

THERE IS A GROWING alertness throughout the South as to the imperfection of local government. Not so long ago the antiquated county court system was universal through the South. Now this badge of governmental stupidity is retained only by Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Georgia and North Carolina have gone so far as to adopt permissive county manager statutes, which voters can directly

invoke ; and in several other states, modern county machinery has been provided. It is becoming recognized that county government is the dismal swamp of southern public affairs, and serious thought is being given to correction of county inefficiency and waste.

There are even intimations of county consolidation. Within a decade, the number of counties in Tennessee has been reduced from ninety-six to ninety-five, and the proposal has been made that the state consolidate down to sixty counties in the course of the next ten years. The reasons for this trend are obvious. In the present age of widened transportation zones, the original county units are manifestly too small for efficient and economical administration. Areas of sparse population can and should consolidate their county governments, with large resultant saving of overhead and operating costs.

Since 1919, southern states have been scenes of a few notable political episodes. Among these none ranks so high as Tennessee's action, in the summer of 1920, in ratifying the equal suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution. The Volunteer State thus became the perfect thirty-six, the finally necessary state in ratification.

Discussion of suffrage below the Potomac calls up the question of the present legal status of the Negro voter. In view of prevailing misconceptions, it should be noted that in several of the southern States, Negroes vote as readily and as consistently as do the whites. Such is the case in Kentucky and in Tennessee.

VI

FROM THE TIME of Wade Hampton's Red Shirts and their redemption of South Carolina to the close of the World War, the South's political stage was often occupied by men of glamour and moving appeal. Morgan and Pettus of Alabama, North Carolina's noted Zebulon B. Vance, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar, and the less famous but equally deserving Senator George of Mississippi, Bate and Carmack of Tennessee, not forgetting to mention Bob Taylor with his fiddle and his bow—such names as these come to mind, with their attendant memories of gallant gestures, moving oratory, and flashing wit.

In comparison, today's political scene below the Potomac seems sadly drab. Not that we are entirely without striking figures, but today's are mainly of a less winsome type. One can not but feel disappointed that Alabama's call to fame today is the inimitable Tom Heflin, the admiral of the anti-papal fleet, recently retired on shore leave. South Carolina has been palely efflorescent with Cole Blaise,

but now is without even this dubious distinction. Louisiana has her Huey Long, and is welcome to him. One could catalogue other worthies of this kidney *ad infinitum*, but it is hardly worth the space.

Fortunately, there are a few offsetting figures for whom one can have a hearty and cordial respect. The South has enjoyed notable service from such governors as Austin Peay of Tennessee, Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia, Angus McLean and Max Gardner of North Carolina, Thomas E. Kilby of Alabama, Dan Moody of Texas, and a few others of high type. These can be offered as partial offset against the Jack Waltons and the Huey Longs and the Bilbos.

In national service, a few conspicuous figures stand forth ; such men as Cordell Hull of Tennessee, a statesman in an age of politicians ; Carter Glass of Virginia, with his caustic tongue and canny brain ; Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, a liberal of the Wilsonian tradition, ever willing to charge upon the lion in his path. Nor could one ignore the piquant wit of Mississippi's Pat Harrison, noted senatorial wasp, to say nothing of the easy-flowing oratory of Georgia's George.

But after having made the best case we can for the dramatic and the colorful in present southern politics, one must confess that the net result is a drabness most distasteful. One sees a multitude of machine politicians where once were Morgans, Vances, Carmacks and Lamars ; doubtless a result of the operation upon us of an ironic law of compensation, penalizing us for our too-easy surrender to an age of partial payments, theme songs, Tom Thumb golf courses, tree-sitters and syndicated Gumps.

When one looks over the picture of southern politics, one feels the strength of the old traditions. It is equally impossible to avoid seeing the effect of the great upward surge of the changing South. Bad as are political conditions generally, there are signs of improvement. The southern voter is displaying twinges of a growing realism. Expanding their horizons, state governments are more competently performing their tasks. Citizenship is being more generally given to men and women regardless of color and race. At least a start is being made on the modernization of politics and polity in the erstwhile solid South.

JOURNALISM IN THE SOUTH

BY JOHN D. ALLEN

ANY EFFORT to appraise recent journalism in the South can lead only to confusion unless it rests upon certain rather obvious truths. It must recognize that newspapers in the mass, whatever their theoretical or former functions, today merely reflect and intensify but do not dynamically influence the culture of the dominant group or groups in the society they are supposed to advance. It must recognize that in the South the typical member of such groups differs in no important quality from his fellows in North or West or East. It must recognize, also, that southern journalism accordingly differs little from journalism elsewhere—that if in mental processes, in active loyalties and aversions, in devotion to the aim of getting on in the world the average southerner is the counterpart of the average Yankee or westerner, so, too, is the average southern newspaper the duplicate of its contemporary in other sections.

In the light of these basic truths it is easy to understand why the southerner, if required to evaluate his newspaper, probably would conclude that it is a pretty good sort of business. Here is something which, by mirroring, regularly flatters himself. Here is something which discreetly straddles, when it does not ignore, fences dangerous to cross. Here is a newspaper which in appearance, in news content, in feature material, in editorial policies, deviates scarcely at all from the stereotypes and formulas of journalism, a newspaper which has accepted as uncritically as the American press as a whole, as uncritically as its readers, the patterns of an industrial culture. Naturally the average southerner, if required to think about the press as exemplified by the average newspaper, would complacently affirm that it is a pretty good sort of business. So would he conclude about other institutions which so excellently reflect himself.

Not that he would justify his complacency by resort to general principles. He has specific grounds. He expects his newspaper to bring to him the news of his community and of the world as seen

through kindred eyes. This it does, in amount varying with the size of the journal, but in every case probably as much news as he is willing to read. He expects on the market page a last-minute report on his favorite stock, or, perhaps, the quotation on cotton or turpentine; and he gets it. He wants amusement, and the newspaper endeavors to gratify his want. These needs satisfied, if by chance he should turn to the editorial page for guidance, there again he is likely to find nothing more disturbing than polished versions of his own prejudices and beliefs.

Perhaps it will be objected that even should an editor desire to publish a newspaper unstandardized, genuinely individualistic, in its news columns, the task would be difficult. The argument has some weight. Without impossibly large capital to command, he would be compelled to rely upon the press associations for general news. Moreover, syndicates offer a great volume of feature material, which, prepared for mass distribution, can be purchased for much less than equivalent original matter would cost; and in supplying what is called reader-demand for variety the temptation to market canned goods is all too easy. But such considerations apply with little force to local news, and they apply not at all to the editorial columns. In those divisions the editor can make his newspaper as virile and as free of stereotyped thinking and expression as his abilities or his bosses will allow.

Even the dull tale of statistics would confirm the southerner in his satisfaction. He would hardly be interested in the figures, but should he care to investigate, *Ayer's Directory of Periodicals and Newspapers*, 1932 edition, would reveal that in the year 1930 a total of 527 daily newspapers were published in 14 southern states. Many of them were fully as large as newspapers in the smaller urban centers elsewhere, from which, indeed, they were only in name distinguishable. In addition, 8 tri-weeklies informed and inspired their subscribers; 111 semi-weeklies held aloft the torch; and the sizable total of 2,525 weeklies brought to their readers news of county and world—a grand total for all groups of 3,171. The quality of journalistic performance a critic might not in all cases care to stress; but it could fairly be maintained that in quantity the South seems to be about as well served as other sections.

Once the southerner was likely to look upon newspaper folk with a curious awe, conducive, as awe is conducive, to vague discomfort and caviling. But this, too, no longer subtracts from his content. For the old stand-offishness of journalists is mostly a thing of the past. In the service club and in other groups gathered to uplift the community, he nowadays meets the editor or publisher on familiar,

often intimate, terms. He senses that they have a great deal in common. He feels that while they may sometimes disagree in method or in minor detail, may sometimes find themselves on opposite sides in factional politics, at bottom they are really one in spirit and purpose, holding equally firmly the fine fundamental principles of Americanism and practising equally deftly the exalted ethical code of modern American Business. Thus there is nothing alien in the newspaper man to outrage his sense of virtue ; at least, not in the man who runs the works.

This is not to assert that the average southerner invariably is in sweet temper toward his newspaper. For one thing, some southern journals are not what he would have at all. In their editorial policies they violate daily—though never, so consistently and so determinedly as would, for example, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—his sense of the right, the proper, and the patriotic. Their number is few, and usually he can ignore them and subscribe to a rival paper ; but it would be incorrect to suppose that they exert no disturbing influence in and upon southern journalism and southern culture.

But the typical publisher, it must be insisted, has no perverse impulse to disturb his patrons by transgressing the bounds of propriety. The newspaper, he knows, is a business institution, dedicated like the Steel Trust or the magnificently defunct Insull holding companies to the service of the public. It has profound obligations to its clientele. Those obligations the publisher will unswervingly respect, and he will see that they are respected, too, by his underlings.

If the first obligation is to present a moving picture of events as readers want to see them, the publisher will strive to give the public what it asks. If the second obligation is to supply community leadership by means of the editorial columns, the publisher will supply fully the equal of what can be had from the local board of realtors. If the third obligation is to entertain, he will spare no reasonable expense in buying for his readers the most approved comics and the latest series of revelations of this and that. If another obligation is to bring to his clientele the profound wisdom of America's cultural giants, he will contract for Arthur Brisbane's column, or for the diamond-bright deliverances of Will Rogers, America's most widely known gum-chewer and historian. Or if his budget will not permit contractual relations with the mighty, he will endeavor to supply a fair substitute from local talent. Finally, if it is the obligation of the newspaper to serve the business interests of the community as a medium of advertising, it can be argued that here, too, is the publisher aware of his duty. Of the value of advertising, and of more and better advertising, he is as firmly convinced as is the ad writer

of the philanthropic service he renders. Nor does shrinking modesty forbid him to mention the unique virtues of his medium.

If service rested here, the press could excusably hold that it had given all that its readers were entitled to expect. But service does not rest. In pursuit of the ideal of being useful the southern press, like the American press as a whole, has in recent years adopted methods further calculated to dazzle readers with its admirable public-mindedness. Some of the methods are set forth in articles published in the April and June, 1927, numbers of the *Review of Reviews*. There, under the caption "What Is The Press Doing?" an authority relates with commendable pride the civic, community, and educational services rendered by American newspapers in recent years; and the number of southern journals listed is imposing.

The services are likewise imposing. For example, the editor of one organ has magnanimously contributed to education by acting as a university trustee and by fostering a school of journalism. Another organ has set up scholarships for worthy but indigent boys and girls seeking the higher learning. Another offered gold medals in children's playground contests. Still another rescued the 1924 cotton crop in its community by compelling the farmers to use weevil poison, while a fifth has advocated "screened porches, pure water, and more and better hospitals."

One newspaper, jointly with a New York daily, is credited with having "laid out the National Highway between New York and Jacksonville, Fla."; another, with having established "an annual award of a \$500 loving cup to the most useful citizen, which reacted favorably on the entire community." And so on, and on. Had he written at a later date, the author of these articles might have added still further verses to the saga of southern journalism's achievements. For example, one journal, published in a textile-tourist-agricultural center, generously helped to restore prosperity in the summer of 1932 by promoting and publicizing a community fete, in which bathing beauties, fashion models, harlequins, and politicians, called to greet the new dawn, boisterously celebrated the public hanging of "Old Man Depression."

Southern editors of an earlier day probably would have objected to most of such activities as having no apparent relation to journalism. Although their commercial value as advertising they might have recognized, they would have felt that it is hardly modest for a journal to use its news and editorial columns for material profit or for poorly concealed flattery of itself. But few such fogeys survive, and their journalistic heirs are not many. Publishing newspapers today is a business. It steadily approaches Big Business. And pub-

lishers, thoroughly versed in the various gospels of Americanism, do not intend to let petty considerations delay the golden age.

It is true that the current depression has delayed it against their will. But as this chapter takes form the stock market continues to climb, and newspapers continue to blazon news suggesting that business is beginning to stir. Editorials confirm the tidings. For once the augurs may be right; certainly no prediction will be ventured here as to whether prosperity is merely peeping around the corner or whether happy days are actually here again. But it is obvious that the period of adversity has affected, if but temporarily, journalism in the South.

Diminishing revenues from circulation and advertising have brought serious embarrassment to most publishers, a condition ended in a few cases by bankruptcy, relieved in others by mergers. Salaries have been reduced, in some instances by fifty per cent; and morale has declined. Newspapers which in the prosperous years often appeared in week-day editions of 36 or 48 pages now are glad to exhibit 18 or 24. The erection of magnificent temples to house prosperous journals has come to a deplorable halt. All this has doubtless grieved the publishers and caused some to wonder if the millennium is quite so inevitable as it seemed in the summer of 1929.

More important from the public's point of view, newspapers have been obliged to print day after day a large quantity of depressing news, unwelcome to publisher and public alike. The newspapers are not to be blamed. Such bad news as they could ignore they have ignored or placed inconspicuously on page 8. Editorial writers have aided by likewise ignoring, or by preparing pieces calculated to wither pessimism and comfort struggling hope. Nevertheless, southern journalism, no more than eastern or western journalism, has been able steadily to close its eyes to the phenomena of depression.

Those phenomena, however, perhaps publishers are already persuaded, were at worst but the symptoms of transient economic dyspepsia. If during 1931 and 1932 some publishers were panicky far more than they cared to admit in print—if some dreaded the reeking hand of red revolution—their dreads and their nightmares are now fading. They can look backward to the recent past as a trying period during which journalism stood nobly by the great body of sterling citizens and the great body of sterling citizens stood fast by the sterling principles of Americanism. They can look further to the magic era of Coolidge prosperity as evidence of what perchance may come again. Looking into the future, they can with appropriate insight envision a glorious golden age in which the business of

journalism will be perfectly and profitably adjusted to the wants, aims, and lofty aspirations of the average respectable southerner.

II

IT WOULD be a mistake, however, to conclude that all southern journalists see eye to eye. If the large majority edit newspapers which merely reflect and intensify contemporary popular culture, nevertheless, two other groups do stand aloof from the main body. They deserve careful analysis.

Journalists in the first of these minority groups tend to reflect rather the once dominant agrarian culture of the South than the now dominant industrial order. That culture was essentially conservative and in a bad sense provincial. Its surviving voices are conservative and at heart provincial. The old South produced editors individualistic in temperament and firm in defense of individualism, especially when public welfare and private interests stood opposed ; and in this respect the new South merely continues the past. But the old South also produced men with dignity, integrity, and a perception of the responsibility implied in the relation of social superior to inferior. Calhoun was their archetype ; and it would be correct to say that for journalists in the group now under discussion, the doctrines of Calhoun still remain the Law from Sinai.

From one point of view, such journalists and their newspapers are hardly to be praised. Their loyalty to states' rights often helps to defeat economic and social legislation, and thus they serve as valuable, if perhaps unwitting, aides to those with axes to grind. Their reception of industrialism, if lacking in the ardor of the more familiar type of journalist, yet has been hardly more judicious, and no more helpful in solving the problems which industrialism creates.

In politics they are habitually Democratic, not because Jefferson was the founder of the party but because since the Civil War no other party in the South has been considered quite respectable. They give far more attention to party and factional politics than the subjects would seem to require. They give far less social leadership to their communities than democratic principles and realistic analysis would seem to demand. Often men of some pretensions to learning, they like to write neatly embroidered essays about a wide variety of themes, none of which come close to the economics of bread and butter. They think of themselves as Democrats ; they profess allegiance to the principle of free speech ; they doubtless would like for tenant farmers and mill-workers (since God has apparently willed that there be mill-workers) to be comfortably prosperous, self-respecting groups in southern society. But actually they are not

democrats but survivals of southern Whiggery ; their acceptance of free speech includes the reservation that the well-bred ought to do most of the speaking ; their sympathy for the masses urges them into no expressions that would conflict with musty dignity or their inherited notions of the proper and right. Decency they certainly have. Sometimes, though never vigorously, they compose protests against indecencies. But no one would ever charge them with being a serious danger to the established order.

The third group of southern journalists, however, have long been the object of suspicion ; and they remain so in 1933. Like the second, they are cold to the enthusiasms which animate the first. But unlike both the second and the first, they act upon the principle that journalism should be the mouth-organ of no class. Journalism as exemplified by the second type, in the news columns as well as in the editorial but conspicuously in the latter, they conceive to be an irrelevant farce, compounded of the psychology of defeat produced by the Civil War and of agrarian-aristocratic fixed notions—a farce understandable as an historical fact, as an illustration of cultural lag, but having little vital relation to present actualities. Journalism as practised by the first type they conceive to be moral prostitution.

Editors belonging to this group certainly need not be labelled “radical,” if one is to judge by what they write. Indeed, in applying the label “liberal” one would have to move cautiously, choosing his definition with care from the large number loosely in circulation. Perhaps it would be better for the moment to dispense with labels and to try to suggest briefly what the editors are like and what they are apt to think.

Most of them are still fairly young, and most of them, though southerners by birth, have worked on metropolitan newspapers. As journalists they are capable and enterprising. Some of them, authors in their own right, have contributed valuably to the literature of southern politics, history, and economics. Their general point of view, however, is not especially southern. They represent the democratic tradition, altered in the South by her institutions and confronted in the South since 1900 by the problems of capitalistic industrialism, but essentially national rather than sectional in its logic. In keeping with the tradition as it developed in the United States, they do not thoroughly trust democracy. They would be unwilling to have all corollaries of the theory take substance across the color line. While they will agree that readers are entitled to unbiased news accounts, yet they do not insist that it is always better for the public to have all the facts about public affairs. Such an editor might decide to suppress the news of another shut-down in

the textile industry, not in order to please the proprietors but for the sake of public morale.

But although distrustful of democracy in its more thoroughgoing forms, these journalists do customarily act upon certain principles implied in democratic theory. Usually they do attempt to present news without class prejudice or favoritism. Usually they do bar propaganda from the news columns. Their editorial silence or commendation is not to be purchased with advertising. By training they are less concerned with causes than with symptoms; yet they have been known to discuss the causes which result in, for instance, lynchings. Normally their impulse is to side with the under-dog; and normally they feel that sauce for the goose is proper enough sauce for the gander.

Courage, integrity, openness of mind they possess to a degree as large as their readers are likely to demand. What they have been lacking through the years, what they probably lack today, is what most thoughtful people find themselves lacking: an effective grasp of underlying causes that produce political phenomena, and a trustworthy prescription for the ills of an acquisitive society. Many of the ills they see clearly enough. Causes they also sense, though hardly so surely. That more social control in the economic sphere seemed necessary, even to the extent of government ownership of this or that, some of them were asserting in their editorial columns long before March 4, 1933, winning the handy label "unsafe" for their pains. But unsafe they are not and never were, except in the minds of "rugged individualists." They are merely the somewhat bewildered exponents in southern journalism of the essentially conservative democratic tradition—a tradition still colored by the hues of Millsian political economy and by the utopianism of eighteenth century philosophers, in whose speculations it had its birth.

The editorial range of newspapers in this class is well indicated by the following tribute published in the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* (itself one of the most creditable journals in the South) when the *Columbia Record* changed hands in March, 1929:

" . . . The most comfortable editorial path in the South, as elsewhere in the United States, is the path of unadventuring *laissez-faire*. The pressure on all sides is toward conformity—toward an acceptance of what Is as Right, toward the uncritical testimonializing of the social, civic, industrial, and political environment. Mr. Wright was not one of the testimonial writers. On his editorial page one found a reasonable treatment of the solid affairs of business and industry, but also a forthright, critical and, at times, flaming treatment of the social and political obscenities that became the peculiar

plague of the South with the rise of kluxery, Heflinism, Bilboism, and fiat theology. Whenever the issue was one of racial or religious bigotry, of political or social arrogance, of tyranny striking godly attitudes, of chauvinism decked out in the national colors, one could depend on Wright of the *Columbia Record* for a few cleansing broadsides. . . ." (The *Record* was acquired by representatives of an official of the International Paper and Power Company, at that time interested in power developments in South Carolina. They had also acquired organs in Spartanburg, S. C., and Augusta, Ga., and had begun negotiations elsewhere when the benevolent campaign to promote disinterested journalism in the South was brought to a halt.)

Newspapers edited by men of this frame of mind are few in number, as few in the South as in other sections. If the proportion of journals in the first class is as eight to two in the second class, then those in the third would be generously represented by some major fraction of one. But their importance has not been in proportion to their number. They have served as a counterpoise to newspapers of the first group, and they have suggested an alternative, if not a thoroughly realistic one, to the pertinacious backward-turning of the second. They are all that southern journalism has to offer minds that would like to see the world as it is.

Such are the main classes into which the southern daily press of the last decade may be divided. Certainly the distinctions are general; probably no newspaper corresponds in all particulars to its type. The *Raleigh News and Observer*, for instance, considered one of the most liberal organs of the South, has battled hard for Prohibition, a principle not easily to be squared with liberal dogmas. Moreover, newspapers may change ownership or editorship, and new blood sometimes may bring a different point of view. This has happened in recent years, not with uniformly good results, in the case of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, the *Columbia Record*, the *Columbus Enquirer-Sun*, the *Charleston News and Courier*, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, to name a few instances; and it has happened in the case of the *Macon Telegraph*, during periods of its history a vigorous shouter for reaction; at others, as open-minded a journal as could be found in the South.

Again, under the compulsion of a sense of fair play, normally conservative publications such as the *New Orleans Item-Tribune*, the *Memphis Commercial-Appeal*, the *Jackson (Miss.) Daily News*, the *Montgomery Advertiser*, the *Oklahoma City Oklahoman*, the *Arkansas Gazette*, the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, may on occasion take the offensive against anti-social forces. The factor of time, too, must be considered

in accounting for a given newspaper. The more thoroughly industrialized cities, like Charlotte, Nashville, Birmingham, Atlanta, naturally have advanced further in industrial culture than those that got a later start ; and such cities have produced organs that approach more nearly to perfection of type than do like-spirited contemporaries in cities less favored. But vary though they do in particulars and in closeness of approach to type, southern daily newspapers almost without exception can be placed accurately enough under the three heads.

III

AN OUTLINE of southern journalistic history would not be in order here, but it would be worth the effort if in brief compass the influences that have produced these classes could be made apparent. The major influences are Jeffersonian theory, a slave economy, and industrialism.

During the colonial period newspapers in the southern provinces, while less numerous, were as vigorous in social leadership as those in the middle colonies or New England. With the latter they shared in the long legal struggle for the rights to print and to comment upon the acts of public officials. With them they stirred up rebellion ; and although no southern organ was so consistently extreme in agitation as was the *Boston Gazette* under the promptings of Samuel Adams, newspapers in the South did their full part toward making and winning the Revolution. Rewarded by constitutional guarantees which in effect gave them a privileged position, they were to serve, in the opinion of the democratic Jefferson and even of the aristocratic Hamilton, as "the palladium of the people's liberties," the instrument by which the welfare of the new republic was to be assured.

It is important to note that Jefferson and Hamilton agreed in affirming this principle. But whereas to Hamilton it meant a conservative press functioning to maintain the established order, to Jefferson it meant a critical press, honestly informing the public, earnestly advocating democratic principles, and healthily encouraging a little rebellion now and then. No newspaper, in any of the new states, completely measured up to Jefferson's ideal. Practically all of them soon became entangled in partisan politics, from which curse, incidentally, the press has never been freed. Many of them, however, were indoctrinated with Jeffersonian ideas ; and prior to the rapid growth of slavery in the early nineteenth century a strong press, somewhat developed in social consciousness and democratic in temper, existed in the South. From this group the left wing of contemporary southern journalism has contrived to descend.

But no press could remain actively democratic and strong in the face of expanding slavery. The virtues of slavery may be left to the ghosts of the Garrisons and the Rhetts. The fact of slavery was disastrous to liberal journalism in the South. In giving a new lease of life to the plantation system, and in spreading the system across an agricultural empire, it discouraged the growth of groups upon which Jeffersonianism historically relied. It entrenched in economic and hence in political power a class indisposed to concern itself with democratic notions. It involved in its defense, as industrialism has involved in its support today, groups whose real interests lay in relentless opposition to slavery. It thrust into the political arena (where none could escape, and none has escaped, the sight except by the acquisition of blind spots) the inherent conflict between democratic professions and socio-economic facts. It penalized journalists such as managed to retain the impulse of the Jeffersonian spirit, driving them northward or westward or into the backwaters of southern life. And it found for its journalistic mouth-pieces capable minds—minds brilliantly oratorical in attack, skilfully legalistic in defense, increasingly bulwarked in privilege, and increasingly convinced that the South's peculiar institution must at all hazards be preserved.

With the legal collapse of that institution the objects of southern journalism altered, but the temper did not materially change. In the North and East the temper had already changed. Free of the chains of slavery and as yet unaware of the bonds that industrialism was forging, journalism outside the South was in a position during much of the nineteenth century to evolve a set of ideals in keeping with Jefferson's concept of the functions of the press. In general terms those ideals were, and are : to gather and publish in the common interest all news necessary to the community in seeing itself as it actually is ; to interpret to the community problems in which the issue is merely one of method, and to interpret and advocate or condemn when the welfare of the community is involved ; to propose and discuss measures—"radical" ones if need be—helpful to the community in progressively adjusting itself to change.

Manifestly such ideals place a heavy strain upon human nature. They can be measurably attained only by journalists of extraordinary force, integrity, and openness of mind. They have been closely approached rarely in the history of American journalism. Nevertheless, outside the South a modest degree of practice was achieved by such editors as Greeley, Abell, Raymond, Bowles, Godkin, Pulitzer ; and the effort to make of the newspaper a free and democratic institution in the service of the republic was an important trend in

American journalism throughout the whole nineteenth century.

But below the Potomac the trend was hardly more visible after the Civil War than it had been during the period of Calhoun. If slavery had paralyzed the capacity for realistic thinking of southern journalists as a group, the freeing of slaves and the overthrow of a slave-owning class did not restore the talent. A society resting on economic serfdom could be as hostile to critical intellect as one based on legal slavery. The impoverishment of the section and the bitterness of defeat could be as powerful in confirming the high wisdom of reactionism as Whitney's cotton gin. And with few exceptions, such as a Grady or a Watterson crying occasionally in a waste land, southern journalists down to the year 1900 were narrowly provincial and conservative. Their own system irretrievably defeated in the conflict between two economic systems, they stubbornly employed much paper in insisting upon its merits. Confronted with a large population element politically free but economically in bondage, they instinctively ignored (as most southern journalists continue to ignore) talk of Jeffersonian theory. Secretly envious of the prosperity of the North, they were quick to point the accusing finger at the emerging problems of that section ; but they pointed no fingers nearer home, and they made no effort to prevent reproduction nearer home of the same problems when industrialism began its invasion of the South. Journalists of the second class are today their intellectual assigns.

The coming of industrialism is still of so recent occurrence that its permanent effects upon southern journalism are yet in the realm of speculation. Its present effects, however, are sufficiently plain. As was the case with slavery, the spirit of industrialism has permeated every section of the South, even sections least industrialized ; and, like slavery, it has found journalistic champions in adequate number. Many newspapers formerly of the second class have with the passage of years changed ownership and moved into the first. New ones have sprung up. The result is that since 1900, but especially since 1920, the tone of southern journalism has altered to the degree that newspapers in the first class now greatly outnumber the combined totals of the second and third.

This fact may at first be surprising to those with an eye to the industrial map. For that map will reveal that industry in the South has tended to concentrate in the piedmont regions of the Appalachians. The economy of the coastal plains, from the Potomac to the Mississippi, remains what it has always been, basically agricultural. In the economy of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas—states which, incidentally, have always been as western in spirit as southern—oil

takes second place to the products of farm and ranch. And as for Louisiana, that commonwealth, despite modern New Orleans, still retains much of its special cultural flavors. It would seem reasonable to presume that in these non-industrial areas, constituting the major portion of the South, journalism would at least have developed attitudes authentically regional, derived from regional culture and harmonious with regional economy.

But in the main it failed to do so, and the causes are not far to seek. Weak in traditions of social criticism, southern journalism, like southern intellect in the mass, was incapable of viewing critically the movement for industrializing the South. To accept industrialization as the panacea for the South's ills was a simple and easy program; and to cater to the rapidly multiplying middle class and its industrial and financial heroes, barons, and overlords was, as journalism elsewhere had learned, a far more profitable policy. It remains a profitable policy. With the aid of the movie and the radio, southern journalism has already served marvelously in helping southerners to lose their identity in comfortable mediocrity. It shows no disposition to change its ways.

Incidentally, the reader concerned with historical correspondences should be rewarded in comparing the slave-holding aristocracy attributed to the old South with the aristocracy that has emerged since the South took off its hat to industrialism. The similarities are noteworthy. It is true that prior to the year 1800 authentic local cultures had taken root in a few centers, such as Williamsburg, Charleston, New Orleans; and it is true that in those and in outlying centers an aristocratic class, with an aristocratic sense of responsibility for inferiors, had begun to bud and flower. But this class never included (although their grandchildren are easily persuaded it did) the majority of slave-holders, to whom the traffic in and use of slaves was a business to be pursued in accordance with the same profitable rules which in New England governed the business of selling codfish or manufacturing cotton. Upon this majority *noblesse oblige* exerted as little compulsion as it does upon the grandchildren, who today so largely compose the South's aristocracy of bank and mill. As the *Columbia State* said, in commenting upon the "Renaissance" of literature in contemporary Charleston, "The insistence of the *State* and of other likeminded journals has been that most of what the 'new' South had recently been and done and thought and said stemmed directly from the 'old' South."

IV

IF THE GENERAL outline of present-day journalism in the South is

not very pleasant to consider, a close-up of the press in action will evoke few critical cheers.

Since the turn of the century, and especially since the World War gave an unparalleled stimulus to industry, the press has been face to face with many economic and social problems. It has had ample occasion to display leadership—in opposing anti-social forces, in encouraging socially helpful influences and giving voice to the desires of men and women for a more humane and truly democratic society. As a whole it has failed. Perhaps, as some critics of democracy would insist, it could do no other than fail. Perhaps the notion of a free, vigorous, progressive press is basically absurd, a notion held as a practical ideal only by those capable of making themselves a bit silly. Certainly the press seems anxious to justify this view. But whether absurd or not, the ideal is still the object of praise by journalists gathered in annual convention. It is still employed in indignant defense when a libel suit threatens unhappy consequences. It is still implied in the fact of constitutional guarantees. To observe against the background of the ideal how free and vigorous and progressive the southern press has actually come to be may offer instructive entertainment, whether the observer cling to Jeffersonian principles or parade a more stylish set.

Industrialism (still in the South mainly confined to the textile field) has drawn hundreds of thousands of "pure-blooded Anglo-Saxons" from farm and mountain valley to mill village. The press has done little but applaud. It has refused to ask what specific effects the new environment actually may have had upon the character and upon the health and happiness of the transplanted. It has declared with the *Atlanta Constitution*, when nettled by impolite critics, that "The new mills and their villages offering better living, schooling and social ambitions have been of great benefit to many thousands of families who needed just such transplanting and environment benefits. And if Providence gives to the southeastern region better working climate, cheaper power and labor able to live equally with eastern and northern labor on somewhat lower wages, the eastern complaints against those conditions should be made to God and not to the southern industrialists and workers."

Of course, a few editors view the mill village in another light. As Mark Ethridge, formerly of the *Macon Telegraph*, has said, "If there are those who conceive the mill village to be not only a desirable but also a necessary adjunct to industrial development, there are also those who, desiring the prosperity that comes with industrial development, yet see in the mill village an indigestible mass in the stomach of a community, or, if you prefer, a cancerous growth that

may flame into an ugly sore of discontent and trouble; a fertile ground for intolerance, for hatreds, for almost any sort of black prejudice that is founded upon ignorance or superstition or fear, and for any sort of radicalism." Dailies whose editors more or less share this view include the *Asheville Citizen*, the *Chattanooga News*, the *Raleigh News and Observer*, the *Wheeling Register*, and notably the *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, the *Greensboro News*, and the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*. But apart from the very small group they represent, southern newspapers have either ignored the mill village or have defended it, when prodded into defense, as a pretty fair approximation to an industrial Eden.

Why they have done so is easy to comprehend. Industrialism has created in the mill villages, in the best as well as in the worst, a serfdom fully as degrading morally and intellectually as the serfdom of old Russia or the slavery of the old South. With those systems of economy, even when paternalism has done its best, the analogies remain much too close to invite honest appraisal of the mill-worker and his environment. The average editor is too spineless to appraise without invitation, or too impressed with the tableaux of statistics to see the need of appraisal at all.

In the matter of wages the tale is repetition. Most newspapers would of course take the view of the *Dallas News* that "There are few business enterprises today that do not recognize the right of the employee to a fair return." Most would assert that "The man who intends to remain in industry or business realizes that his own economic welfare depends upon that of his employees." But few have cared to discuss the difference between assertion and fact, a difference evidenced, until now, in the very low average wage scale in southern mills and in the long series of strikes for better wages. No honest and informed person will maintain that mill-workers in the South actually have been getting a fair return for their industry. Most honest and well-informed persons have long been convinced that workers in the South, no more than workers elsewhere, ever could get a fair return until employers had been compelled to accept collective bargaining, minimum-wage scales, and unemployed and old-age insurance. This, it seems likely in the summer of 1933, the employers may be forced to do. And some dailies are enthusiastically applauding. But the number thus happily engaged can be counted on one's fingers and toes.

A *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, commenting on the strike of the workers in the American Glanzstoff Corporation's mill at Elizabethton, Tenn., early in 1929 (a strike which followed unionization and rejection of demands for higher pay) can point out that "A civilized

and responsible industrial order ought to be able to get along without strikes and lockouts, but it is not yet so civilized that it can avert all outbreaks. The main solicitude in these circumstances must be for the protection of the basic rights of both workers and employers." It can realistically observe that "there is no such thing as eating our cake and having it too. If the South becomes rich in lustre fabric industries, or in any other industries, it can not escape the lack-lustre industrial perplexities that invariably attend this development." A *Raleigh News and Observer* can reflect that "Judge Gary learned that cheap labor was dear labor," that "the South could and the South can provide cheap labor only by continuing to keep its people inured to poverty," and can therein find a lesson for "the industries employing a large number of men and women in North Carolina." A *Chattanooga News* can warn that "If we do not protect our working men and women, who can prophesy the future of the South?", going on to the general problem of industrialization to conclude: "There is no use to say that industrialism is good or bad. The South can not escape it, even if this were desirable. The question involved is: Shall the people of the South be the servants or the master of the machines?"

But these are the exceptions. The average editor acts otherwise when a clash between labor and management breaks in upon his exercises in word-juggling. Either he ignores it; or he finds, with the *Columbia State*, "More Evidence of Conspiracy Against The South's Manufacturing Industry"; or he enlightens the workers with a paternal lecture in the manner of the *Knoxville Journal*, which at the close of the Elizabethton strike had the following to say:

"East Tennessee is expectantly awaiting the coming of industries that will be attracted by favorable labor conditions as well as by abundant raw materials and cheap power. If those who expect to be employed in these industries create the impression among manufacturers that friendly relations can not be maintained with workers in this section, new industries will not come to East Tennessee. . . . Economic laws inevitably control wages, living conditions and working agreements in communities where the people are enlightened."

A similar lecture has become popular since nervous patriots began to discover communists behind the lamp-posts of the South. In the midst of labor disturbances during 1929, when the conservative American Federation of Labor was trying to organize textile workers, the *Constitution* shrewdly plumbed to the very depths of the matter:

"The violences in the Piedmont area are of peculiar nature . . . without similarity anywhere else in this country. They have resulted from the fomentations of trouble makers, not native to the popula-

tion and scene of operation. Confessedly, they are agitators, belonging to the Communist Party. They are in the Carolinas and Tennessee to stir up warfare against industrial amity, religion and organized government."

Such interpretations have the weight of gospel to holders of stocks and bonds; and probably they do no injury to the circulation lists. On the whole, however, it would seem that the southern press has emitted more wind than wisdom in the Anglo-Saxon conquest of spindle and loom.

That typical southern newspapers should link labor and related problems with alleged communistic movements is natural and readily understandable. Red herrings still have their uses. By raising the cry of radicalism, southern journals have again and again during the last decade diverted attention from the facts of low wages, squalid living conditions, unemployment, and want. By branding the persistent critic as a communist, they have not only diverted attention but, in playing upon the fears and prejudices of the masses, they have helped to bring about what to some observers seemed to be grave miscarriages of injustice.

This sort of thing, of course, is not peculiar to the South. It has flourished in California, as the Mooney-Billings case attests; and it has been known to occur in Massachusetts. But in the post-war South, and especially since 1928, it has almost reached the proportions of an epidemic. Hardly a southern state but has shivered through at least one "Red" scare. Hardly a southern state but has seen "radicals" rushed off to jail upon the slightest provocation. For, as the *Houston Post-Dispatch* divined, "Radicals have not overlooked the opportunity of depressed conditions to plant their dragons' teeth. In the fecund soil of distress caused by unemployment they are busily sowing the seeds of red revolution." Patriots must stop the sowing.

Some newspapers and some citizens, it is true, have not so easily taken fright. If dailies like the *Constitution* have concluded that "There seems no plausible doubt that the soviet government of Russia . . . is making far-reaching and heavily financed assaults upon our American government," others have smelled herrings and observed, with the *Virginian-Pilot*, that "Those who are . . . dedicated to the business of maintaining watch over the integrity of our institutions, never run out of scare materials." If some, annoyed by efforts to secure for alleged communists their constitutional rights, have hotly declared with the *Constitution* that "all the mouthings by members of the so-called 'Civil Liberties Union' about the guarantees of free speech and free assemblage . . . are wild claims of folks

who have a curious yen to 'deny the facts,' " others have reflected, with the *Wheeling Register*, that "Suppression of the right to think is the surest way to provoke discontent and produce disorder. . . . Injustice is injustice whether it is exploited by radicals or not, and it will not do to attempt to silence protests and shove wrongs out of sight by running up the old danger signal—'Communists.' "

But the dissenters, it must be repeated, are few and their arguments ineffective. They may point out day after day the absurdity of supposing that the southern Negro is about to be converted to communism, the absurdity of implying that the masses of southern whites in factory and on farm, debt-conscious and resentful though they may be as the Populists of another day were resentful, are on the verge of embracing the doctrines of Lenin. Their voices will be drowned in the chorus of patriotic warnings. Most southern newspapers know well how to make a din when dragging herrings.

The din evoked by the visit of the Dreiser party to Kentucky, late in 1931, evidenced the skill of southern newspapers in making journalistic noise. The visit, it will be recalled, had the dual purpose of aiding striking coal miners on trial charged with murder, and of studying conditions in the coal fields. Some organs followed the lead of the *Louisville Times*, which, admitting that "A good deal is wrong in Harlan," withered the visitors with the remark that "a professed Communist living capitalistically is not a convincing figure as head of an investigating group." Others held with the learned *Harlan Enterprise* that "it is the radical, un-American views as preached by Dreiser and his motley followers that have caused conditions in these hills to reach the breaking point," or agreed with the *Middlesboro Daily News* that "These head-line seekers are anathema to the people of Bell county." A harmonious note was sounded by the *Paducah Sun-Democrat*, which thought that "In their present plight the Kentucky coal-fields would probably prefer Mr. Dreiser's check to his presence." And when Dreiser was arrested by the majesty of Kentucky justice, some journals anticipated, with the vexed *Pineville Sun*, "another Scopes trial and all the attendant monkey business."

These quotations are typical of comments in the large majority of Kentucky newspapers upon the Dreiser visit and upon subsequent similar episodes. Only a handful inside, and outside, the commonwealth discussed the whole problem with some degree of temperate judgment, or had the discernment to see that the status of the Constitution in Kentucky is a matter of national concern.

This extraordinary sensitiveness to outside criticism, it should be said in passing, is one of the few things that distinguish southerners

and southern journalism from people and journalism elsewhere. As remote as he is from that conflict, no true southerner seems to be able to forget that once there was a War Between the States. And constantly he is reminded that he is not like other men. The *Savannah News* reminded when, indignant at the latest exposé of penal conditions in Georgia, it assured its readers that "Georgia need not be ashamed of its penitentiary system. Many Northern and Western States have grave reasons to be ashamed of theirs." The *Tuscaloosa* (Ala.) *News* reminded when, at the close of the third act in the Scottsboro cases, it defiantly told the world: "Regardless of the raving grandstand play of defense attorney Leibowitz and the hubbub raised by Communistic organizations of the East, we in Alabama know that the Negro Patterson received a fair and honest trial."

A characteristic display of sensitiveness followed the perhaps clumsily phrased reference by the secretary of labor to the market in the South for shoes. Some southern newspapers, it is true, treated the reference in the genial manner of the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*: "Shoes in January—yes. . . . But a regimented civilization that would put leather on Southern feet in the depths of midsummer? Never! As well put calico pants on Polynesian ladies and be done with it, Miss Perkins." But for every *Virginian-Pilot* there were at least a dozen like the *Nashville Banner*, which gravely assured Miss Perkins that there are a number of highly successful shoe factories below the Potomac—a dozen like the *Jackson* (Miss.) *Daily News*, which added and divided figures to show what Mississippi spent for shoes in 1929—"about \$7 per capita for every man, woman, child, black and white, rich and poor, in the Commonwealth."

Of course, judgments of southern dailies occasionally may be due as much to ignorance of fact and to hasty, superficial thinking as to conservative principles or willful misrepresentation or simple Southern sensitiveness. To illustrate: The *Florida Times-Union* tells its readers that "It is proved by statistics that the machine is not driving the workers overboard"; on the contrary, machines and inventions merely mean "but further extensions of our liberties." The *Louisville Courier-Journal* declared, in early February, 1932: "Acceptance by the railway labor unions of a 10 per cent cut in the present wage scale, thus saving the carriers \$215,000,000 with which to meet fixed charges during the coming year, is the most hopeful development in the railroad situation since the Interstate Commerce Commission approved an increase in rates. The way now seems to be open for recovery." In the summer of 1932 the *Savannah Morning News* believed that business was certainly "on the upgrade." Dun's,

Bradstreet's, Roger Babson, and Irving Fisher all had proclaimed it. "And the market pages these days corroborate the opinion thus expressed by a quarter that can't be beat for acumen and accuracy." Again, six months after the collapse of the stock market and the beginning of the economic depression, the erudite *Atlanta Constitution*, "The Standard Southern Newspaper," hopefully told its readers that "In the long showing the census of the South promises to prove that the industrialization now going forward rapidly will work out a great and more prosperous South than any of us have hitherto dreamed possible. The inexorable economics of the situation will enforce a dual and co-operating industrial and agricultural *modus vivendi*. That will result in a greater and happier industrial population and a more intelligent, thrifty and prosperous farming population, with the great and sustaining cotton industry constituting the solid foundation for all."

Thus bland bewilderment may serve equally with hidebound Toryism to enlighten a journal's public.

V

DURING THE DECADE that ended March 4, 1933, it should be apparent by now, the positions variously to be taken by southern newspapers toward a given economic problem could have been predicted with a great deal of accuracy. Members of the group by far the most numerous would have employed the admirably flexible dogmas of *laissez-faire*. Those of another group would have preferred to avoid issues. A much smaller number would have voiced what in the United States has been called radicalism, but what is essentially only a mild form of liberalism—a static and therefore unrealistic form of Jeffersonianism; a handful would have uttered views more nearly in keeping with economic facts. None would have exhibited a thoroughgoing radicalism; no daily newspaper in the South ever could have qualified as the organ even for a group so moderately radical as the British Labor party.

But since March 4 the lines have become badly confused. What a particular newspaper will say today gives no certain clue to what it will utter tomorrow, nor to what it will be pronouncing when this article appears in print. All one can now foresee is that if the laws of probability still hold, the average newspaper (like the average citizen) will be saying something comparably biased, trite, or superficial, to what it was declaring any time these last ten years.

The reasons for this feverish performance are obvious enough. Since March 4 great political and economic changes unmistakably have taken place. Those changes, some observers assert, amount to

a bloodless revolution. Those changes, some assert, mark a complete break with the past, and put America's feet once more on the upward path to Progress. Ugly practices in economics have been abolished. Farmers and other toilers are henceforth to receive a fair return for sweat. Happy days are here again. The lion and the lamb will presently lie down together.

This may be true, and doubtless most editors, in their bewildered way, are glad enough to believe it. Most editors never had any effective grasp of economics ; they have no such grasp now. But they do know a depression when it runs over them, and they do know when the markets are going up. Furthermore, on March 4 the typical southern editor was in fine humor to shout for the New Deal. It is hardly exaggeration to say that he was a badly frightened man. If, then, the series of disastrous events since the autumn of 1929, culminating in the national breakdown of banking, were to him of the order of demons, to be fenced off by silence or exorcised with cant, the inaugural words of Roosevelt were the words of a confident messiah about to reveal the promised land. And the hosannas were loud, and they were practically unanimous. It is probable that if Roosevelt had announced himself the spiritual godchild of Lenin, the southern editor would have swallowed his embarrassment and let out an earnest whoop.

How long the enthusiasm will continue it is no duty of this article to guess. To the general run of editors the real nature of the revolution is even yet far from clear. They would be pleased to have a bit more light and guidance. They would be pleased to be authoritatively told just what manner of path it is they are asked to set foot upon. That it is not communism, as some editors privately dreaded—that it is not even socialism, as others believed they had cause to fear—so much they begin to see. That it actually means an intelligible program for the employment of essential social control to the end of preserving capitalism—so much, too, is apparent to the clearer-headed among the journalists. But the limits of potential control have not been set ; nor, as these lines are written, have all the implications of present control been realized by the editors.

In brief, most editors have been violently dragged loose from their old mental moorings. For the present, they hang suspended from the tail of the Roosevelt kite, cutting strange and unconvincing capers in the variable winds. It is not to be wondered at if they cheer the smiling gentleman on the other end of the string, and if they hope he will let them down not too far from home. Perhaps when the descent has been made, the full meaning of the New Deal made clear, enthusiasm will none the less continue. Perhaps, indeed, this

article will prove to be a commentary upon a period of southern journalism that no longer will exist, a period whose last millennial days witnessed the death of the gods of *laissez faire* and a miraculous multiplying of journalistic tongues for intelligent, disinterested social leadership. . . . Perhaps. In the meantime completeness requires a glance at what newspapers have recently been saying.

"One more proof," declared the *Nashville Banner* as it hailed the inaugural address, "that, as every great epoch has called for a great leader, so never has the nation lacked the citizen to measure to the demands." And the *Jackson (Miss.) News* admitted a thrill of delight when it saw Roosevelt climbing Capitol Hill bearing "on his sturdy shoulders the big stick made famous in Roosevelt tradition." If Congress fails, said the *Dallas News*, "the country will strongly back him in his demand for virtual war powers."

The depression "has produced some strange schemes," decided the same *Dallas News*, "but none more fantastic" than the administration's plan for cotton acreage reduction, a plan which in coming years, according to the *Savannah News*, "will be looked back to as one of the most absurd suggestions that were made for economic relief."

"Industry has long been demanding many of the changes contemplated by the President's economic plan," declared the *Memphis Commercial-Appeal*, which "does not believe in government competition with business, nor does it believe in government interference with business. But it does believe in government co-operation with business."

Holding that the country is "Getting Back to Normal," the *Macon News* warned that "whenever we get the notion that we can sit down and 'plan' a system by which the law of supply and demand can be set aside, along comes the grasshopper or the hot weather, or both, to cut short a crop, and send the prices of commodities higher, after they have already been artificially stimulated. Not only are general conditions getting back to normal, but it won't be long before we are using normal methods to keep ourselves normal."

Readers of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* learned that that organ was impressed by Mr. Roosevelt's demonstration of leadership; he "knew what he wanted of Congress; was outspoken in telling Congress what he wanted; and Congress, without question or hesitation, conformed to his will."

"Neither the farm nor home relief plan," the *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch* discovered, "is proposed as a cure-all for the mortgage situation . . . but it should help to establish confidence in real estate, urban and rural."

"The new deal provides for a surgical operation on the sick body of banking that is certain to cause pain and loss of blood," commented the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, "but which will leave the country with the kind of banking system on which it can build with confidence."

But, said the *New Orleans Item*, "it is quite easy, on the other hand, to go much too far in condemnation of bankers as a class. . . . When the present investigation is over, it will be found that most of our bankers have been just about as honest and well-meaning as grocers and college professors and that many of them have themselves been victims of the passing storm."

America apparently has "buried the partizan hatchet," thought the *Charlotte Observer*, which later decided that when one painstakingly scrutinizes "this apparently strange theory of economics" (the Roosevelt theory), it becomes "more logical than it appears on the surface."

To the *Knoxville Journal*, pleasantly located in the Tennessee river valley, the Muscle Shoals plan "presages the greatest era of development that has occurred in the South since this section unsuccessfully attempted to set up a separate nation."

"If the President is right," sagely concluded the *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch*, "he is brilliantly and prophetically right. If he is wrong, he is terribly and calamitously wrong. It behooves us all to hope, and keep on hoping, that he is right."

Such are representative comments from Southern dailies in the weeks since March 4. The reader may judge for himself whether Pentecost is at hand. It will require little effort to judge what troublous dreams have disturbed most editorial sleep since the beginning of the New Deal.

VI

THUS FAR THE discussion has been mainly concerned with the attitudes of southern newspapers toward matters obviously economic. But there have been other matters. How have newspapers dealt with them? Not always quite consistently. Logically, Philistinism in economics implies a similar attitude toward the race problem, or education, or religion. So, also, with toryism; and so with the present-day version of Jeffersonianism. In practice, each sometimes gives voice to opinions seemingly out of harmony with fundamental views.

For example, the *Charlotte Observer*, which was convinced that Sacco and Vanzetti "got just what was due them," which has been as stiff-necked as any southern journal in defense of textile operators and in condemnation of efforts to organize textile workers, whose editor in September, 1932, joined in petitioning the governor of

North Carolina "in heaven's name" to save the state "from further predatory acts by these so-called modern educators against 'things of the spirit' "—even the *Charlotte Observer*, proclaiming itself "The Foremost Newspaper in the Carolinas," will condemn lynching or cautiously decry the activities of political parsons. Even the *Knoxville Journal*, prompt to discover behind labor troubles the machinations of communists and prompt to commend the action of a Tennessee legislature in passing a bill requiring school children "to honor the flag," will condemn lynching and assert that education is a rather good thing. Even the *Charleston New and Courier*, gravely arguing under recent editorship for a theory of states' rights that was mortally wounded at Appomattox, will smile at fervid Fundamentalists.

So with the *Montgomery Advertiser*, "Constructive, Fearless, Independent." Normally conservative, occasionally sensitive to the point of insisting that in the Scottsboro case, for instance, Alabama had "deported herself with dignity, self-restraint and as a state having a sense of justice and love of law and order," yet it argues against Prohibition, sees red when members of the clergy delve in politics, and praises such institutions as Tuskegee; and during the last decade it has taken the lead in laughing the Klan into oblivion and in exposing masked keepers of the public morals of rural Alabama. Moreover, it vigorously disagreed with the opinion of a judge of the Alabama Court of Appeals that the testimony of an atheist is inadmissible. In industrial Birmingham, the *News*, "The South's Greatest Newspaper," presents a similar case. The *News* was "gratified that the unsound and unsatisfactory disposition" of Muscle Shoals "as proposed in the Norris bill has been rejected by the president" (this, of course, was before the New Deal), and it looked lovingly upon Owen D. Young as a presidential possibility whom good Democrats should draft into service. It has argued, moreover, that "The masses of Americans are relatively well-conditioned. The hunger of Arkansas farmers just now and their extraordinary gesture of helping themselves from mercantile stores shocked the nation. But the very wonder of gaping Americans . . . evidenced the fundamental soundness of our social and economic structure." Yet the *News* has insistently demanded more generous appropriations for education, white and Negro, in Alabama; and in discussing lynching it observed that "Mob lust to kill is peculiarly hideous in this ordered civilization of ours that has created courts of justice." It has even been known to laugh at former Senator Fess and the Daughters of the American Revolution, "which persists in its big-navy talk and in its hugging of ghosts when it might try to face the problems of our economic life or of our international attitude."

In discussing moral and religious matters, too, the southern press has not always divided along the lines familiar when economic questions are at issue. True, such matters get less attention from editors today than they once did. As the *Miami Herald* said in explaining why the Bible is less quoted than formerly, quotation may lead to religious controversy, "something that intelligent editors of this day avoid, if possible." But not always is it possible to avoid. The presidential campaign of 1928 produced a religious issue which even "intelligent editors" could not ignore. So did the Dayton trial. In both cases newspapers expressed views agreeably surprising in the light of past performance.

Thus, the respectably conservative *Chattanooga Times*, following the conviction of Scopes, found that "One of the most poignant results of the trial was its disclosure of widespread intellectual bondage. It brought into the spotlight vast numbers of minds locked in tradition, dogma, and prejudice. . . . The trial was . . . only an incident in an age-old struggle that will continue so long as there are men who think for themselves and men who let others think for them." The similarly conservative *Memphis Commercial-Appeal* insisted that "What Tennessee needs is better laws and fewer of them," when the author of the anti-evolution measure solemnly announced his intention to get a bill passed prohibiting gossip in Tennessee. It is true that some dailies, like the *Knoxville Journal*, saw behind the Scopes defense the purpose "to prosecute Fundamentalism" and reflect upon "the God-fearing, home-loving, decent people of this section," who were "shocked by the methods of the chief exponents of agnosticism and modernism." It is true that other dailies, like the *Nashville Banner*, turned eagerly as "The little town of Dayton fades from the big map" to hymn the economic "advance of the South," which "has been so rapid that it amounts to almost a revolution." But it is also true that a majority of southern dailies shared the view of the *Chattanooga Times*.

The same majority was again vocal when the sovereign people of Arkansas outlawed evolution in 1928; and some of them were vigorous in attack when anti-Catholicism raised its head in the political wars of that year. The same majority has condemned lynching of Negroes; has advocated raising the Negro's economic status and improvement of relations between the two races; has agreed with the *Houston Post-Dispatch* that flare-ups of mob violence as instanced in racial conflicts in Texas and in sporadic efforts by masked floggers to improve morals in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, were an "exhibition of lawlessness" which "defies apology." Even the *Nashville Tennessean* has admitted that "Our record for the

treatment of the Negro is not yet all that it should be." Some of the same majority, though conceding "the entire sincerity of the Bishop" as did the *Dallas Morning News*, have joined with the *Richmond News Leader* in hoping that Bishop Cannon's stock market experience "will teach him that his judgment of right and wrong is not infallible."

Much of this is sensible enough, and it has a liberal tone. Not too closely examined, it might very well pass for the genuine article. So might the *Commercial-Appeal's* conclusion, in 1925, that "War is an international folly, a useless sacrifice of lives and money, and it is regrettable that the United States has so long held aloof from the concerted effort to outlaw it." So might the *News and Courier's* warning that "The Democratic party can not live forever, even in this state, on its good past—if it shall have also a bad past"; the *Courier-Journal's* declaration that the situation in China early in 1932, instead of an argument for a larger navy, "is an argument for concerted international action to end hostilities, force respect for treaties of peace and arbitrate and secure general disarmament"; the *Lynchburg News's* decision, during the banking investigation of 1933, that private banking firms possess power "that even when not used is a threat to democratic government and to the freedom of business and of individuals"; the *San Antonio Express's* naïve approval of the nomination of Judge James H. Wilkerson to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals as "a conspicuously deserved promotion," following his sentencing of the gangster Capone to the federal penitentiary. So might seem liberal several dozen expressions a day which could be sifted from the editorial grist of five hundred southern dailies.

But more often than not the appearance is deceptive. The authentic temper of the southern press, considered as a group, is revealed when demand for effective control of utilities threatens private irresponsibility, when public welfare conflicts with the claims of private profit, when stirrings among labor disturb the function of private capital, when "radical" movements or movements branded as radical threaten "the home, the school, the church, the state," and the security of capitalism. Then the real voice of the southern press speaks with unmistakable force and meaning.

The causes for this playing of various tunes, this apparent lack of internal consistency, are not hard to determine. The fact, briefly put, is that there is no actual inconsistency. Southern and American journalists who today give expression to principles which still show the tints of liberalism, and tomorrow give expression to attitudes which in effect contradict the former, are nevertheless acting harmoniously with the society in which they function. If that society is essentially chaotic, and its journalism for the most part muddle-

headed, still, in reflecting the chaos journalism does display the consistency of a mirror (grimy and bespecked enough, in all truth) which reflects the chaos of a disordered room.

Among the dusty furnishings in the southern cultural heritage are certain concepts variously derived, some from Rousseau, the Physiocrats, Jefferson, the frontier, others from later sources. Outstanding among them are the concepts of public education, of natural rights, of equality before the law, of separation of church and state, of the secret ballot, of freedom of speech. It is hardly necessary to point out that when first proposed these ideas and their implications were indeed liberal. It would be perfectly accurate to say that they were radical ideas ; for each of them stood in deadly conflict, as radical ideas stand today, with some group's vested interests. The history of modern times well into the nineteenth century has been largely the history of efforts to get them grounded in the politics of nations. Still, recognized they came to be, and in the South as well as elsewhere, though never so generally nor with such deep conviction of their efficacy as was the case in sections unblest with a peculiar institution. Few southern editors, even when slavery agitation was at its fiercest, cared to argue that the Negro was born with a natural right to be the white man's slave.

But during the process of adoption, those concepts were shorn of their novelty. By 1830 they could frighten only the most timid souls. Moreover, once adopted, they began to alter in content and to lose their original vitality. Once accepted by the masses, the idea of separation of church and state tended to become a stereotype helpful in avoiding further inquiry as to the proper relation of the two institutions in modern society—or useful in undermining the constitutional rights of minorities. Once grasped by the masses, the notion of "natural rights" was degraded to mean the right of every man to get the better of his neighbour. Free speech and equality before the law came to be similarly sterile ideas, devoid of vital meaning—ready phrases on the tongues of smug people actually absorbed in the high enterprise of getting ahead in Philistia. And so with the rest of the democratic dogmas.

The causes for this decay may be found, as some contend, in the nature of man. They may be found, as others contend, in the nature of Protestantism ; as still others assert, in an economic system which, however ancient, certainly came to flower in the burgeoning time of democracy. But whatever their origin or origins, the causes have operated and the concepts have decayed. To employ them today is not therefore necessarily to be radical. To cite them, even to praise them, is not necessarily to be liberal. It may be, and it often is,

merely to engage in uncritical babbling about what requires critical restatement. It may be, and it sometimes is, merely an easy way of attracting a reputation, or of satisfying the convention that a newspaper supply leadership. Certainly it can amount to nothing important if it fails to insist upon a reinterpretation of old ideas in the light of new knowledge, and based upon a clear perception that the real issues today are social and economic, as well as political.

This is not to argue that freedom of speech, for example—in the South as well as in Pennsylvania or Kansas—is no longer an important principle which should engage the support of journalists. Incident after incident proves that it does need their intelligent support. The point is that the typical journalist who readily commends the principle, or even the occasional journalist who fights for free speech without understanding the forces which oppose it and often render it a mere fiction, is not perforce a liberal or “radical” journalist. He may be simply an average journalist employing a perfectly safe stereotype to round out his daily stint. Or he may be only a conservative journalist declaiming for fair dealing, but failing or refusing to comprehend why a principle has been violated.

VII

BOTH THE WEEKLY press and the Negro press must be considered in any discussion of southern journalism, but neither requires the extended treatment necessary for urban journalism.

As the figures quoted earlier will show, the country weeklies greatly outnumber the dailies. It is doubtful, however, if their influence is nearly so strong. For this condition there are several reasons. One reason is that the average small town yearns to become a big town; and editors, close followers of urban exchanges, often take their cue from the big-town press. Another reason is that all the solid-citizen subscribers also subscribe to a daily, to which source they in preference turn for inspiration in public affairs. Thus in both ways daily journalism extends its shadow into the field of the weekly. But the underlying reason is the fact that, in the main, the editors of the weekly press are very incompetent performers.

This assertion will not be questioned by anyone who undertakes the job of examining a representative batch of weeklies. The first thing that will strike him is the untidy general appearance. Daily newspapers, with the exception of the Hearst journals and their imitators, are not offensive to the eye. The average weekly is. One is led to wonder whether country editors are a peculiar human type, born without that elemental sense of neatness and form which would tend to introduce some measure of harmony into an aggregation of

news matter, headlines, and advertisements. Country print shops are not, of course, equipped to turn out such typographical excellencies as a Baltimore *Sunpaper*. But the fact that an occasional weekly is a neat and creditable production suggests that many editors are unpardonably remiss.

The fundamental failure of the rural journalist, however, is much more serious than a failure in typography. Long ago the growth of the urban press and the demand of readers for timeliness in the news columns made it impossible for the average weekly to compete with the daily in fields other than that of local news. This fact the editor apparently has refused to grasp; nor has he taken advantage of the opportunities in the local field, in which, obviously, he is beyond urban competition. Space which might appropriately be devoted to agricultural news he fills with stale accounts of a Spanish election. Other space which might contain well written stories of locally important happenings he fills with sloppily written versions, hemmed in by syndicated material of no significance to the community. A few editors have seen the light, and their weekly products are gratifying exceptions. But as one observer remarked after a study of the rural press:

"The vast majority of the weekly newspapers edited in small towns follow traditional lines and seem more drab, uninteresting, and futile than ever. . . . At least 5,000 of these papers, it is estimated, are issued on sheets supplied by newspaper syndicates with the inside pages already printed and the outside pages left blank to receive whatever local news and advertisements the editor can get together. . . . Filler in the form of 'boiler plate' which consists of separate syndicated articles, stories, pictures, and paragraphs already set up into type and ready for printing is widely used. . . . Publicity agents representing national organizations interested in legislative programs, political parties, large industrial corporations, etc., furnish these newspaper syndicates well-prepared material designed to mold public opinion in their favor. . . . The syndicates . . . find it convenient to use material already prepared and so foist upon the country press propaganda of this kind to a larger extent than is ordinarily realized. . . .

"Measured by Horace Greeley's standard for a newspaper, that it should be a perfect mirror of community life, the typical small town paper comes far short of this ideal in its failure to write up attractively and consistently the local news. . . ."¹

It comes far short, too, in the editorial function. Country life need not be the drab, weary, back-breaking existence it has been for

¹ Jesse F. Steiner, "The Rural Press." *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1927.

the masses of the rural South and still, even in the towns, largely continues to be. Country life is clearly entitled to the conveniences of the city household. But country life which seeks to be a copy of city life is a contradiction and an absurdity. Few rural editors seem to comprehend this truth. Those who condemn the city do so because of provincial prejudices rather than rational choice. Those who look enviously upon the city, and they are in the majority, are impressed less by its cultural potentialities than by achievements evident to ear and eye. Their ambition for the small town is to have it become a big town, proud of its growth in traffic, brick and mortar, landscaped suburban estates, smells, and the magic of big names. They have no conception, it must be inferred, of the possibility of evolving a rural society as authentic and as satisfying to spirit as is life in, for example, a German village.

Such an editor plainly lacks the ability to supply his community with genuine leadership. Leadership of a kind he does offer, if echoing urban dailies or catering to denominationalism or confirming class prejudices or condemning the "Reds" or filling his editorial columns with sagacious observations on political matters be entitled to the name of leadership. Leadership in obscurity and inaction he seems by nature qualified to give. But leadership toward a healthy rural culture seems beyond his journalistic powers.

Certain suggestive variants from the general type are worthy of note. The *Dalton* (Ga.) *Citizen*, while it tends to concern itself much with state and national politics and sometimes advances second-hand arguments hard to accept, often seeks company with the more intelligent dailies or turns a critical eye closer home. Probably a few similar weeklies could be found in each state. At Norton, Virginia, Bruce Crawford publishes *Crawford's Weekly*, one of the best known and one of the most independent weeklies in the United States.

The *Chapel Hill* (N. C.) *Weekly*, edited by a former professor of journalism who tired of the class-room, is unique in the weekly field. Its eclectic individualism and good-naturedly gossipy, original discussion of local and general affairs make it invaluable to the college community. It had a kind of homespun cousin in the *Dah-
lonega* (Ga.) *Nugget*, whose aged editor, until his death in June, 1933, followed since youth the practice of standing in bare feet before the type fonts while he set up by hand his gems of homely sense and prejudice as the words came to his mind. Both weeklies are original enough to meet any demands, but neither would quite answer the needs of the average small town.

North Carolina has another exception in the *Elizabeth City In-*

dependent. The editor has condemned corruption in local public affairs and, contrary to the practice of most editors, has waged a long and perhaps quixotic fight against Fundamentalism in theology. Naturally he has scandalized all good citizens, some to the extent of responding with armed but unsuccessful attempts to intimidate. A share of his courage would be a fine addition to the equipment of the average editor.

Sherwood Anderson's *Smyth County Items* (Marion, Va.), purchased in 1928 and perhaps the most publicized weekly in America, is another exception from which the country editor could learn much. Mr. Anderson has made himself at home in Marion. As one commentator remarked, his "good judgment appears in that he realizes that a county weekly is an entirely different form of literary endeavor from a city daily. He has been most energetic in finding correspondents to send in personals. From every cross-roads in the county comes the news of who took dinner at whose home on Sunday and who is recovering from an illness. Our county paper does not repeat the city daily, but takes up where the latter left off."²

Of the weeklies named, the first two and the last seem to offer most of interest to the student of weekly journalism; yet each has something to offer to editors of the weekly press.

As for Negro journalism in the South, it is of far less consequence even than the country press. Practically all the publications are weeklies, for the most part poorly edited and rarely having anything original to say. In politics their editors are staunch Republicans; and in the political field they perform as facilely—and, it must be admitted, as discerningly and often as gainfully—as the average rural editor. During the last decade typical papers have been established in Dallas, Houston, Norfolk, Richmond, Savannah, Atlanta, with the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* rated the best edited of the lot.

In 1926 a Negro journalist of Boston published an analysis of the American Negro press. His conclusions will hold today, with the reservation that Negro journals are relatively fewer in the South than elsewhere and even more conservative and political in tone.

"From a pile of 220 Aframerican weeklies," he writes, "one may drop 197 as little more than waste paper. Of the remaining twenty-three, ten are mediocrities." After naming the thirteen better publications, only two of which (the *Journal and Guide* and the *Savannah Tribune*) were published in the South, he continues:

"In size and makeup these papers greatly resemble their more yellow daily contemporaries. . . . In addition they have 'race'

² L. R. Dickinson, "Smyth County Items." *Outlook*, April 11, 1928.

syndicate features of every variety for every shade of taste. Aframerican journalism, indeed, is violently race-conscious. . . .

"Withal, the Aframerican journalist remains stanchly conservative. A 'radical' Negro press simply doesn't exist. Liberalism may—and, in fact, does—show its head now and then, but the Negro editor surely does not long for a soviet government. . . ."³

An interesting development in Negro journalism in the South is the special edition for Negro subscribers, a device adopted by many white dailies in recent years. Some page of a regular edition, perhaps the market page, is made over for news gathered under the direction of a "colored editor," usually a member of the local ministry or the principal of a Negro school.

This special edition is valid in that it gratifies more fully than would otherwise be the case an elemental desire of human beings to read about themselves and their concerns. But beyond this service it is hopelessly trivial. Rarely does editorial opinion appear, and even more rarely is the opinion worth the space. Typically, the page contains a column or more of church notices, each urging the flock to attend and conspicuously signed by pastor and scribe; another column of club notices, similarly persuasive and similarly signed; advance eulogies of a picnic or a dance, with a big time promised to one and all; perhaps the account of a boxing match for the diversion of the fast set; perhaps some verses patterned after those of Edgar A. Guest; maybe the doings of a church convention or a benevolent brotherhood, or a syndicated story about some Negro celebrity; more church and club notices wedged in here and there.

Obviously here is nothing to confuse and unsettle Negro readers or to alarm members of the dominant race.

VIII

THE ESTIMATE OF recent journalism presented in these pages hardly will attract those who dislike sober colors. It would be possible to compose a brighter picture. By emphasizing number and size, by enumerating "good will" promotion tricks paraded as public services, by comparing, example for example, southern newspapers with journals in other sections, by glossing over the typical and emphasizing the rare organs worthy of honest praise or even of only respect, it would be possible to make out a case for southern journalism and to show that, in the main, it is as good as American journalism. The weakness in such a case would be that it failed to show anything about the badness of American journalism.

But making out cases seems less important now than it may have

³ Eugene Gordon, "The Negro Press." *American Mercury*, June, 1926.

seemed some years ago. What does seem important is the effort to understand the inwardness of southern journalism as it functions today in relation to southern culture as it exists today. That effort must decline the aid of rosy lenses. For the truth, briefly put, comes to this :

Whatever distinctive qualities southern journalism and southern culture once may have possessed have been largely lost in the new South's industrial culture.

The great majority of southern newspapers are smug class organs, standardized, superficial, often unfair in the presenting of news, and worse than useless as interpreters of the present scene or as guides to the future.

A handful or so of journals putter around in the past, revealing more dignity than sense of actuality.

A still smaller number turn inquiring eyes toward the present and try with varying success to justify journalism as a social institution. That the nature of society is against them, even the severest critic would be compelled to admit. Even so, perhaps they would achieve more uniform and greater success if their thinking would renounce the familiar academic grooves and learn to frequent more often the less hazy paths of science.

SOUTHERN MAGAZINES

BY JAY B. HUBBELL

NOT UNTIL THE better American magazines were threatened with extinction did their history receive any considerable attention from our scholars. Frank Luther Mott's *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* was not published until 1930. In that year I learned that one of the oldest and best of the New York magazines was losing twenty-five thousand dollars a year. Some of the better magazines have ceased publication, and those which survive are in difficulties. Their troubles are not due merely to the depression; other causes are the radio, the moving picture, and the metropolitan Sunday newspaper with its numerous magazine features. The literary magazine can not command a large enough circulation to secure the advertising now necessary to make it a profitable venture. It is certainly time that we realized the importance of the part played in our cultural history by our magazines and devoted some attention to their history.

The southern magazines—probably the best expression of the mind of the South—were never adequately supported in their day, and all but a handful have been forgotten. We have seldom cared enough about them to collect their back files, and as a result the literature of the South is better studied in northern libraries. It was impossible to complete this essay without going to northern libraries for much of my material. I do not have in mind merely the forgotten magazines of the ante-bellum South. It was only in the New York Public Library that I found nearly complete files of certain important magazines of the twentieth century: *The Double Dealer*, *The Reviewer*, *The Fugitive*, and *Uncle Remus's Magazine*. The literature of the South is of considerable importance, at least to us who live there, but we shall never know much about it until we stop boasting of our literary achievements and *study* them. If we had only written adequate biographies of our authors, collected their works, made them available for investigation, and given some real account of literary

activity in the South, we should have no occasion to complain that the rest of the country had failed to recognize our legitimate claims.

The method of approach employed in this essay is necessarily historical. The southern magazines can not be fully understood without some account of American magazines in general, nor can twentieth-century southern magazines—with which this essay is primarily concerned—be adequately explained without some knowledge of their predecessors and their background.

I

IN ITS FIRST stage the American magazine was little more than an imitation of the British magazine of the eighteenth century. It was greatly influenced also by the British quarterly reviews that arose in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. *The North American Review*, our oldest surviving magazine, founded in Boston in 1815, and *The Southern Review*, founded in Charleston in 1828, were modeled on the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*. It was not long, however, particularly in the North, before the American magazine began to diverge from its British prototype and become distinctively American. Our readers, for example, wanted more light reading, especially short fiction, than the British magazines supplied. American editors, many of whom habitually filled their columns by pillaging British books and magazines, could find few short stories; they had consequently to pay American authors to write them. The early stories of Poe and Hawthorne found their way naturally into magazines, annuals, and occasionally newspapers. It was a weekly magazine, *The Baltimore Saturday Visiter*, which in 1833 awarded to Poe a fifty-dollar prize for his "MS. Found in a Bottle," and thus gave the obscure young genius his first taste of popularity.

Poe, who was the ablest magazinist of his time, was quick to discern the literary tendencies of his day. In 1841 he wrote to Longfellow:

"I need not call your attention to the signs of the times in respect to magazine literature. You will admit that the tendency of the age lies in this way—so far at least as regards the lighter letters. The brief, the terse, the condensed, and the easily circulated will take place of the diffuse, the ponderous, and the inaccessible. Even our Reviews (*lucus a non lucendo*) are found too massive for the taste of the day:—I do not mean for the taste of the tasteless, but for that of the few."

The South was behind the North in establishing magazines. The two earliest American magazines—Andrew Bradford's *American Magazine* and Benjamin Franklin's *General Magazine*—appeared in

Philadelphia in 1741. The first of the southern magazines, according to Mott, *The South Carolina Weekly Museum*, made its appearance in Charleston as late as 1797. For a long time the South was satisfied with its pamphlets and its newspapers, which even in colonial times had a literary importance not now generally recognized. The number of pamphlets turned out by local newspaper printing shops is legion, and they are by no means all concerned with politics. The pamphleteers of seventeenth-century England have their parallel even in the nineteenth-century South. Newspapers rather than magazines were the medium through which the important writings of southern humorists were given circulation. Mark Twain, the successor to Longstreet, Baldwin, Hooper, Harris, and Bagby, published his early work in Missouri newspapers. Joel Chandler Harris wrote his first essays for *The Countryman*, which was edited and published by a Georgia planter whose name seems significant, Joseph Addison Turner. The *Spectator* tradition was still alive in the South as late as the sixties. Some of the best work of Lafcadio Hearn found its way into New Orleans newspapers some time after the Civil War. Even in the twentieth century some of the best writing of the South appeared first on the book pages of southern newspapers, such as those of Frances Newman in *The Atlanta Constitution*, Donald Davidson in *The Nashville Tennessean*, John H. McGinnis in *The Dallas News*, Lyle Saxon and John McClure in *The New Orleans Times-Picayune*, Nell Battle Lewis in *The Raleigh News and Observer*, and Edwin Björkman in *The Asheville Times*. I use the past tense, for unfortunately the southern book page would seem to have passed its heyday and most of the book pages I have mentioned are now in other hands. In southern newspapers one finds a syndicated column devoted to books by southerners and books about the South, "The Literary Lantern." It was begun about ten years ago by Addison Hibbard, and is now continued by Mr. Phillips Russell.

The motives behind the founding of most ante-bellum southern magazines were, first, the desire to take away the northern and British reproach of cultural inferiority and, second, the ambition to develop and give expression to an independent southern culture. Southerners as well as northerners resented the famous question asked by Sydney Smith in 1820, "Who reads an American book?" If America did not have a great national literature, so their minds reacted, then one must be produced immediately. Similarly, especially after 1825, the South resented northern suggestions to the effect that its culture was inferior, and determined to show the world that it had, or would soon have, a culture and a literature no whit inferior to those of New York and Boston. In the South the centrif-

ugal movement away from England merged into a revolt against the intellectual and commercial dominance of the North. The southern states had never been a thoroughly integrated part of the Union; always they had been "a conscious minority." Southern resentment of the anti-slavery agitation and the failure of the South to share fully in the growth and prosperity of the nation hastened the development of a separate southern nationality, with slavery finally acknowledged as its corner stone. The political results of this movement are well known, but its cultural and literary implications are not so well understood. Yet here is the explanation of the founding of hundreds of forgotten periodicals. One paragraph of the prospectus of *The Southern Review* (1828-32) reads:

"It shall be among our first objects to vindicate the rights and privileges, the character of the Southern states, to arrest, if possible, that current which has been directed so steadily against our country generally, and the South in particular; and to offer to our fellow citizens one Journal which they may read without finding themselves the objects of perpetual sarcasm, or of affected commiseration."

Quite typical also is the opening editorial pronouncement of *The Southern Literary Messenger* (1834-64):

"Hundreds of similar publications thrive and prosper north of the Potomac. *Shall not one be supported in the whole South?* . . . Are we to be doomed forever to a kind of vassalage to our northern neighbors? . . . We ought forthwith to buckle on our armor and assert our mental independence."

A few months later, however, we find the *Messenger* regretfully admitting: "From our Northern and Eastern friends we have received more complimentary notices than from any of our Southern brethren without the limits of our State." The South has never been a worthy patron of its own writers. In 1861, after the opening of the war, a Virginia editor and humorist, George W. Bagby, wrote:

"Southern patriotism never was proof against Northern newspapers and picture magazines. If the angel Gabriel had gone into the very heart of the South, if he had even taken his seat on the top of the office of the *Charleston Mercury* and there proclaimed the immediate approach of the Day of Judgment, that would not have hindered the hottest secessionist from buying the *New York Herald* and subscribing for *Harper's Magazine*."

Even in more recent times the situation has not greatly improved. Edwin Mims has quoted Thomas Nelson Page as saying that more of his books were bought in Boston than in the entire state of Virginia. Mims also tells us that in 1925, when *The Reviewer*

was being ably edited by Paul Green in Chapel Hill, it had exactly thirty subscribers in the entire state of North Carolina.

The lot of the ante-bellum southern editor was a hard one. In *The Magnolia* for January, 1841, that indefatigable promoter of southern magazines, William Gilmore Simms, describes the average editor's experience :

"I know, and can predict, the usual story of confident hope and bold assurance with which they commonly begin. The editor feels his strength and his friends willingly promise theirs. His neighbours pledge their subscriptions, and the beginning of the work is made with considerable energy and eclat. But the progress of a few months soon undeceives the confiding, and blunts the edge of the most sanguine. His contributors,—men, generally, in our country, devoted to other professions,—can only write for him at moments of leisure, which good nature and an amicable desire to oblige, prompts them to employ in this manner. He is necessarily compelled to wait upon them for their articles, which, good, bad or indifferent, he is compelled to publish. The constant drain upon himself, enfeebles his imagination and exhausts his intellect. He has little time for thought, and no opportunity for the exercise of taste and fancy ; and the station which he has self-assumed, so far from being a chair of state, from which he may dispense judgment, and exercise a dignified authority over the world of letters, becomes one of pain, disquiet and the most unintermitted mental drudgery. To these are added other evils. The collections [of subscription pledges] are to be made over an extensive tract of interior country, from a community scattered 'broad-cast' over thousands of miles, and are realized too slowly for the current expenses of the journal. The printer, who is seldom a capitalist, clamors for his monthly dues, and the subscriber recedes from the subscription list, the moment that he is called upon for his. Under the pressure of pecuniary difficulties, the publication of the work becomes irregular—it is finally sent forth on villianous [*sic*] paper, 'but half made up,' and then, chiefly, of such material as is technically [*sic*] called 'Balaam' among the journalists ;—by which is meant that inoffensive sort of commonplace, which is usually furnished by young Misses from their school exercises, and young Masters when they first begin to feel the startling sensations of the tender passion. The subscribers, under these circumstances, naturally reject the work which fails to reward them for perusal ; and the general dissatisfaction of all the parties concerned,—the editor being among the first—soon leads to the early abandonment of an attempt in which nothing has been realized but discredit, annoyance, and expense."

In spite of his full knowledge of the almost certain result Simms the following year took over the editorship of *The Magnolia* and down to the war had a finger in various other southern magazines.

With a few noteworthy exceptions the most important ante-bellum magazines were founded in Charleston. The South had no such literary center as Boston or New York, but Charleston was the nearest approach to such a center. Its culture was the old-fashioned culture of the English gentleman. The Charleston gentleman knew his classics and his English literature, particularly the Elizabethan and eighteenth-century writers. His scholarship was unimpeachable, but it was a little heavy, and his imagination was not particularly creative apart from political ideas. The Charleston magazines were in the main of the English type; they were reviews rather than magazines. The style in which Legaré and the Elliotts wrote seemed somewhat antiquated even to some of their southern readers. Simms's style is more modern. Heavy as they seem, the Charleston reviews with their solid substance make some of our contemporary magazines seem like glorified newspapers, which of course is often all they are.

Chief among the Charleston magazines were: *The Southern Review* (1828-32), edited by Hugh Swinton Legaré and the Stephen Elliotts, father and son; *The Southern Literary Journal* (1835-38), founded by Daniel K. Whitaker, an optimistic New Englander, who relied upon Simms as his chief contributor; *The Magnolia* (1840-43), which began in Macon as *The Southern Ladies' Book*; *The Southern and Western Magazine*, commonly known as *Simms's Monthly Magazine*, which ran throughout the year 1845; and, last and perhaps best of them all, *Russell's Magazine* (1857-60), edited chiefly by Paul Hamilton Hayne, which considered itself a rival of *The Atlantic Monthly*, also founded in 1857. The Charleston group, Hayne, Timrod, Grayson, and others, headed by the aging Simms, seemed on the point of accomplishing something of much greater importance when the Civil War put an end to nearly all literary activity.

For a brief time in the 1830's the South could boast that it had in *The Southern Literary Messenger* (1834-64) the best magazine in America. Founded by a Richmond printer, Thomas W. White, it got off to a slow start. Before long, however, at the suggestion of John Pendleton Kennedy (a member of the committee which had awarded Poe a prize for his "MS. Found in a Bottle"), White employed Poe as editorial assistant. The young poet quickly revealed editorial talents such as are almost as rare among authors as among journalists. Poe's book reviews attracted immediate attention throughout the country. They were based upon a more thorough

understanding of the literary art than anything before seen in America. They were occasionally severe after the fashion of the British quarterly reviewers, Jeffrey, Gifford, and Lockhart, whom Poe had read to some purpose. Poe displayed admirable journalistic acumen in selecting his victims. In one of his most memorable reviews he dissected *Norman Leslie*, a mediocre popular novel by Theodore S. Fay, who was one of the editors of *The New York Mirror*. The subscription list grew rapidly, and the *Messenger* attracted contributors as well as comment from the North; but Poe, who never had a wholly free hand, apparently could not prevent the publication of a certain amount of "Balaam." It was not altogether Poe's drinking that caused White to part with Poe. The printer, jealous of his own periodical, was determined to run it to suit himself, even though he knew that Poe was far better qualified to do it. Poe, too, having had a taste of success, was, like many later southern writers, drawn northward to more attractive fields. He was never quite to realize his ambition of owning a magazine that entirely fulfilled his conception¹ of what an American magazine should be, but he saw that Philadelphia and New York were more strategic locations than Richmond. Perhaps he had already come to the conclusion expressed so emphatically in Simms's italics in 1841: "*We have not one native professional author from the Potomac to the Sabine, who, if he relied on the South purely for his resources, would not, in half the numbers of months in the year, go without his porridge.*"

With the impetus which Poe had given it, the *Messenger* managed to survive until June, 1864. It is, on the whole, the most important of southern magazines, ante-bellum or post-bellum. In make-up and policy it stood midway between the Charleston reviews and such northern magazines as the early *Harper's* and *Graham's*, once edited by Poe. Among its better known editors were Matthew Fontaine Maury, the oceanographer; George W. Bagby, the Virginia humorist; and the poet, John R. Thompson, who edited it from November, 1847, to May, 1860. The *Messenger* played a large part in the development of numerous southern (and some northern) writers; among them, Poe, Hayne, Timrod, Baldwin, and the Cooke brothers, Philip Pendleton and John Esten.

I can not leave the ante-bellum magazines without mentioning a few others: *Niles' Weekly Register* (1811-49), an indispensable mine of political information, and *The Portico* (1816-20), both of Baltimore, which was then more southern than it is now; *De Bow's Review* (1846-64, 1866-70, 1879-80), of New Orleans, chiefly a commercial journal; *The Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* (1836-39,

¹ See Poe's prospectus for *The Penn Magazine* in Hervey Allen, *Israfel*, II, 467-469.

1845-61, 1866-67), of Augusta, which antedates the *Transactions* of the American Medical Association ; and *The Quarterly Review* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1847-61, 1879-1930), which, like other religious journals, often published literary material of importance.

II

THE LITERARY AND cultural consequences of the Civil War were very great, but many of them were not immediately apparent. Since most of the magazines that had survived died early in the war, it was the newspapers that broadcast the many excellent war poems of Timrod and others. In spite of the poverty of the post-bellum South, new magazines came into existence in the years following Appomattox. Southerners took defeat very hard, and the contest which was lost on the battlefield had to be fought again with pen and ink. Conspicuous among the magazines which owed their origin to this impulse were *The Land We Love* (1866-69), edited by General D. H. Hill, and *The Southern Bivouac* (1882-87). They seem futile and pathetic now. It was from early recollections of such periodicals as these that O. Henry wrote "The Rose of Dixie" (in *Options*). "By all the rights of learning, family, reputation, and Southern traditions," Colonel Aquila Telfair is foreordained to be editor of *The Rose of Dixie*. His editorial staff is made up of scions of first families in reduced circumstances. Northern contributors are barred. "As a boom for it, Editor-Colonel Telfair ran three different views of Andrew Jackson's old home, 'The Hermitage,' a full-page engraving of the second battle of Manassas, entitled 'Lee to the Rear!' and a five-thousand-word biography of Belle Boyd in the same number." But the stock-holders, worried over the lack of financial returns, send to Telfair one T. T. Thacker, a Yankee promoter of magazines, who pours on the editor's desk from a big manila envelope some sure-fire material by popular writers. The Colonel, however, after long meditation gives his vacant space not to any of these but to a "human document" by "a thinker, a philosopher, a lover of mankind, a student, and a rhetorician of high degree." It appears in *The Rose of Dixie* under the following caption :

SECOND MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

Written for

THE ROSE OF DIXIE

BY

A Member of the Well-known

BULLOCH FAMILY, OF GEORGIA

T. ROOSEVELT

After the war New York rapidly became the publishing center it now is. The youthful editor of *The Overland Monthly* in San Francisco, Bret Harte, came east after making a ten-strike with "The Luck of Roaring Camp" and another with "The Heathen Chinee." Mark Twain settled in Hartford, Connecticut. Boston could not compete with New York any more than Charleston. Howells finally gave up the editorship of the *Atlantic* and moved to New York. Many new southern and western writers found their chief medium of expression in New York magazines. *Scribner's Monthly*, which later became *The Century Magazine*, was conspicuously hospitable to southern writers. In 1873-74 it sent Edward King on the journey of a year and a half which resulted in a long series of articles, later published as a large book, *The Great South*. In New Orleans King discovered a young clerk who was writing stories of the Creoles because it seemed a pity that such wonderful materials should go so to waste; and before long *Scribner's Monthly* was printing the stories that make up George W. Cable's *Old Creole Days*. The same magazine published poems by Irwin Russell and stories by Thomas Nelson Page. So popular did stories of the South become that a northern novelist and ex-carpetbagger, Judge Albion W. Tourgée, wrote in *The Forum* for December, 1888, "Our literature has become not only Southern in type, but distinctly Confederate in sympathy." Had the pen once more proved itself mightier than the sword? Tourgée went on:

"A foreigner studying our current literature, without knowledge of our history and judging our civilization by our fiction, would undoubtedly conclude that the South was the seat of intellectual empire in America, and the African the chief romantic element of our population. As an evidence of this, it may be noted that a few months ago every one of our great popular monthlies presented a 'Southern story' as one of its most prominent features; and during the past year nearly two-thirds of the stories and sketches furnished to the newspapers by various syndicates have been of this character."

With the best of the northern magazines hospitable to its literary output, the South, which was now socially and culturally almost an integral part of the nation, had little occasion to found literary magazines. One even finds southerners editing northern magazines. A conspicuous example is Walter Hines Page, who at one time was entrusted with that organ of the New England Brahmins, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and who later founded *The World's Work*, recently absorbed in *The Review of Reviews*. H. L. Mencken, whom the South might claim on the double ground of his residence in Baltimore and

a certain sympathy with the South, once calculated that during the first two years of *The American Mercury* (1924-) the South with 23 contributors had supplied 55 contributions as against New England's 24 contributors and 41 contributions. But we are getting ahead of our story.

During the last forty years a large proportion of the better southern magazines have owed their existence to universities or university communities. The oldest of these, founded in 1892, is *The Sewanee Review*, which claims the honor of being "the oldest, living quarterly in the United States." Its first editor was William Peterfield Trent, at that time, Professor of English and History in the University of the South. Ten years later he wrote to his successor, John Bell Henneman :

"My recollection is that my work on the 'Life of Simms' brought me in contact with the *Southern Quarterly*, and other old Southern Reviews, and the criticism my book received emphasized the fact that the South not only needed a literary organ but was less fortunate in that respect than it had been before the war. I also felt that current magazines throughout the whole country did little to supply the kind of literature that the English quarterlies gave England, and I saw no reason why the economic and political quarterlies then being published by our universities could not be paralleled in the field of literature."

Trent and his colleagues in the University of the South had to write most of the material in the early numbers, but northern support began to come from Brander Matthews, Theodore Roosevelt, and others ; and presently *The Sewanee Review* had made a place for itself. "*The Review*," however, Trent admits, "did not become quite as much a Southern organ as I had hoped." Under its present editor, W. S. Knickerbocker, the *Sewanee* has published some of the best literary criticism of the last decade.

More of a southern organ perhaps for a time was *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, founded in 1902 by the 9019 Society of Trinity College (now Duke University) with John Spencer Bassett as editor. Bassett's work in southern history gave him an excellent perspective upon the undertaking on its social and economic side. In his "Editor's Announcement" in the opening number he notes that the rapid economic development of the new South "has been accompanied by a small but healthy movement toward literature." The founders, he tells us, believe that "there is enough talent which can be reached to make such a journal both instructive and creditable to the South." I do not slight other notable contributions when I state that Bassett's editorial articles are the most important material published in the

Quarterly. "The Bottom of the Matter," in the second number, is a plain statement of the reasons for the literary poverty of the South; and none of our literary historians has given so thorough an analysis. The essay is as plain-spoken as Mencken's "The Sahara of Bozart," and it was published eighteen years earlier. "There will be a literature [in the South]," says Bassett, "when people want it." "The people of the South are not a poor people. They have too long hidden some other failures behind this idea." "We do not as a people love literature enough to buy books"—and magazines, he might have added. In the July, 1902, number Bassett discusses "The Problems of the Author in the South":

"The future of authorship in the South will be in the hands of the new man. I mean by this that the men who will write the books of the South will be those who are not descended from what are supposed to be the leading classes. . . . The way of the successful author is pointed out by the successful business man. . . . in business the poor men have not had so much to unlearn. They have had no prejudices against work, no habits of extravagance and no false loyalty to the worn out ideas of a forgotten system."

He criticizes another trait of the new South, not realizing how soon he is to be its victim:

"One of the greatest hindrances to authorship in the South in the past has been a certain intolerance of criticism. . . . For example, when Professor Trent wrote his life of Simms a certain North Carolina editor said it proclaimed that Trent was a black-guard."

Bassett came to know only too well the strength of southern political and social prejudice after he had published in October, 1903, an article entitled "Stirring up the Fires of Race Antipathy." It was an incidental remark in this attack on southern politicians that caused the explosion. Here it is: "Now [Booker T.] Washington is a great and good man, a Christian statesman, and take him all in all the greatest man, save General Lee, born in the South in a hundred years; but he is not a typical negro." Trouble began when Josephus Daniels reprinted the entire article in *The Raleigh News and Observer* and published a long editorial calling attention to what ran counter to North Carolina prejudice. Even now it seems surprising that the Trinity College trustees did not yield to the state-wide demand for Bassett's dismissal, but they did not; and their refusal marks a milestone in the advance of the South toward something like freedom of expression. Fifteen years later the student editor of *The Archive* at Duke University was printing poems and stories by Negro authors in almost every issue, and in the same year at the

University of North Carolina the students gave one entire number of their magazine to articles by Negroes—and yet nothing happened. Since Bassett gave up his editorship with the January, 1905, issue, the *Quarterly* has had an honorable if not exciting history. Following the lead of the historian who first edited it, the *Quarterly* has tried to combine two different rôles, and as a result it has not always been a representative journal of southern opinion or an adequate journal of southern history. It has published much valuable material, and its files, like those of *The Sewanee Review*, are indispensable to the student of southern affairs. But neither magazine has ever for long been a widely recognized spokesman for the South. Neither has been particularly successful in developing young writers, and neither has had much to say about certain acute economic problems of the industrial South.

Southern universities in recent years have founded a number of scholarly journals which, while they seldom contain matter for a newspaper story, command the respect of specialists in this country and abroad. A partial list of them includes *The American Journal of Philology* (1880-), long edited by Basil L. Gildersleeve, who was once a member of the *Russell's* group in Charleston, and *Modern Language Notes* (1886-), both published at The Johns Hopkins University; *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (1897-) and *The Southwestern Political Science Quarterly* (1920-), both at the University of Texas; *Studies in Philology* (1906-), and *The Journal of Social Forces* (1922-), at the University of North Carolina; and *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (1918-), *American Literature* (1929-), *Ecological Monographs* (1931-), and *Character and Personality* (1932-), published by the Duke University Press.

Probably not one of the post-bellum quarterlies mentioned or still to be discussed has or has had a circulation exceeding one thousand, and in many cases it would be safe to conclude that most of their subscribers are not southern. There is one southern magazine, however, *Holland's Magazine* in Dallas, founded in 1876, which has a wide circulation in the South. This it has achieved by becoming as good a southern home magazine and publishing as good material as its readers will accept. Indeed, *Holland's* occasionally publishes material which it knows will go over the heads of its clientele. *Holland's* is hardly a literary magazine, but there ought to be more like it. Why should all Americans in the widely differing sections of this enormous country be fed the same standardized intellectual diet, particularly when it is often such thin and innutritious stuff? With scarce an exception, only in a few large cities does it seem now possible to run a magazine which depends for its

existence upon a lengthy subscription list. There was, however, one noteworthy attempt to establish in the South a magazine national in its scope.

In Atlanta in June, 1907, appeared the first number of *Uncle Remus's Magazine* (1907-1913?), claiming a guaranteed circulation of 100,000 with seventy per cent of this in the South. The aged Joel Chandler Harris, a lifelong newspaper man and not a magazineist, had decided to capitalize a name and give the South a national magazine. *Uncle Remus's Magazine* proclaimed itself "Typical of the South" and "National in its Scope." There was nothing of blind southern provincialism in Harris. In the main his statement of the "Principles and Scope of the Magazine" is admirable:

"It will be a Southern Magazine by reason of its environment. . . . but all its purposes and intentions, its motives and its politics will be broader than any section and higher than partisanship of any sort. . . .

"The note of provinciality is one of the chief charms of all that is really great in English literature, but those who will be in charge of this magazine will have nothing to do with the provinciality so prevalent in the North, the East, the South and the West—the provinciality that stands for ignorance and blind prejudice, that represents narrow views and an unhappy congestion of ideas."

But, we are told:

"The Magazine is not intended, primarily, to inspire the South to take a larger and more serious interest in literature, or to stir its literary impulses by offering a near-by market where writers may receive the encouragement of compensation."

The editor claims "a sufficient amount of capital to secure the best writers of the country at large."

Apart from some of Harris's own contributions, *Uncle Remus's Magazine* had little real literary importance. In form and content it bore too close a resemblance to the magazines issued by the Curtis Publishing Company in Philadelphia. Most of its contents might have come from the big manila envelope which T. T. Thacker emptied upon Colonel Telfair's desk in the *Rose of Dixie* office. Largely a venture of newspaper men, *Uncle Remus's Magazine* gradually faded, was transferred to Indianapolis, and disappeared. One should be grateful, however, for the opportunity it must have given to its youthful associate editor, Don Marquis.

III

IF THE GOLDEN age of the southern literary magazine is found in the thirty years which preceded the Civil War, its silver age came

in the twenties of the present century. The New York magazines which had been so hospitable to the best in southern letters began to give way to magazines of the commercial type. In Hamlin Garland's *Roadside Meetings* there is an illuminating chapter on "Old Editors and New Magazines." Editors who really cared for literature, like Gilder of the *Century* and Alden of *Harper's*, began giving place to journalistic, commercialistic editors, like Sam McClure, who believed in reaching the millions because more money was to be made in advertising. "Under this plan," says Garland, "literature became an aid to trade and magazines turned into advertising bulletins." The situation played havoc with the literary standards of many others beside Garland, whose honesty impels him to confess, "I wrote for *McClure's*, but I continued to visit *The Century's* literary salon!"

The new generation of southern writers who began to make themselves heard in the early twenties were in revolt against many things: the stereotyped fiction of the commercial magazines, the outworn romanticism of southern literature with its sentimentality and its polite shams, and, finally, against the ideals of the new industrial order. Ellen Glasgow, a pioneer in the movement toward realism, found through her novels a hearing more easily than the others. James Branch Cabell once wrote to Frances Newman that his *The Cream of the Jest* had been "rejected by fifteen publishers" and that *The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck*, which did not treat kindly certain southern ideals, "was returned without comment" in a contest in which the prize was awarded to *Diane of the Green Van*. Until the appearance of *The American Mercury* in 1924 and the changes made soon afterwards in the *Century*, *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and even the *Atlantic*, southern writers founded a number of magazines of importance. The first of these, however, goes back somewhat earlier.

In 1915 *The Texas Review* was launched at the University of Texas with Stark Young as editor. (It may be necessary here to assure some of my readers that the last Confederate army laid down its arms in Texas and that Texas, in spite of its vote for Hoover in 1928, still considers itself a southern state.) Young's ambition was to put out a literary magazine, not a critical review like the *Sewanee* and *The South Atlantic Quarterly*. What he particularly desired was good verse and light essays, not critical articles by college professors. He was fortunate enough to secure from England contributions by Maurice Hewlett, Sir Edmund Gosse, and Sir Gilbert Murray and in this country, Max Eastman, Carl Van Doren, and Madison Cawein. To the opening number the editor contributes an informal

essay, "On Reeking of the Soil," in which he suggests the policy he intends to pursue.

"*The Texas Review* comes into the world with no mission, nothing so flamboyant or remonstrant or overt. It has in mind the law of thought and life and letters only; neither to upset nor convert the world, but only to speak with it in its finer and quieter moments. And this review does not dream—it can not—of great popularity, with subscribers and revolutions, or of pleasing the general, for what begins on nothing but the wish to please the general, ends in being pleased by them.

"For the birth of such a venture no small amount of advice was asked, and sometimes taken: to include poetry in a respectable proportion to the other matter; to combine articles of varied interest; to eschew book reviews that are perfunctory and done on a formulary; to open on occasion the doors of our pages without the key of Phi Beta Kappa. The strongest advice, however, and the most assured, was to let your magazine reek of the soil."

The editor, however, has no intention of letting *The Texas Review* reek of the soil; he has no confidence in "the Burbank method applied to art." And so, "*The Texas Review* asks of the critic and of some provincial citizens of the world, patience if we do not always reek." The curious reader will find something very like "reeking of the soil" in some of Young's later writings, especially in the essay, "Not in Memoriam, but in Defense," which he contributed in 1930 to *I'll Take My Stand*. After the first two issues Young was called to Amherst College (he was later on the editorial staff of *The New Republic*), and his successor, Professor Robert Adger Law, found the editorial cupboard practically bare of material for the next issue. *The Texas Review*, however, in spite of the war and other handicaps, carried on. It became somewhat more like the other quarterlies as time went on. It never attracted wide attention, but it published some excellent material, most of it by scholars, and some delightful poems by Karle Wilson Baker.

In the summer of 1924 *The Texas Review* was transferred to Southern Methodist University in Dallas, where it reappeared with a red cover similar to that later adopted by *Harper's* and with a new name, *The Southwest Review*. In an editorial, "The New Southwest," the new editor (who happens to be also the author of this chapter) dissents radically from Young's policy. His ideal is "a magazine rich in sectional coloring but prevailingly national in outlook." Art, he contends, "may employ sectional material and still be national in aim and method." It is to "the younger Southwest" that he dedicates *The Southwest Review*.

"In all of the Southwestern states . . . there is a numerically small but intellectually very active younger generation which has other interests than raising cotton or exploiting the farmer and the country merchant. The new Southwest has an unsatisfied appetite for good poetry, drama, fiction, criticism, pictures, music, science, ideas. It reads the *Yale Review* and the *Century*. In the pages of these and other magazines it has already begun to find a means of self-expression. It feels that it ought to have magazines of its own ; and it is founding them. . . . Even the undergraduate has sensed something new in the air."

The new editor was fortunate in two respects : he had in George Bond a most capable associate editor and he was able to pay for the articles he chose to print. In the opening number there are contributions from Gamaliel Bradford, Barrett Clark, and John Hall Wheelock. Sectional coloring is found in Andy Adams' "Western Interpreters" and John William Rogers' play, "Judge Lynch," with which the Dallas Little Theater had recently won the Belasco Cup. Since 1924 the *Review* has had a part in the development of a number of writers whose names are now fairly well known. From the beginning it received the loyal support of southern writers east of the Mississippi, notably DuBose Heyward, John Crowe Ransom, and Paul Green. With the passing of *The Double Dealer* and *The Reviewer*, which was merged with *The Southwest Review* in 1926, it was almost the only southern literary magazine of importance left except *The Virginia Quarterly Review*. At present, under the capable editorship of John H. McGinnis and Henry Smith, it is still flourishing. It is now one of the staunchest champions of the New Regionalism.

We can discuss only one magazine at a time, but it is worth while to note here that *The Double Dealer* (1921-26), *The Reviewer* (1921-25), *The Fugitive* (1922-25), and *The Southwest Review* were contemporaries, and the question of priority in certain matters is not always easy to decide. Each was no doubt somewhat influenced and encouraged by the others.

In its first number, January, 1921, *The Double Dealer* (1921-26), of New Orleans, proclaimed itself "A National Magazine for the South," and explained its curious title with the cryptic quotation, ". . . I can deceive them both by speaking the truth." Its editors were Julius Weis Friend and Basil Thompson ; its associate editors were Albert Goldstein and John McClure, who later became editor. Vincent Starrett is listed as Chicago correspondent. An editorial in the March number, "The Magazine in America," throws some light on the causes that led to the founding of provincial magazines :

"Is there in the United States today a magazine which is seriously

attempting to publish, not this or that material which is demanded by popular taste or which is predetermined by a policy, but simply that material of whatever sort which is, in the opinion of the editor, literature of essential value? There are perhaps two: *The Dial* and . . . *The Yale Review*."

The Smart Set, edited then by Mencken and Nathan, comes in for some praise, but the other magazines fare as badly as the *Atlantic*, which is singled out for particular condemnation:

"*The Atlantic Monthly*? A periodical for professors and librarians, sad, depressing, and generally futile; an almost consistently sterile magazine that can afford but little pleasure and profit to a person of any intellectual or artistic vitality. . . .

"If *The Double Dealer* misses an opportunity to print a bit of real literature submitted to it, it will be for no cause other than its editors' stupidity or their healthy fear of the law.

"*The Double Dealer* is entering upon its career with no policy whatever but that of printing the very best material it can procure, regardless of popular appeal, moral or immoral stigmata, conventional or unconventional technique, new theme or old."

Meanwhile, when they can not fill their columns with "literature of essential value," the editors propose to utilize "light stuff"—I fear Simms would have applied to much of this the less euphemistic term "Balaam."

In June, 1921, *The Double Dealer* speaks its mind on "Southern Letters":

"It is high time, we believe, for some doughty, clear visioned penman to emerge from the sodden marshes of Southern literature. We are sick to death of the treacly sentimentalities with which our well-intentioned lady fictioneers regale us. The old traditions are no more. New peoples, customs prevail. The Confederacy has long since been dissolved. A storied realm of dreams, lassitude, pleasure, chivalry and the Nigger no longer exists. We have our Main Streets here, as elsewhere."

The Double Dealer is not quite clear in its own mind about the inter-relation of the national and the sectional elements in our literature. Once it dogmatizes: "Great literature is rarely national and rarely local in aroma." *The Double Dealer*, however, is concerned over the cultural predicament of New Orleans. In April, 1921, it speaks editorially:

"But more especially it is the concern of this magazine to assist in bringing about the restoration of a venerable city to its former standing as a cultural center second to none in America. It seems, indeed, impossible that the imagination of a people who established

here nearly a hundred years ago a carnival rivalling in gorgeousness that of Nice ; who first brought the Parisian opera to the western hemisphere and maintained it for generations ; who carried on, with all the fervor of the Continental, the ancient Latin tradition of a native aristocracy and romanticism, should languish irrevocably. It is our belief that this predisposition, though latent, repressed, and sluggish from disuse, still reposes in our midst, and it is our design, nay, our resolve, to reawaken it.

"Commercially, industrially, and constructurally New Orleans is coming to the fore. But its energies can not all be expended in brick, steel and mortar. The rehabilitation of an old city is an actual symbol of an unquenchable virility which must, also, have its outlet through the portals of art and literature, its expression in the painted canvas and the printed word.

"*The Double Dealer*, with all due modesty, wishes to be known as the rebuilder, the driver of the first pile into the mud of this artistic stagnation which has been our portion since the Civil War. The magazine is, beyond this, a movement, a protest, a rising up against the intellectual tyranny of New York, New England, and the Middle West.

"*Aux armes, en garde, on les aura!*"

The Double Dealer was not modest. It advertised itself in the pages of *The Reviewer* and *The Southwest Review* as "the only magazine in America which prints prose and verse on their merits." Mencken, who found *The Double Dealer* "wholly un-Southern," wrote to the editor of *The Reviewer* : "Friend is failing in New Orleans because he is trying to print an imitation of the *Dial* and the *Smart Set*. Poe, with the [*Southern*] *Literary Messenger*, avoided any such mistake." The material published in *The Double Dealer* seems singularly uneven, but one is struck with the numerous names of contributors now well known but at the time either unknown or just beginning to be known—Ernest Hemingway, for instance, who appeared in *The Double Dealer* as long ago as 1922.

The Reviewer's (1921-1925) first number is dated from Richmond, February 15, 1921, just six weeks later than the first number of *The Double Dealer*. Its editors and publishers were Emily Clark, Mary D. Street, Hunter Stagg, and Margaret Freeman. Its opening editorial pronouncement, like those of its southern contemporaries, indicates dissatisfaction with the state of American literature :

"There is to-day in American letters much of the second best, . . . that sees neither clearly nor valourously, a second best upon which, in its ambitious youthfulness, *The Reviewer* has declared war! . . . There is in all art, it seems to us, a daily struggle between

mediocrity and distinction, as to which shall be the standard of the time."

Miss Clark's editorial of October, 1921, "Beginning the Second Volume," states that the founders had started with no policy "except a will to develop young Southern writers, unhampered by provincialism or commercial requirements." With no endowment and few advertisements the editors hoped for success where earlier experiments of the same kind had repeatedly failed. They quoted from the Greek Anthology:

"A shipwrecked sailor on this coast
Bids you set sail.
Full many a gallant bark when he was lost,
Weathered the gale."

The Reviewer was in the hands of youthful writers. The older authors of Richmond, with the exception of Cabell, contributed very little. Mary Johnston, however, wrote the leading article for the opening number, "Richmond and Writing"; and Ellen Glasgow printed in the third number part of an address, "The Dynamic Past," which contains this significant passage:

"What I am trying to make clear to you is simply this—that we can make a great future—a future worthy of Virginia's history, not by copying the past, but by lighting again and again our fresh torches by the flame of the old."

The Reviewer, however, was far more concerned about style, smartness, and sophistication than about Virginia's past—or any other past.

In October, 1921, appears "Morning Song in C Major," by H. L. Mencken, whose "The Sahara of Bozart" had the year before caused a sensation in southern literary circles. Mencken, however, is quite willing to accord recognition to any evidence of a real intellectual awakening in the South. Referring to his earlier essay, he unconsciously takes issue with Bassett's statement concerning "the leading classes" in *The South Atlantic Quarterly* two decades earlier:

". . . my fundamental contention [was] to wit, that too much is heard in the South from the degraded and uneducable poor whites who have come to the front in politics and business since the Civil War, and too little from the enlightened minority whose forefathers founded what we remember as Southern civilization, and who themselves constitute the only hope for its revival to-day."

In Miss Clark's *Innocence Abroad* (1931) Mencken's excellent advice (not always followed) to *The Reviewer* is quoted: "In general, your chief aim should be to develop new Southern authors." "On the

whole, I think that you had better avoid all Northerners. What the South needs, beyond everything, is new growth from within. If you let in a Northerner, try to make him discuss some Southern topic." *The Reviewer* was, to judge from its files, rather reluctant to follow Mencken's advice. It was more interested in securing contributions from Joseph Hergesheimer, Elinor Wylie, and Mencken himself than in developing young southern writers. *The Reviewer*, however, at Mencken's suggestion secured articles from Frances Newman, Julia Peterkin, and a few others. Mrs. Peterkin had at that time published nothing but a sketch in *The Smart Set*, and the encouragement given by *The Reviewer* came at the right time.

James Branch Cabell was sufficiently interested in *The Reviewer* to lay aside *The High Place* and edit the magazine for three months, October, November, and December, 1921. His own contributions are usually signed with a *nom de plume*, but he does sign "The Lineage of Lichfield" and "A Postscript," a Kiplingesque poem occasioned by the suppression of *Jurgen*. In *Frances Newman's Letters* (1929) one finds the novelist-editor laboring over proof and complaining to Miss Newman that he has had to cut one of her articles and that the printer has inserted in hers a sentence belonging to an article by Hunter Stagg.

After four years *The Reviewer*, having gradually reduced its numbers from twenty-four to four a year, was transferred to Chapel Hill, North Carolina, with Paul Green as editor and R. S. Pickens as business manager. For the old notice, written by Cabell, that had regularly appeared in the Richmond issues: "The payment for such MSS. as may be found available will be in fame not specie," we find: "Such MSS. as may be found available will be paid for." Without a change of name *The Reviewer* now underwent a transformation similar to that which *The Texas Review* had undergone a few months before. Immediately it became more of a southern magazine. In his first number, January, 1925, the new editor, in "A Plain Statement," speaks his mind about southern literature and indicates the policy he purposes to follow. He begins with a scathing review of *The Library of Southern Literature*, which had in 1923 issued its seventeenth volume—its last, he hopes, for "Its six-hundred and forty-two pages but reiterate that loud ranting note of ineffectuality so long common among us."

"The old South of abstraction is dying, is dead. And in its place I profess to see emerging in literature a New South whose possibilities are such as to startle even the *American Mercury*. But they are possibilities. Can they become actualities? They can. For if there is one section in the world today that has an abounding tradition, it is

the South; but it is unassimilated. . . . hitherto our powers have squandered themselves, they have known no law. Our emotions, our passions have lacked the chastening and subduing of reflective thinking, of what is commonly called intelligence. . . .

"I am not declaring for a complete renunciation of the past in Southern letters, but rather for a truer and fresher interpretation of our environment and our relations to that environment; for a rejuvenation of our spiritual instincts so long dead to curiosity and wonder; for a food to feed upon different from the sweetened wind and cotton-candy stuff dished out by our party leaders and preachers and windy gullibles. But the escape from former emptiness and impotence does not offer through certain other readily apparent extremes. . . . There are young Southern writers who are already adopting ingenuity, abstruseness, exhibitions of technique as the essentials of art. Our deliverance is not there. I do not believe either that it is to come through subscribing to the philosophy of art practiced by the erratic Greenwich villager who denies any seriousness to his calling and declares for a non-moral world. Nor again do I believe that the way of escape lies in yielding ourselves over to Mr. Mencken to add more clamorous voices to his train. . . . The South has had enough of imitators. We can not create our art vicariously. . . . the only way out for us is through an enlightened sincerity. And that will not be easy. In that belief *The Reviewer* will try to continue to act."

This is an admirable manifesto. But the editor found the work difficult, perhaps uncongenial in certain important respects. A year later he writes to Miss Clark, "*The Reviewer* is still walking over my naked back with spiked shoes." Finally, the financial backer of the magazine withdrew his support. The last issue was dated October, 1925. Soon afterwards *The Reviewer* (its historians have neglected to state this fact) was merged into *The Southwest Review*. The issues put out at Chapel Hill seem to me the most promising of *The Reviewer's* five years, but after all Paul Green was born to be not an editor but a dramatist.

In spite of the fact that *Reedy's Mirror* (1891-1920) in St. Louis published Edgar Lee Masters's *Spoon River Anthology* serially as early as 1914-15, the New Poetry movement struck the South late, and for that reason perhaps it took below the Potomac a somewhat different turn. The best southern poets began, so to speak, where their northern contemporaries had left off, and for a time the most interesting poetic developments in America were southern. The national magazines, even when they were hospitable, gave little space to verse. Minor poets who wanted to publish had either to found

magazines or pay to have their poems appear in book form. As a result, there sprang into brief existence numerous little magazines, each with its own cause to further. There were half a dozen in Dallas alone. One wonders if any library has a collection of these little poetry magazines, for they will be valuable some day. I must pass over most of them, even *The Lyric*, *Bozart*, and the year-books of the poetry societies of South Carolina and Texas, but *The Fugitive* (1922-25) cannot be left out.

The *Fugitive* group was made up largely of students and teachers of English in Vanderbilt University; among them, John Crowe Ransom, Donald Davidson, and Allen Tate. *The Fugitive*, we are told, had no editor, and poems were selected by ballot. Shipwrecked southern editors whose barks had failed to weather the gale must have been amazed at the following statement in *Fugitives*: "At no time was *The Fugitive* bothered with financial troubles." What was the secret of this? Edwin Mims, in whose department of English the movement centered, tells us in *The Advancing South* that "some of the expenses of the publication have been paid by the Nashville Retailers' association and by the man who put Maxwell House Coffee on the American market." In December, 1925, *The Fugitive* was discontinued for an unusual reason: "The poets began to feel that writing poetry was more interesting than publishing a magazine. There wasn't time for both."

While *The Fugitive* was appearing, the poets never cared fully to define what they fled from. The Foreword in the first number began rather pompously:

"Official exception having been taken by the sovereign people to the mint julep, a literary phase known rather euphemistically as Southern Literature has expired, like any other stream whose source is stopped up. The demise was not untimely: among other advantages, *The Fugitive* is enabled to come to birth in Nashville, Tennessee, under a star not entirely unsympathetic. *The Fugitive* flees from nothing faster than from the high-caste Brahmins of the Old South.
..."

The implications of the *Fugitive* position become clear in their symposium, *I'll Take My Stand*, published in 1930. (Are symposia to take the place of our magazines?) Here is a defense of the agrarian régime as against the industrial. A younger South has revolted against the ideals of the new South. It dislikes machinery, mass education, mass production in literature as well as in business, all forms of "progress" as defined by John Dewey. The younger generation feels itself betrayed by its elders. One sympathizes with their attack on certain false conceptions of progress, but after all one is

reminded of Don Quixote charging the windmills. After listening to the debate in Richmond between John Crowe Ransom and Stringfellow Barr, Ellen Glasgow is said to have remarked that while she was out of sympathy with the crude industrialism that tends to dominate some sections of the South, she could not work up any enthusiasm over a rural civilization dominated by hookworm and fundamentalism. One who is familiar with the old southern reviews will smile at certain pro-slavery arguments which it is now good form anywhere in the United States to employ in attacking industrialism. In *The Hireling and the Slave* William J. Grayson in 1856 pointed out the happiness of the slave when his lot is contrasted with that of the northern proletariat. And yet the poets have a case, and if our political leaders will not face the problem, our men of letters are certainly entitled to speak their minds. If any of the traditions of the old South are still usable, by all means we should keep them. Is not one Middle West enough?

The Virginia Quarterly Review (1925-), published at the University of Virginia, was fortunate in having at least a partial endowment, secured by the late President E. A. Alderman, which enabled it to pay for articles. Typographically, it is the best of southern magazines, new or old. On its first appearance it seemed, even in its cover, too closely modeled upon *The Yale Review*. Its appeal has been national rather than southern, and it has been more concerned with getting contributions from established authors than with developing young southern writers. Under the editorship first of James Southall Wilson and later of Stringfellow Barr, it has had capable direction. Its success would appear to have justified the policy it has pursued; yet, now that *The Double Dealer*, *The Reviewer*, and *The Fugitive* are gone, one cannot help regretting that *The Virginia Quarterly Review* has not seized the obvious opportunity of making itself the spokesman, the literary organ of the newest South.

With the appearance of *The American Mercury* in 1924 and the speedy modernization of the older magazines, there was less need of experimental magazines in the provinces. The young intellectuals, as we called them then, had captured the conservative strongholds. But the literary world does not stand still. Again there is a stir in the provinces. A marked characteristic of present-day literature is the revolt of the radicals against the liberals. The best southern example—though it is southern in little but its location—is *Contempo: A Review of Books and Personalities* (1931-), published at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, under the editorship of M. A. Abernethy. Among its contributors are Ezra Pound and Langston Hughes. Some of its contributors, few of whom are southern, are Michael Gold, Robin-

son Jeffers, Countee Cullen, and Lewis Mumford. I quote, with some omissions, from the editorial statement of its policy in the first number of the second volume, May 5, 1932 :

"1. *Complete freedom from all cliques whatsoever. . . .*

"2. *We offer asylum for aggrieved authors. . . .*

"3. . . . CONTEMPO *encourages literary controversy. . . .*

"4. *The rapid reception of new ideas.* It is a mistake to think that our intellectual journals are consumed with curiosity about new ideas. They have as much inertia as less pretentious publications. More than two years of economic depression, and our stock of economic ideas has not been increased by one! . . . Similarly there are new ideas in art, psychology, philosophy, religion and even science that are absolutely shut out of our 'advanced' press. *Contempo* lacks the space to expound these ideas, but it can at least, from time to time, advertise their existence."

The present is not an auspicious time for literary magazines, whether published in New York or in the provinces. But I do not believe that the future of the southern magazine will be less interesting than its past. The quarterlies with university backing show greater signs of permanence, but the more ephemeral magazines will, I think, continue to appear. There will always be a place for the sectional magazine in a country as large and as heterogeneous as ours. The function of the southern magazine (not always remembered) is the function of the provincial magazine everywhere: to print what the commercial magazines will not print, to fight against literary conventions, to develop young writers, forward new movements of various kinds, and to give some expression to matters which concern our special section that are not treated adequately in the national magazines.

THE TREND OF LITERATURE

A PARTISAN VIEW

BY DONALD DAVIDSON

IF THE SOUTH did not occupy a somewhat peculiar and separate relation to the United States, there would be no need of an essay on southern literature and this book itself would be nonsense. Let critics argue all they please as to the catholic and universal qualities of southern literature in 1933. While they are arriving, as of old, at no conclusions whatever, the southern writer is bound to feel that the world of letters regards him with a certain curious expectancy. An old question is still vibrant in the very air he breathes. The form it most generally takes is about as follows : How soon will the South, which has long been a backward, even a reluctant member of the new union enforced by Appomattox, proceed to enjoy the fruits of that union by Americanizing itself and accepting the ways of progress? Answering this question, some observers announce that the fatal change has come at last ; or, if it has not quite come, then in the name of civilization it must be induced to come, with all the speed of the inevitable.

If I took this view, my task would be simply to show how well southern writers can adapt themselves to the current modes. I should say something clever about "realism crossing the Potomac" and should emphasize the books which are most critical toward southern traditions. I should bid goodbye to the old Colonel and the Missus, and instead should introduce the reader to southern versions of *Main Street* or *Ulysses*, always with the implication that the new activity is commendable but a little surprising.

It is easy to understand the views of northern critics who have written in such terms. They are friendly on the whole. It does no harm to the circulation of southern books to indulge them in their supposed discovery that southern writers are at last accepting a conventional American definition of the South. Which is : the South is a region where cruelty and barbarism are unaccountably mingled with romantic charm and quaint aristocratic pretensions, but where

a rude shaking-up is in prospect that will be the prelude to a great awakening.

But southerners who write such delightful foolishness are hardly so excusable, and they are not in the least helpful. They talk like poor relations who have suddenly come up in the world. They are too pitifully eager to prove that we are as good as our neighbors and cousins—that we can cultivate the same accent and behave all too encouragingly like moderns.

In the South there has been too much talk of this sort. It has been misleading and superficial. It has inhibited and colored the southern creative mind to a dangerous extent. It has spread misinformation and probably done damage that will not easily be repaired. I have nothing to do with this progressive view of contemporary southern literature except to deplore it and combat it so far as possible.

It is quite another thing to survey the phenomenon itself of southern literature in process of growth. That requires a report, which I shall attempt to give.

But more important still, for the special purpose of this essay, is the consideration of southern literature in its indigenous character. This task must frankly be undertaken in a somewhat partisan spirit. For surely this is not the place to declare, with the finality which is so admirable in our literary reviews, the exact location of the shelf to which Mr. Cabell must be assigned among the classics; or to exhort southern readers to cultivate a loyalty—distressingly unprevalent in the backward ages of *Hamlet* and *Tom Jones*—to what we have learned to call world-literature. My concern is with more domestic accountings, with loyalties not quite so tenuous, and nearer home. Mr. Cabell was born not in Poictesme but in post-bellum Virginia. My altogether mundane questionings must take the latter point of reference. I must look for the native distinction that one would seek to encounter in the South alone, or else have nothing to say about southern literature as a separate manifestation. I must ask of the new southern literature, not only whether it is modern or good, but whether it is characteristic, and work on the hypothesis that unless it is characteristic it is likely somewhere to fall short of being either truly modern or ultimately good.

Possibly such a consideration has its importance, not only for southerners but for the country at large. Under the industrial régime to which America has consented, it has become a question whether the arts can long maintain their ancient favor among men. For the spirit of the industrial order is hostile to art, and already prophets have arisen, like Mr. Max Eastman, to tell us the arts can be saved,

at least partially, only by admitting their subordination to science ; or like the Little Russians of *The New Republic*, who propose to degrade the arts into instruments of class warfare. In the South, so long as it preserves a good deal of its old character, there is reason to think that the arts may withstand the industrial blight and keep their place in a humane order of life. If so, the South may provide an example of some merit in a country whose national industrial culture has become a debatable blessing, and which is looking already to its diverse regions or sections for centres of resistance to the national malady.

There is likewise the question of American literature, which so much engages the prophets. Hopes for an American literature in its national sense have again and again proved false, perhaps for the reason that there has not been a national American character sufficiently unified to express itself in a literature of its own. America is an abstraction ; it does not exist so concretely as England and France. Its government in no accurate way represents the heterogeneity of its parts, which are grouped in a loose spiritual confederation. Probably there can be no American literature, except in a manner of speaking, to describe the regional particularities, somehow American yet far from uniform, that grow up here, there, and yonder.

II

SINCE WHAT IS modern for this generation is what is post-World War, a survey of southern literature should cover the twelve years or more in which it became avowedly contemporary. Nearly everybody agrees that there has been a revival, or at least an awakening. But there are echoes of the past even in announcements of the revival. In 1885 *The Atlantic Monthly* said : "We have had our laugh at the florid, coarse-flavored literature which has not yet disappeared at the South, but we are now witnessing the rise of a school that shows the worth of generous nature when it has been schooled and ordered." In 1907 Edwin A. Alderman wrote in his preface to *The Library of Southern Literature* : "The literary barrenness of the South has been overstated . . . both as to quantity and quality. A new day has come, and with it a new literature marked by new energy, new freedom and self-analysis, and descriptive power." In 1925, when his modern sensibilities had been outraged by the issue of a seventeenth volume of the same *Library*, Paul Green again cleaned the slate and wrote : "The old South of abstraction is dying, is dead. And in its place I profess to see emerging in literature a New South whose possibilities are such as to startle even the *American Mercury*."

The recurrence of such prophecies, with the curious assumptions on which they are based, leaves me skeptical, and I am prompted to discard such terms as "New South," "revival," and the like, as too shallow for critical use. One needs to be confirmed in ignorance to entertain the notion, loosely promulgated in our times as in others, that after a long period of vulgarity or bombast or silence a southern literature has suddenly sprung into flower under our own wise dispensation. As long as there has been a South, there has been a southern literature, of a merit and profuseness that varied with the fortunes and tastes of the times. This literature has never been either so good or so bad as this or that historian has claimed. Sporadic excellence it can surely offer, if no general and concerted achievement such as existed for a while in New England. If heads are to be counted—and I should not contend that they ought to be—the South can produce William Byrd of Westover to compare with Samuel Sewall. Later it has Poe and Lanier to set off against Emerson and Whitman. It has had no Hawthorne and no Melville. But in the long line of novelists from John Pendleton Kennedy and William Gilmore Simms up to Thomas Nelson Page, and George W. Cable, and Joel Chandler Harris, there is a record of creative persistence that has brought something more than passable and fleeting results. The South has had its humorists—Mark Twain might be claimed among them—and close behind these lies the body of folk-tale and folk-song in which it is peculiarly rich. It has had its oratory—which is in its own way a literary art. And from Thomas Jefferson to Woodrow Wilson it may show a vast and important body of writing which for want of a better term may be called political literature. The literary critic may argue that southern literature has no great æsthetic pretensions: it is not a major literature, and only rarely a fine literature. But we may be sure that every time a Barrett Wendell ignores it, or a Ludwig Lewisohn tries to rule it out, there will be a Vernon Louis Parrington to bring it into court and plead for it as a virile part of the living body of American thought.

The injustice of a narrowly æsthetic judgment is emphasized by the persistence of another factor that Allen Tate has noted. "There never was a profession of letters in the South," he writes (in *Poetry*, May, 1932). "There were, and perhaps here and there there still are, ladies and gentlemen. It is the English social tradition. If there had been a Southern Congreve for Voltaire to visit, he would have been a 'man of fashion' first, or the American synonym for him in the 1840's, and Voltaire would have been disgusted at his lack of professional pride." The tradition may still exist, lurking under

cover in these exhibitionist times ; if so, so much the better, for it is not entirely unhealthy to think of art as a by-product rather than as a *summum bonum* to be attained at the cost of all else including one's position in life.

At any rate it is possible to argue, with Mr. Tate, that "the place of the old Southern writer was narrow, it hardly existed, but to the extent that it did exist, it was defined." And it is necessary to insist on a fairly continuous view of southern literature if we are to arrive anywhere. In the light of such studies as Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought*, it takes some audacity to say that the new literature is really literature, and the older writing is not ; or that the later southern literature is better simply because it is modern. It is safer to hold that southern literature is now a more serious issue and must be more self-consciously approached than ever before. It is obvious, too, that southern works enjoy a greater prestige than in the days of the *Atlantic's* polite condescension. Books of a superior order are more numerous, the average quality is better, and, above all, there are leading figures who bid for a major status. Whatever their failures, southern writers of the past twelve years are bent on no trifling excursion.

The tale of the nineteen-twenties is first of all a tale of the emergence of single writers of great distinction who have performed consistently over a period of many years, like James Branch Cabell and Ellen Glasgow ; or of writers no less distinguished in quality, whose careers are still opening before them, like John Crowe Ransom, Elizabeth Madox Roberts, Paul Green, Allen Tate, and Julia Peterkin. There is a tale to tell, also, of the waxing and waning of little magazines like *The Reviewer*, *The Fugitive*, *The Double Dealer* and of the establishment of quarterlies like *The Virginia Quarterly Review* ; of the growth of literary groups like the Fugitive group of Nashville or the Charleston writers ; of numerous scattering poets and novelists of more or less merit ; of poetry societies, investigators and collectors of folk-lore and folk-art ; of university theatres and little theatres ; of book pages and literary columns ; of university presses and private publishing schemes. With such an array to report, I must inevitably make omissions, for the necessary injustice of which I here and now make apology.

Modern southern literature had hardly begun in 1919, when Cabell's *Jurgen* and Ransom's *Poems About God* were published. Yet it was in a fair way to start. Cabell, who to his own distress was being labelled as "the author of *Jurgen*," had already published several volumes. Ellen Glasgow had published twelve. Stark Young, John McClure, Olive Tilford Dargan, William Alexander Percy

and others had begun to write and to publish. John Gould Fletcher, at that moment an expatriate and, through his early Imagist associations, cosmopolitan rather than provincial in tendency, had published nine volumes of poetry. Yet though the work of these writers, some of whom were to become notables of the new day, goes far back into the pre-war years, in 1919 they were less well-known than the writers whom they have since somewhat displaced in favor—for example, Henry Sydnor Harrison, Corra Harris, Mary Johnston, Cale Young Rice, Alice Hegan Rice, and others. Of these latter writers much deserves to be said; but whatever their merits, they hardly belong to the generation called modern, and my tale is not of them. They have had to yield to writers of a different order. Yet actually Miss Glasgow and Mr. Cabell were but little more modern in 1919 than they had been in 1913, when Miss Glasgow's *Virginia* appeared, or in 1917, when Mr. Cabell brought out *The Cream of the Jest*. But in this year of beginnings the public humor had changed. The revolt of the younger generation brought them naturally into their proper focus—although Miss Glasgow had to wait until the publication of *Barren Ground* in 1925 to be fully “discovered” by reviewers who were not well read enough to know that she had been practicing social criticism for something like eighteen years.

In 1920 the Poetry Society of South Carolina was founded at Charleston by determined spirits who felt that the time was ripe for becoming active in the good cause of poetry. In this enterprise DuBose Heyward and Josephine Pinckney were leaders; and with them were associated Hervey Allen and John Bennett, the first of a considerable group of northern emigrés who were to become allies of a new spirit in southern letters. The Poetry Society of South Carolina was destined to become a model for similar organizations in nearly every other southern state. In 1920, too, the Nashville group of poets were already beginning to meet and to write verses which, in 1922, they began to publish in *The Fugitive*. Their community of interest was to continue without interruption, although the magazine itself was dropped after a course of about four years. *The Reviewer* and *The Double Dealer* were founded in 1921, the one at Richmond, the other at New Orleans. These were organs of groups that were probably less closely knit than those at Charleston or Nashville. It is now known that some of the early numbers of *The Reviewer* were edited by James Branch Cabell. From him, no less than from the more active administrators, Emily Clark and Hunter Stagg, it may have acquired some of its tone of impeccable good taste mixed with independence that might be also hauteur and of witty detachment that was less American than European.

Such urbanity was charming ; one now suspects that no very serious intention lay behind it. Its chief value lay in the encouragement it gave to the early efforts of Frances Newman, Julia Peterkin, Sara Haardt, and other authors then untried. Later transferred to North Carolina, under the editorship of Paul Green, *The Reviewer* somehow failed to survive very long. In New Orleans *The Double Dealer* struck out vigorously on independent lines. It was more consciously modern and experimental than *The Reviewer*, and even more roundly disclaimed any sectional bias. Its editors—Julius Friend, Basil Thompson, John McClure—kept a keen outlook for new talent and engaged in bold critical agitation from issue to issue. But after a lingering existence, it, too, perished. These were the most notable of the “little magazines” ; but there were many others, deserving more than passing mention : Charles J. Finger’s *All’s Well*, *The Lyric* at Norfolk, *The Nomad* in Birmingham, *The Buccaneer* in Texas, to name only a few. Most of them existed precariously and fitfully. They got no general southern hearing and were perhaps most valuable as a proving-ground for new writers. Northern critics might call attention to them as evidence of an “awakening South,” but they better exemplified the interest of individuals and groups in experiments which demanded a larger field than little magazines could provide. Looking back, one may question whether Emily Clark was wholly wise in rejecting the advice of Thomas Nelson Page—as she relates in *Innocence Abroad*—to found no magazine unless it could be adequately financed and edited to reach a considerable audience. Mr. Page took literature more seriously than the younger generation that displaced him. For him it was no toy, and the proof of his wisdom is in the event. *The Lyric* still appears, now at Roanoke, Virginia, and *Contempo*, in North Carolina, keeps up a kind of brilliant scalawag agitation, but, in general, the little magazines no longer flourish.

But the more substantial quarterlies, more discreetly projected and systematically administered, promise to continue indefinitely, perhaps to exercise increasing influence. *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, founded under an endowment plan in 1925, was launched under the careful and far-seeing editorship of James Southall Wilson, who raised it at once to the eminence it has continued to enjoy under his successor, Stringfellow Barr. Other quarterlies fluctuated under less consistent régimes and policies. *The Southwest Review*, of Dallas, founded about the same time as the *Virginia Quarterly*, became at last the most frankly regional of all ; its tone has remained vigorously southwestern. The two older quarterlies—*The South Atlantic Quarterly*, which recently celebrated its twenty-fifth anniver-

sary, and *The Sewanee Review*, which is the oldest living quarterly in the United States—have drifted back and forth between social agitation and academic propriety, with occasional spells of literary excellence. No more can here be said of the quarterlies; their relation to southern letters is still rather undefined.

In 1922 T. S. Stribling's *Birthright* appeared, after running as a serial in *The Century Magazine*. It was the first of a long series of southern novels that seemed to deal with an old subject in new terms. Its theme was the defeat of a Harvard-educated Negro who came back to the South to uplift his own people. The Negro, everybody soon began to say, was no longer a stock figure, a mere "Yes, massa" darkey, but a human being. The story of *Birthright* was of struggles and disappointments in Negro life itself; it was a Negro "Main Street," realistic, humorous, pathetic. The new field was soon being cultivated by an active group of writers who vied with one another in discovering phases of Negro life that Thomas Nelson Page might certainly have recognized, but might not have cared to put into print. DuBose Heyward's *Porgy*, in 1925, was the first great popular success. It introduced America to a new writer who combined, with the new theme, a touch of what was best in the fine art of story-telling; and it gained in favor with its dramatization. Julia Peterkin's *Black April* and later books, E. C. L. Adams' *Congaree Sketches*, Howard Odum's *Rainbow Round My Shoulder*, Paul Green's various plays and stories, all followed a modern rather than a traditional rendering of Negro life. Deserving as these works were, their popularity might have been less instantaneous and widespread if the "New Negro" had not about this time captured the attention of New York. The vogues of Negro spirituals and blues, of Negro actors and singers, of exhibits of African art and the like, combined with the advent of Negro writers and with a fresh social interest in Negro welfare to make the moment propitious for these white southerners who entered so amazingly into black skins. They interpreted the country Negro of the South more intimately than even the new Negroes could interpret him. The more comic interpretations of Octavus Roy Cohen were now held in a little contempt by the knowing. They were said to be only "burnt cork" sketches and to do the Negro an injustice which the more persuasive stories of Negro harlots, pimps, gamblers, beggars, and rowdies did not commit. Critics were a little over-eager. In the light of their newly acquired enthusiasm, the Negro threatened to become not only human but superhuman. So great was their preoccupation, they failed to note that Roark Bradford, in *Ol' Man Adam an' His Chillun* and later books, returned quietly to an older tradition, much closer to

the usual southern view of the Negro. Finally it happened that, while Paul Green's drama, *In Abraham's Bosom*, was be-laurelled by the guardians of modern letters, *Green Pastures*, which was founded on Mr. Bradford's books, touched the public imagination far more persuasively. The contrast might have proved, to the southern mind at least, that the old view of the Negro is right after all.

The same cycle was repeated in novels that dealt with poor white and mountaineer. In their emphasis on picturesque localisms, these works were not unlike the productions of the earlier local color school. But treatment and tone were different—though there was little of the modern in the stories of Olive Tilford Dargan, who was first in this field in the nineteen-twenties. Miss Glasgow's *Barren Ground* and Mr. Stribling's *Teefallow* were uncheerful reports on rural conditions—documents as much as stories—emphasizing sloth and ignorance with pitying disapproval in Miss Glasgow's case, with sardonic gusto in Mr. Stribling's. Coming as they did close on the Dayton trial, they seemed to arouse the public mind somewhat as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had done in other days. One felt that the reviewers of these books were always on the point of mingling with their expressions of praise some call to arms, that the South might be rescued from evil ways. But when Elizabeth Madox Roberts' *The Time of Man* appeared, about the same time, it received equal praise. Reviewers were aware of no inconsistency in their admiration for a remarkable work that exalted precisely the same persons whom the other writers had found to be dejected below all respectable standards of civilization. To Miss Roberts the life of the so-called "poor whites" was rich in folk-ways that the civilized could only envy, and the very idiom of their speech became the idiom of her own beautifully simple English prose. The way was clear for something totally new to be done, and Maristan Chapman, in a series of novels beginning with *The Happy Mountain*, explored the new vein brilliantly, although in a lighter and more lyrical manner than Miss Roberts. There were few others who equalled the capacity of the leaders of the two schools, which might be called realistic and romantic, but Anne Armstrong's *This Day and Time*, in 1930, and Fielding Burke's (Olive Tilford Dargan's) *Call Home the Heart*, in 1932, seemed at last to indicate a middle ground, into which, however, the new industrialism cast an ominous shadow, hinting of labor problems and propaganda. Back of these rural studies, too, lay the immense body of folk-art, which collectors were garnering with enthusiasm—ballads, songs, stories, superstitions. The pioneer work of Campbell and Sharp, in their *English Folksongs from the Southern Appalachians*, was now immensely enlarged and could show

an enormous list of devotees, scholarly or merely romantic, from Virginia to Texas. But as yet no single works arose, like Percy's *Reliques* or Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, to focus the imagination of creative writers. Few authors seemed directly indebted to the folk-lorists. Perhaps only the Carolina Folk-Players, under the leadership of Frederick Koch and Paul Green, and the strong southwestern group led by Mary Austin, B. A. Botkin, J. Frank Dobie, Stanley Vestál and others, seemed zealous to build outrightly upon these ancient foundations.

During the first half of the nineteen-twenties, southern literary production was still a little scattering and tentative. By the middle of the decade it was in full swing. There was much more variety than the popularity of a few leading figures might lead one to think. In 1924 alone it was possible to count up some fifteen or twenty volumes by southern authors that in one way or another enjoyed prominence. These came from such diverse writers as John Crowe Ransom, Julia Peterkin, Wilbur Daniel Steele, DuBose Heyward, Laurence Stallings, Stark Young, Frances Newman, Jack Bethea, Grace King, Mary Johnston, William Alexander Percy, Cale Young Rice, John Donald Wade, David Morton, Hatcher Hughes. The astringent satire of Frances Newman jogged elbows with the old-fashioned romanticism of Grace King. The poetry of Ransom, in which the tradition spoke with a twisted accent strange to southern readers, vied with the straightforward poetry of Percy and Morton, which might have appeared in the nineteenth century. From this time on there was no slackening in the output, and there was even more variety. But so great was the critical interest in topical works that such quiet and beautiful books as the novels of Stark Young, which interpreted southern life in broad terms, got far less notice than they deserved. Older writers, still productive, like Corra Harris and Mary Johnston, poets like John Crowe Ransom and William Alexander Percy, students of nature and local color like Archibald Rutledge, Herbert Ravenel Sass and Lyle Saxon, and popular story-writers like Wilbur Daniel Steele and Irvin Cobb, seemed in various ways to be apart from the general ferment.

Meanwhile Mr. Cabell, in all his aloofness, was adding a section every year or two to his biography of Manuel. His eminence was now unquestioned. He shared with Sinclair Lewis the privilege of being exported to Europe, for puzzled readers to reconcile as best they could under the single denomination, American. In view of his self-confessed preference for myth over reality, his fame as a modern was a little surprising. His modernity, however, lay in his spiritual discontent, which was by no means concealed under his

gentle manner of speaking. There was no Cabellian school among southern writers, but there were some who had an equal discontent and were more thoroughgoing moderns in that they parted with the elegant restraint of style that he kept. They were bitter and inclined to be experimental. Frances Newman's *The Hard-Boiled Virgin* was a scolding satire, almost vengeful in its exposure of what the author conceived to be the emptiness of southern traditions of gallantry and feminine behavior. In Ellen Glasgow's *The Romantic Comedians* the realistic method of *Barren Ground* was replaced by a manner more sprightly and witty; this was to be Miss Glasgow's later manner, and it indicated to some critics that the modern spirit had at last brought her genius to its ideal field. William Faulkner's *Soldier's Pay*, in 1926, forecast his later novels, such as *The Sound and the Fury*, which showed how skillfully a troubled and imaginative soul could adapt a modern technique to southern material; but unlike some of his contemporaries, Mr. Faulkner displayed no animus toward the South. His objectivity had a distant parallel in the writings of Evelyn Scott, whose studies of social movements in *Migrations* and *The Wave* were done in the temper of the laboratory. But Evelyn Scott seemed completely expatriated. She was no more southern, or American, than George Moore was Irish.

The critical tendency, so marked in Frances Newman, T. S. Stribling, and others, continued with little abatement throughout the nineteen-twenties, in various harsh or agitated studies of southern life. The latest notable example was Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward Angel*, a book of chaotic abundance which strangely mingled the angry with the sentimental, the grand with the petty. Southern writers were apparently over-anxious to avoid the charge of sectionalism. They were either critical or despairing in their rendering of southern life. They took over too readily the journalistic damnations that were every day being pronounced against the South, from without and within; perhaps the southern tradition had been made to look a little shabby in the brazen glitter of modern opinion. It was no wonder, therefore, that critics could announce a new day of emancipation for southern writers. In *The Advancing South*, which surveyed literary as well as social and economic trends, Edwin Mims approved the general tendency. It was natural to associate the rise of modernism in the South with the rise of liberalism itself, which, he persuasively argued, was transforming southern institutions, and much for the better. But the preoccupied critics neglected to observe his still more important point that southern writers had had minds of their own before this.

The critical temper of the novelists was paralleled, but only to a moderate degree, by the temper of the southern biographers who now began to come forward. John Donald Wade's *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet* led the vanguard of the new procession. It was a far cry from the eulogies that earlier biographers had been accused of writing. Yet if it was not eulogy, neither was it defamation. Mr. Wade did not belong to the debunking school. His book was both a history of a part of Georgia civilization and the story of a personality belonging to that civilization. It was highly important not only because for the first time it touched intimately the vast neglected field of southern religious thought, but because it worked from within and did not seek to impose an external interpretation. Soon the list of southern biographers included such virile figures as Robert W. Winston, H. J. Eckenrode, Douglas Freeman, Gerald Johnson, Broadus Mitchell, Allen Tate, Marquis James, George Fort Milton, William Cabell Bruce. These showed, of course, marked differences both in degree of merit and in point of view. Some were journalistic, like Gerald Johnson; some, like William Cabell Bruce, had the mellowness of the old school. In his study of William Gregg, factory-master of another day, Broadus Mitchell was bent on rationalizing the argument for an industrialized and progressive South; while Allen Tate, in his life of Jefferson Davis, Andrew Nelson Lytle in his *Bedford Forrest*, and Robert Penn Warren, in his *John Brown*, returned with vigor to the South of Civil War days and gave old issues a fresh motivation. Such differences in the interpretation of the past were typical; but the devoted absorption of all the biographers indicated a tendency, appearing in the very midst of insatiate modernism, to pause and look back. It was significant that even progressives like Broadus Mitchell and George Fort Milton sought to appeal to the past. All alike were eager to reinterpret social and political traditions that had been obscured. The same tendency appeared, with an even more strongly marked nostalgia, in books like Lyle Saxon's *Old Louisiana*, and in the able historical novels of James Boyd—a Pennsylvanian who had made the South his home.

Suddenly, in the very clash and thunder of partisan views, the historic South was being rehabilitated. Ironically enough, the biographers, the seekers after fact, were setting up the identical southern tradition that some of the fiction writers had been engaged in knocking down. And biography was reinforced by the definitive studies that a distinguished group of southern historians had long had under way—such men as Ulrich B. Phillips, William E. Dodd, Walter L. Fleming, Frank Lawrence Owsley, and many more. Gone now was the penalty foreseen by a southern newspaper in

1865 as the bitterest drop in the cup of defeat—the injustice of having southern history written by northern historians. Now it was a short-sighted publisher indeed, however remote from the southern scene, who did not carry on his list, along with Stracheyan biographies and advance-guard fiction, lively or sober works from southern pens that subjected southern culture, history, heroes, scenes, places, to an intense and often an admiring scrutiny. Nor were northern historians any more backward in taking a fresh view of the past. The American public received new and startling information on the old crimes of Reconstruction—but from Claude Bowers, Lloyd Stryker, Howard Beale, all northern men. When H. L. Mencken in 1930 declared that a southern victory might have been better for North and South alike than the result of Appomattox, no outcry arose.

In the field of drama—which my qualifications will permit me only to scan—the South could show a considerable growth of little theatres, especially the remarkable Dallas Theatre, the activity of a fecund group at the University of North Carolina, and the achievements of individual dramatists like Paul Green, Hatcher Hughes, DuBose and Dorothy Heyward, Lulu Vollmer, Lynn Riggs. It was evident that the South had some contribution to make to the art of the theatre, whether at home or on Broadway. Paul Green began to loom up as a possible American rival to Eugene O'Neill, and southern plays enjoyed great popularity. Beyond that, all was vague—vague indeed as the fate of the theatre itself in America.

As for literary criticism, the trouble was that the critic had no ready channel of communication in the South itself. Generally he was obliged to attach himself to New York in some professional capacity or to appear as a sporadic contributor to some national magazine that enforced its limitations upon him. The southern quarterlies were an uncertain aid. *The Virginia Quarterly Review* reviewed current books in a clear-headed and able way that was exceptional in America. But it did not feature literary articles; high though its standards were, its editorial attitude was studiously non-combatant; it touched mildly upon social and economic issues but ignored literary issues. *The South Atlantic Quarterly* kept for the most part within academic bounds. Under W. S. Knickerbocker's editorship *The Sewanee Review* began to take a lively but obtuse interest in contemporary letters; and *The Southwest Review* boldly cultivated its own garden. Yet neither the quarterlies nor the excellent book pages which began to multiply in southern newspapers seemed to have much influence. They did not bridge the gap between the southern writer and his southern audience.

The individual southern critics who might have helped do the bridging were in many cases busy with distant concerns. Joseph Wood Krutch and Stark Young wrote dramatic criticism in New York and occasionally put their more ambitious studies into volumes of essays. Archibald Henderson wrote of Shaw and the drama. James Branch Cabell worked out his private æsthetic and wrote estimates of the authors he liked. Frances Newman had produced a distinguished but slight body of criticism when death ended her brief career. Allen Tate developed his critical position through articles in *The New Republic*, *The Criterion*, or *The Hound and Horn*—periodicals that few southerners read. And H. L. Mencken, whom few of his readers would have identified as a southerner, was well occupied with thundering at America. Yet as the years went by, it was interesting to see that some of these critics, even those whose affinities seemed widest apart, like Mr. Tate and Mr. Mencken, drew closer to a common absorption in things southern. Mr. Tate's critical doctrine and literary practice led him back, by a compulsion of logic and loyalty, to battle for the southern tradition on home ground. And Mr. Mencken, once known as the South's bitterest detractor, began in 1932 to look almost like a disguised Confederate raider who had chosen his own methods of devastating a too-Yankeefied civilization. Mr. Mencken stood suspect of being at heart a romantic southerner; but *The Mercury* did not look like a southern magazine.

In the early nineteen-twenties, southern poetry was the focus of considerable interest. If organized promotion could have accomplished anything, it would speedily have become a great literature. In the end one could only feel that poetry societies and poetry magazines had not borne very lusty fruit; perhaps they had enlarged the audience of poetry by a very little, and set a few poets to going, and that was about all. The Poetry Society of South Carolina was probably the most intelligently planned and most dignified body of its kind in the country, and it gave every possible encouragement to poets wherever it could discover them in the South. But of the Charleston poets, only DuBose Heyward and Josephine Pinckney did much creative work; and Mr. Heyward soon went wholly into fiction. By 1932 there were comparatively few practicing poets in the South for the South Carolina society to encourage. There were lyrists galore, capable of producing a good or a plausible volume or two, as Addison Hibbard's anthology, *The Lyric South*, and B. A. Botkin's *The Southwest Scene* bore witness. But the work of these numerous lyric poets, while often charming and sometimes brilliant, had an air of lightness and impermanence. Taken as a whole, it was thin and scattering in comparison with the work of the new

fiction writers. But this general observation would have to leave room for exceptions in the case of certain individuals like Lizette Woodworth Reese, Cale Young Rice, William Alexander Percy ; and of the active group of Fugitive poets—John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Merrill Moore, Robert Penn Warren, and others—whose general performance had a distinction and consecutiveness of purpose which rivalled the best that was being done in American poetry. It was clearly an original contribution, and it promised to endure.

With a few more considerations, of a general order, I close the survey, though not without the consciousness that, if it had been a catalogue, it would have shown numerousness of authors in a way more pleasantly adapted to Chamber of Commerce advertisements. But Chambers of Commerce are insensitive to literature as an asset ; they do not advertise the presence of authors as one of the inducements for removing to the South. In fact, the South as a whole is not warmly aware that it has a contemporary literature. The southern writer is not close to his southern audience. Until he has made a national reputation, he can not reach it. He must first please New York, he must come with the accolade of popular critics, he must have behind him book clubs and sales promotion, he must be ready to autograph books for the ladies and make personal appearances at the bookseller's. Contemporary southern literature has been financed and interpreted from the North ; and it would be a remarkably stubborn public and a very strong-minded author who could resist the pull of such a situation. Add to this the fact that southern writers lack communication and fellowship among themselves, and that their interchange of ideas must be through the bottle-neck of New York. The result is that a cosmopolitan, denaturizing influence competes powerfully with local attachments. The talk of regionalism now in the air, especially in the Southwest, the sectional self-consciousness represented in the symposium, *I'll Take My Stand*, in which twelve southerners redefined their tradition in terms of an agrarian, anti-industrial economics, and the deliberate effort to draw southern writers together, represented in the gatherings of southern writers at Charlottesville in 1931 and in Charleston in 1932—these phenomena suggest that southerners are far from being reconciled to a mere dependency in letters. Perhaps a change is imminent, but just how great it will be, none can predict.

III

CERTAINLY NO DESCRIPTION of difficulties that beset the southern writer can obscure the fact that the South, after more than a decade of exciting literary activity, is well-launched upon a productive

period which may excel anything it has previously achieved in letters. But that is far from being the whole story. If the South is merely to add to, or to copy, what others are doing, it might as well remain in complete literary dependence. Because its peculiar history has made the South to a notable extent a nation within a nation, an estimate of recent literary accomplishments requires the critic to look for the "southern" qualities in the new literature. Inevitably this brings him face to face with the most difficult problem that modern artists encounter and that brings particularly sharp dilemmas to the southern writer.

Fundamentally, this may be stated as a problem of integration. It involves what the moderns often call sincerity, or what southerners might be better satisfied to call loyalty. In stating the problem I am assuming, contrary to much modern doctrine, that a writer's æsthetic acts can not in the last analysis be separated from his other acts as a member of society. Questions of genius must be left out of consideration; they are beyond reach of argument, although it is fair to add that, if society provides no opportunities, the Miltons are likely to remain mute and inglorious in country churchyards. Taking Milton as an instance, and not attempting to account for his endowment of personal genius, we are impressed with the fact that his poetry harmonizes with his character; and back of that, it harmonizes with a literary and social tradition which is English in the national sense and "classic" and European in the larger sense. Milton was "integrated." When he came to do his greatest work, he did not have to repudiate his personal convictions and renounce England, even though he disagreed with the party in power. Perhaps he was the last English poet who could write thus, for the change was already setting in that produced Dryden, who had trouble in deciding what to believe, and who, under the impact of French culture and the new rationalism, established a critical denial of the English tradition. Probably English literature has never got back to the line from which Dryden wrenched it. But that is another matter. It is enough to say that if Milton had tried to become a Dryden, the results would have been lamentable.

Then, as now, there was really a conflict of cultures, although a victory one way or the other meant at that time a slighter dislocation than it means now. The war of cultures in our time goes deeper and requires more painful decisions. Stated in its broadest terms, it is a war between urban civilization—which is industrial, progressive, scientific, anti-traditional—and rural or provincial civilization—which is on the whole agrarian, conservative, anti-scientific, and traditional. Urban civilization produces an art without roots

when it produces any art at all. Some of its artists tend to be dissociated from place, experimental, absolute, sophisticated; this is the art of the expatriates and cosmopolitans. Others are realists and propagandists; their art is the agent of the social conceptions out of which it grows. As for the provincial culture, it is always raising up its traditional spokesmen, only to see them transformed: its Mark Twains go to Boston, its Henry Jameses to England, where they learn to apologize; or the same thing may happen even if they remain physically at home.

In the United States the arts, although continually refreshed from provincial sources, are dominated by urban thought, particularly by New York thought. Our literary leaders are generally those whose experience of the world has not prepared them to offer to the rising provincial artist the precept and the example that will encourage him to achieve a natural integration.

If the South is about to become articulate, as critics are fond of saying, then we should expect the southern writer to transmit naturally to his art the qualities that belong to him as a southerner. Whatever else he may add, there is something in him that the South, and only the South, has given. This rightful inheritance, which may be called the southern character, is easier to recognize than define, and has much more variety than is commonly supposed. Whatever the irreducible minimum of its qualities may be, they give the uniqueness that is in a good sense sectional.

In practice, however, these are the very qualities that are often veiled, distorted, or missing. The southern writer finds himself inhibited at the very moment when the greatest opportunities seem to open before him. The social programs that emanate from the metropolis, bearing in their train a host of powerful æsthetic ideas and literary modes, urge him in one direction. His sense of loyalty to his own tradition, indeed his fidelity as an artist to his subject-matter, pulls him in an opposite direction. There is a tragic contradiction, which results in painful self-consciousness, in split personalities, in dubious retreats, in Hamlet hesitations. How could it be otherwise, if the artist is expected to produce a literature that is "modern" and expressive of the South, while in the same breath he is urged to repudiate the southern past—indeed to suppress or condemn in himself some of the elements of southern character which are most firmly rooted? To express himself and at the same time deny himself—this is the dilemma of the modern artist, greatly intensified.

Ellen Glasgow, for example, has carried out in a long series of novels her expressed intention of being a social historian of Virginia.

This high and worthy intention has been accomplished in the most stalwart manner, with a degree of success that gives her an assured place among American writers. No other southern novelist, I am sure, has recorded in fiction so many southern types, or traced so carefully the impact of changing institutions upon southern life in the years from 1865 to the present day. In her women characters especially, as Mr. Cabell has noted, she has been a sympathetic and faithful interpreter; and the old gentlemen of her later novels are presented with great fidelity. In her feeling for landscape, for environment in general, for ways of speech and points of view, Miss Glasgow is an acknowledged master.

Nevertheless one may trace out in her novels an indecisiveness at the root of which lies the conflict I have mentioned. Miss Glasgow can never quite keep within the strict rôle of social historian. She is forever stepping out of it and becoming, for moments at least, the social critic. Too often, one is tempted to draw from her novels the conclusion that her characters need to be spanked and reformed. Beneath the veracious detail of her pictures of Virginia society, beneath the wit and pathos of her stories, lurks always a reproachful and disapproving voice. The faults of her characters are not such as belong to human beings merely; they are the faults of a southern society that she looks at with un-southern eyes and chastises even while she loves. She is torn between what her heart cleaves to and what her intellect has been persuaded to disapprove. Behind so remarkable a study as *Barren Ground* lies a progressive distaste for rural "backwardness": slackness must give way to efficiency; there must be crop rotation and soil-building; and cows must be milked by machinery. In *The Deliverance* Miss Glasgow uses the blind Mrs. Blake, whose family has affectionately indulged her in the belief that the South conquered the North, to symbolize the old Virginia society that "clings with passionate fidelity to the empty ceremonial forms of tradition." It is the task of the novelist to show this "passionate fidelity" but not necessarily to condemn the tradition as "empty." In this mixture of attitudes the point of the tragedy disappears, and there is left only an argument which irritates more than it purges.

On the whole one must conclude that Miss Glasgow has understood the weakness of the southern tradition more than its strength, and has often warped strength to look like weakness. The tragic spirit can not operate on material approached thus, for there are no tragedies of weakness merely. In the later books, *The Romantic Comedians* and *They Stopped to Folly*, the comic spirit intervenes and saves the day. The high comedies show Miss Glasgow at her best

in an ironic medium. But behind it all one detects an indecision that one would gladly wish away. Miss Glasgow was born into the Virginia tradition, but at a time when it was hard for a thorough modernist to accept it in its heroic sense. She has never been able to make up her mind to reject it wholly or accept it wholly. She has wavered; and in this wavering, which is not without its own nobility of purpose, she illustrates the general predicament of southern writers, even the best.

For what is true of Miss Glasgow's novels is true, in greater or less degree, of other southern novels of the same order. Into their realism of social history or satire come doctrinaire attitudes which are as unhealthy as the undue exaggeration of southern traditions for which writers of the older school have been blamed. They are imported, not native attitudes, and they cause one to reflect how poor an exchange scorn is for sentimentality. In the novels of Frances Newman or the lighter works of Isa Glenn, the deliberate puncturing of pretensions thought to be southern smacks of a paying-off of old scores: the southern woman, now intellectually as emancipated as her northern sister, takes a dig at the tradition that would have kept her in "woman's place." T. S. Stribling takes a more amused and detached tone. He might possibly have become another Mark Twain, since he has all of Mark Twain's humorous appreciation for the lustiness of vulgar souls, but his missionary complex is always interfering. In *Teeftallow*, for example, he introduces gratuitous explanations like the following: "The only glimpse the hill folk ever received of philosophy, æsthetics, literature, science, art, and metaphysics was given them by such traveling evangelists as Blackman. However, the preacher touched these topics in a negative way; he spoke of them only to condemn them; to discourage any further thought or investigation of the subjects." Such a sentence would grace the columns of *The American Mercury*; but in a presumably serious novel it is typical of the southern failure to meet characters on their own terms. The same note appears, with a difference only of style, in Thomas Wolfe's strong novel, *Look Homeward Angel*, where the young hero is made to express a darksome and eternal hatred for the South. He dislikes "the barren spiritual wilderness, the hostile and murderous intrenchment against all new life. . . . their cheap mythology, their legend of the charm of their manner, the aristocratic culture of their lives." And literally he "repays their insolence with a curse."

The pronounced tendency towards doctrinaire attitudes which results in special pleading may be due to some general maladjustment common the world over and certainly very marked in America.

Some would agree with Matthew Josephson, in his *Portrait of the Artist as American*, that American society, especially since the Civil War, has developed into a monster that is definitely hostile to art. Since southern society is not yet wholly "American" society, such a diagnosis ought to hold to a much less extent than elsewhere. But the southern tradition has evidently become inaccessible to the writers I have named. It is not an intimate and an immediate part of their understanding. They may be ignorant of it, or suspicious of it. But at any rate it is discredited and they hesitate to ally themselves with it.

I can not go into the long story of how the discrediting took place. "The South, under defeat, lost her philosophy," says the English writer, Christopher Hollis. But the philosophy was submerged rather than lost. Undoubtedly the submergence was aided, after the Reconstruction, by the work of Walter Hines Page and the liberal school. One may reasonably ask whether Page and his followers did not really injure the South by belittling its traditions and at the same time offering a program which, though sincerely humanitarian in aim, worked to destroy much that was valuable in the characteristic life and genius of the southern states. In brief, the true surrender came not at Appomattox but at the turn of the century, when the progressive formula of educational uplift, industrialism, and liberalism began to get well under way. This program, which called for a repudiation of fifty years of southern history and which sought to impose an alien economy and alien systems of thought upon a social structure ill adapted to them, has not yet won a complete victory, but it has forced upon southerners with a sense of loyalty the apparently painful choice between the buoyant scalawagism of the progressives and a conservatism that is sure to be damned as reactionary. For the southern tradition, obscured by twenty-five years of progressive argument, has not until recently been vocal in any public sense. Having no specific cause to attach itself to, it has remained vague and undefined; but the invading progressive, or American, tradition has been loud and imperative. It is not unnatural that the southern writer should appropriate a philosophy that dings in his ears at every street corner, or that he should ally himself with the philosophy of despair and disillusionment which is the result of the first. He would be better off if he could remain undisturbed by either.

With Mr. Cabell and the romanticists it is a somewhat different story. Mr. Cabell is no more disillusioned about southern life than about human life in general; and he probably gets superior results in literature by being thorough and impartial in his disillusionment.

It is needless to dwell on the elements of his superiority, for many critics have explained how Mr. Cabell has fulfilled his desire "to write perfectly of beautiful happenings." If one objects that the beautiful happenings are a matter of thaumaturgy and sorcery and lie in a world whose map is not Virginia's, one is stopped by the moats and drawbridges discreetly provided in *Beyond Life* and *Straws and Prayerbooks*. Retiring within his æsthetic, Mr. Cabell retorts that he has never intended to be more than the thaumaturgist and sorcerer of Poictesme. It diverts me, he maintains, and what is literature but another egotistical diversion, another alcove of retreat from the dull disease of life, another sweet indulgence, which has the virtue of leaving no embarrassing after-effects?

This very seductive theory is one of the most unfruitful that a writer of distinction ever offered. Reduced to essentials, it means that life is meaningless; and being meaningless, or even repulsive, it will not bear direct representation in art. Literature is thus made a toy, which, we must now consider, must enter upon a doubtful competition with other toys, less genteel and elevating, that the industrial régime stands ready to provide.

For Mr. Cabell as an individual writer, the results may be gratifying enough. But only because he does not take the next step in the sequence of the argument. Though disillusioned about nearly everything, he still enjoys the illusion of art itself. In time we might expect that this illusion also would be emptied of its attraction, and the process of destruction would be complete. Mr. Cabell's works are magnificent in themselves; but, as models, they do not shed a very warm influence on southern literature. A Cabellian school would logically compose a literary Suicide Club. Or at best his example could only encourage one or another kind of escape, more than likely attended with bitterness and promising no really organic growth for southern literature. Here we witness the other horn of the dilemma: if the southern writer does not become a disapproving realist-critic, like Miss Glasgow, he may become a disapproving romanticist like Mr. Cabell, who shuts his eyes and prefers Poictesme to modern Virginia.

But there are other escapists who have been able to discover a world of glamour nearer home. DuBose Heyward and Julia Peterkin are commonly said to deal with the real Negro; and the plantation darkey of Thomas Nelson Page is said to be a myth, needing like other myths to be exposed and junked. But we do not get rid of myths in the work of Mr. Heyward and Mrs. Peterkin. We simply have a new myth, which apotheosizes and exalts the rich primitiveness of the Negro—primitiveness being a quality denied to tired

moderns and therefore precious in their eyes. These writers often give a signal that they are about to engage in myth-making. "Porgy lived in the Golden Age," writes Mr. Heyward at the beginning of his famous story; "an age when men, not yet old, were boys in an ancient, beautiful city that time had forgotten before it destroyed." In the opening chapter of *Scarlet Sister Mary* Mrs. Peterkin assures us that the Negroes of Blue Brook plantation are of a rare and perfect strain; and on this plantation "strange miracles are wrought." I should not deprecate this myth-making or deny that the lusty primitive Negro, who so closely resembles the Noble Savage, is a good subject for stories fine as these are. But even if the myth is of minor importance here, or if we rest the case on Paul Green's powerful studies of Negro domestic struggles and racial aspirations, E. C. L. Adams' sharp sketches, or the monologues of Howard Odum's Black Ulysses, there is still a difficulty to get over. How can we explain the great absorption of these writers in Negro life except by supposing that in this field their creative powers are stimulated and elsewhere they are blocked? They, too, are escapists who have found a way to revive an old romantic subject. They function best when their minds are fertilized from a source less sterile than their feeling toward southern life in its broader aspects can provide.

We should not like to lose these stories; but the condition that produces them offers only limited possibilities. The state of mind out of which they arise is not quite healthy, however much it may serve to enlarge the understanding of Negro life among readers who are not displeased at being told that it is rather wonderful. Again, here is a modern kind of sentimentality, different from the older kind only in its change of attitude and in its new rhetoric. It is exactly paralleled by the books that deal with the "poor white" and mountaineer, which I need not discuss here, since the point is essentially the same.

A partial exception must be made for the novels of Elizabeth Madox Roberts, especially *The Time of Man* and *A Buried Treasure*. The material in them is exactly what the realists found their most depressing reports upon; but the method is romantic, in a peculiarly delicate and modern way that has something of the archaic in it. Miss Roberts does not go among her poor folk with either open-eyed wonder or frowning disapproval. She fuses her identity with theirs and conducts the reader into a world where the only meaning of things is in their immediate human meaning for the persons involved; and where all things flow as in a gentle reverie. Miss Roberts must believe, with Berkeley whom she quotes, that there is no reality

except in "ideas actually imprinted upon the senses or else such as are perceived by attending to the passions and operations of the mind." However subjective the technique, Miss Roberts is about as objective in point of view as a modern writer can hope to be, and her novels are one of the best exhibits the South can make of an honest artistic performance where doctrinaire attitudes do not enter perceptibly. Only in the powerful novel, *My Heart and My Flesh*, is there some of the common tendency to take a disordered view when approaching any but a special field.

The theme of social degeneration, so frequent in modern southern novels, is finally resolved in *My Heart and My Flesh* by a return to the living pastoral of country life itself, in which Miss Roberts takes an affectionate delight quite untainted by melancholy. There is no such resolution and no such delight in the novels of William Faulkner, who has been persistently grinding away at the single theme of decadence without very much relief in any of his half-dozen novels. It is this constant insistence on decay that would seem to bring Mr. Faulkner under the common indictment and make us accuse him of a wholly negative attitude toward southern life. But the indictment must be made with a difference. Mr. Faulkner, like Mr. Cabell, is simply afflicted with the malady of the moderns and is prone to take a melancholy view of life in general, not of southern life in special. In his books, not only the aristocrats decay, but city folk, ploughmen, and country loafers as well; and there is no indication whatever that southern life is darker than life anywhere else, or that it needs to be made over in some brighter, alien pattern. In *The Sound and the Fury*, which is the most difficult and the most powerful of his novels, Mr. Faulkner goes at his subject with the feeling of an Ernest Hemingway, but with a good deal of the method of James Joyce. He conducts us into the abyss, where the moving glitter of life is ruled by demons of pain and despair, from whom there is no appeal, for whose chaotic reign there is no explanation comprehensible to man. The subject is the familiar one of the degeneration of a southern family which is under some curse as formidable as the house of Atreus. Through the mind of an idiot first, and then from other victims of bad heredity and cross purposes we get the terrible story, as monstrous as Robinson Jeffers tells in his *Tamar*. We are in the presence of evil, but in some old inscrutable sense, unmanageable by sociologists and doctrinaires. We know there is tragedy, but it is hardly the tragedy of a single person. Only the Negroes, chirping insensitively as crickets all through, are unmoved by it and furnish an ironic contrast. It is a disinterested artistic performance by a pessimist who happens to be a southern novelist, and who

writes of the life around him in terms that seem valid to him. Yet Mr. Faulkner has pushed his horrors so far in his later books—such as *Sanctuary* and *As I Lay Dying*—that he reduces his own theme to something like absurdity. One feels inclined to accuse him of being either a literary sadist or a harlequin who is bound to have his brutal joke, and one wishes that his cool objectivity could be better applied.

But with the example of Stark Young before us we need not fear that the way of the southern writer who avoids special pleading and refuses escape will necessarily lead him into the monstrous wilderness of Mr. Faulkner's imagination. Mr. Young has come late to his novel writing, after years of experience in criticism and drama. Perhaps this experience has given him maturity and poise. Perhaps as a sensitive man of letters, he fits naturally into a tradition and has no compulsion to fling himself upon the spears, like the modern Winkelrieds who are ready to die for art in the most extravagant manner possible. At any rate, *Heaven Trees*, which was more a series of sketches than a novel, revealed southern family life of the fifties with an affection that was neither hypocritical nor sentimental, and a genuineness that was not malignant. And *River House*, his third work of fiction, might be used to refute most of what I have said about the difficulties that attend the modern southern novelist.

River House will stand conclusively on its merits as a work of art that has delicacy without over-refinement and strength without bluster. Some critics might call it too gentle and say it is the kind of novel that Henry James would write if he were living today and had been brought up in the South. Yet the comparison would do Mr. Young an injustice. His way is altogether his own; his prose moves quietly and good-humoredly, and without fret or fury brings the reader into the living presence of a reality so convincing that it does not deceive or repel. In *River House* the old and the new generations are put in contrast: on the one side, decay not unlike that perceived by Mr. Faulkner, but more the decline of strength than any inward rottenness; on the other side, the young people all in a bright fever, full of energy and feeling that are somewhat undirected. The two generations are irreconcilable—that is all. With no great thunder of tragedy, but with much wise insight, the struggle reaches its inevitable impasse. Neither of the two parties wins; and we are not urged to choose between them. Whatever preferences Mr. Young may have, he is not a partisan in this novel. He is undistracted by the bright or gloomy features of southern life. He is not stricken with a contrary itching to deride or tempted to achieve a bitter or picturesque escape. He turns naturally to that humanity

which forms the central body of society in the South, reports it fully, and treats it understandingly, with an eye for the finer shades of character and situation.

Mr. Young's novels, then, suggest at least one way in which the southern tradition can communicate itself readily and unmistakably to art. If southern fiction is to realize its full possibilities, it must follow this way or some other that is equally catholic in its grasp upon the materials at hand; there is little hope of a rich indigenous development in the negative or skeptical attitudes that have produced social satire and propaganda novels or the varieties of romance and realism whose motivation is borrowed from without. Indeed, these narrow lines have already led to triteness; we are becoming weary of decaying families, lusty Negroes, lank mountaineers, and characters who talk as if from the pages of Aldous Huxley or James Joyce, even while they speak southern dialect. Too soon a formula is produced, and it has none of the mellow persuasion of the old formulas that the moderns scorn. If southern fiction is not to end in sterility and obsequious copying, the novelists will have to learn to take a broader line and contrive, no matter how "modern" they may be, to be of the South even while they are themselves and of the world. That this is already happening seems likely, if we may take as an omen the appearance of books that stem quite boldly from within the southern tradition, like Caroline Gordon's remarkable novel, *Penhally*, or John Peale Bishop's *Many Thousands Gone*.

As for the poets, they are much freer from hesitations and distorted views than the novelists. The poets enjoy a certain amount of immunity because their art bears no popular price and can not so readily be capitalized to favor whatever un-southern notions may be floating around. They are the least tempted by false issues. They are subject only to the disorders which come from writing poetry in an age that has forgotten how to believe in poetry and therefore can not quite understand it. And that is not a specially southern affliction.

It would be hard to pick out definitely southern characteristics in any given number of southern poets, but it would be equally hard to prove that they are un-southern. In the main, the southern poets are devoted to literature, and life as they see it is readily transmuted, by the process that Wordsworth has described, into literature. This is true of all southern poets of any capacity whatever, and I think that some of the Fugitive poets offer a particularly good example. Their poetry, of course, has had a number of odd names applied to it. John Crowe Ransom has been called every-

thing from a water-colorist to a voice of the poor whites. Allen Tate has been called an intellectualist and obscurantist—as, indeed, have others of the group. But the Fugitive poetry is actually a poetry of feeling as much as of intellect. It is well within the English tradition, which these writers adopted quite naturally from the beginning, without the least thought that it was a queer thing to do. They made such adaptations as suited them; and, in the course of time, while each developed his own idiom, all had something in common, so that there were doubtless some grounds for critics to talk of a “Fugitive school.”

Writing thus, it seems that these poets have had little trouble in approaching any theme impartially. They have been able to achieve the equilibrium between interest and detachment which is needed in good art. The most severe test that I can think of is to ask how these poets treat the subjects that now seem most inaccessible to southern authors who have modern tendencies—subjects that have been tabooed against all but satirical or deprecatory mention. Take, for example, the Confederate dead, on whose tombs the current gospels would forbid the laying of a single wreath. One can not say that Allen Tate’s poem, “Ode to the Confederate Dead,” has in it the slightest suggestion of a special plea; it is without sentimentality or condescension; it is a dignified and serious treatment of a poetic subject. The same observation applies to much of the poetry in Mr. Tate’s *Poems: 1928-1931*; indeed, Mr. F. C. Flint, in discussing this book in *The Symposium*, confessed that to him, an Oregonian, the southern tradition was so intimately woven into the verse that its presence constituted an objection, for in Oregon people no longer know what the Civil War was about or exactly what the South is, anyway. Some of Robert Penn Warren’s work would furnish like instances, and a good deal of John Crowe Ransom’s, especially such poems as “Antique Harvesters” and “Old Mansion,” or the poems on rural occasions and persons in his first volume. The Fugitive poets, of course, are by no means alone in this capacity. A fair number of examples could be collected from the work of DuBose Heyward, Josephine Pinckney, and various others—especially from the poems of John Gould Fletcher, who has not hesitated in his later work, to turn affirmatively back to southern themes. Entirely aside from other qualities of their work, it would seem that many of the poets, in critical and difficult instances, have gone with the southern tradition rather than against it. This is a subject for an analyst less partisan than I am. I can only point out that here is a precedent to be followed, but I have no good reason to think that it will be.

For writers are quite justifiably inclined to stuff their ears against the advice of critics ; and readers are notoriously given to running after the largest noise. It is with no particular hope of doing good that I single out a few examples and prefer them to others which, though distinguished and entrancing, seem to me to lead much too dangerously toward destruction. The literary critic can permit himself none of the assurance of a sociologist or scientist in the regulation of all things under the sun. He can not with a clear conscience urge any individual southerner that he owes it to himself or to civilization to get out and promote the perfectly abstract cause of "good literature." We have learned enough of promotion to desire nothing of the sort.

To wish for southern literature that it should freely express southern character seems nevertheless a far from narrow or disgraceful ideal. The disinterestedness that belongs to literature at its best can not come about if our writers are either ashamed to acknowledge the southern tradition or too overweeningly proud of it. The artist has two sets of capacities, those which belong to him naturally, by inheritance and sympathy, and those which are acquired. In too few instances do the natural traits register freely in southern writing ; but the acquired traits, which indeed may be wrongly acquired, dominate to a great extent and often to the injury of the natural traits. If this trend continues, there will soon be no southern writers except in a purely technical sense.

But it will not continue if the southern tradition again becomes an operating force, implicit if not manifest, so that another generation of writers, if not this troubled and experimental one, may build upon it. The whole question of what will happen to southern writers, now or later, nevertheless becomes a purely academic one unless the revitalizing of the southern tradition is accompanied by the preservation of southern society as something worthy to survive because its historic qualities have an enduring relevance and use. We come back to our life, finally, because it matters most of all, and literary issues are minor by comparison. The only way to re-establish the southern tradition in literature is to re-establish it in life. Artists had better cultivate a grave concern with life if they are going to survive in any other rôle but that of exiles or vaudeville entertainers.

This view would obviously call for writers to undertake a defense of the southern tradition. Some would think such a necessity lamentable if it should lead them to mix propaganda with their art and would hold that to advocate a conscious defense brings the central point of this essay into an ultimate contradiction. There are two

answers to this objection : first, that the conscious defense is required only because there has been a conscious attack, and loyal southerners can hardly be so weak-spirited as to surrender without making a fight ; and second, the defense can be made, and ought to be made, outside the realm of art itself. We should never defend southern art merely because it is southern, ignoring other deficiencies or merits ; but we should gladly defend the conditions of life which permit the free and natural growth of a genuine southern art. The rebellion against uniformity in American life, which in the literary field has now taken the name of regionalism, and the general dissatisfaction with the rule of our centralized metropolitan culture that seems to have brought us to sterility and chaos—these new phenomena suggest that a movement toward self-determination in southern letters may prove to be a battle for the right, a cause that it is in the nature of Americans to support, an exciting phase of a wholesale reanimation of American life and art around its sectional or provincial strongholds. The issues of this regional trend, which has already passed far beyond the stage of romantic nostalgia and into the broader field of economics, politics, religion, and social culture, are the new issues of our day, and the only ones which can justify this essay. They are very new issues—so new that they have hardly been defined as yet ; and most of the writers I have discussed have done their work without recognizing such issues or knowing that they existed at all.

They are hardly to be blamed therefore. Indeed, many of the charges I have brought could be brought against American artists or modern artists in general. There is hardly a defect the southern writers possess which could not be paralleled elsewhere. As for their virtues, doubtless I have neglected these and written much too negatively. It must be evident to the most superficial beholder that Mr. Cabell and Mr. Heyward have graces that are denied to Mr. Theodore Dreiser or Mr. John Dos Passos. Other comparisons could be made which would disclose much to the advantage of southern writers. They would show, I think, that southern writing is much nearer to the English tradition than American writing in general, and content to be within that tradition ; that it is more restrained and conservative, less wasteful in experiment, perhaps better informed ; that it has easiness and warmth, repose, mellowness, humor, maybe the broad sense of the world which comes, paradoxically, from a comparative retirement from the world. And obviously it has abundance. Whether these are southern qualities or not, they are worth having.

RECENT PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION

BY EDGAR W. KNIGHT

NO FAIR REPORT of recent progress and present problems¹ of education in the South can be given without taking into account certain conditions which appear more or less peculiar to that section of the country. The southern states undertake to provide two systems of education for large numbers of children scattered over wide areas. These states have relatively a larger school population than the other states. For each thousand adult males there are approximately 1,300 children of school age, while the corresponding average in the northern states is approximately 800 children and in the western states about 600. The estimated average true value of all property for each child of school age in the southern states is approximately one-third that of the northern states and one-fourth that of the western states. In addition, there is the disadvantage of the sparsity of population. Only a few of the southern states have more than ten white children and probably not one has an average of ten colored children of school age to the square mile. And in all of the southern states the policy of separate schools, which was established about 1876 or shortly afterwards, is accepted generally as permanent. In the northern states the average density of school population is from three to ten times greater than that in the South; and in the western states the school population is comparatively small and is largely concentrated in the irrigated regions, rich river valleys, and

¹ By "recent progress" is meant progress between 1900 and 1930, and by the word "problems" is meant not those nation-wide educational and social problems that have arisen out of the depression since 1929 but those that were persistent in and somewhat peculiar to the southern states before that time and still persist there. Unless otherwise stated, figures and statistics are taken from official reports for the latest and best school year (1929-30), before the economic debacle dislocated the schools. Figures and statistics of educational conditions in the southern states since 1929-30 bear only slightly if indeed at all upon the continuing problems of education in that part of the United States. But, later on in this chapter, the effect of the depression upon schools in the South will be noted briefly.

mining towns and is not so widely distributed as in the southern states. However, the southern states appear rapidly to be finding their duty not in the measure of their resources for school support but rather in the measure of their needs for improved educational facilities. And in this fact there is hope.

The southern states have always been primarily agricultural and approximately sixty-five per cent of the people still live in rural sections. The permanent prosperity and well-being of this section of the country appear, therefore, to depend on the prosperity and well-being of the rural population. For this reason the kind of provision that is made for the education of the rural people is of great importance. At the present time differences between the educational advantages provided for the children of the rural areas and those provided for the children of the towns and cities are quite glaring. The typical rural school in the southern states has not yet been modernized and touched by that spirit of improvement which marks education in the progressive urban places. But the increasing interest in the consolidation of the small and ineffective schools into larger, better organized, better supported, and more closely supervised schools is one of the hopeful signs. The building and maintenance of improved roads, the encouragement of better methods of agriculture, and the improvement of public health are uniting to make rural life more wholesome and inviting. And intelligent leaders in the southern states are now aware that lasting progress can be promoted only by these means, and that no material prosperity will be of advantage if the level of citizenship and public wholesomeness is not thereby advanced through improved education.

The difficulty of the educational problem in the southern states is increased also by the farm tenancy rate which reaches to nearly fifty per cent as against about twenty-eight per cent in the northern and about eighteen per cent in the western states. The illiteracy rate runs from ten to twenty-one per cent in most of the southern states as contrasted with about four per cent in the United States and about one per cent in Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, and several other northern and western states. This condition is due in part to the presence of the Negroes, nearly twenty-three per cent of whom are illiterate. School attendance by children from seven to twenty years of age ranges from fifty-nine to sixty-eight per cent in the southern states as against seventy-nine per cent in the northern and western states. High illiteracy rates and poor school attendance in the southern states are due in part to child labor in agriculture and industry. Compulsory school attendance legislation is comparatively new in the South, not more than twenty-five years old in the first

southern states to pass such laws, less than fifteen years old in several, and only twelve years old in one of these states. Revisions, extensions, and improvements have been made since the initial enactments, but in general the legislation is still practically local and optional in character and lacks the force of public approval needed for its full success. In child labor legislation, which is so closely related to compulsory school attendance laws, considerable reforms are needed also, as the wide discussions of the recent industrial conflicts in the South have clearly disclosed.

Notwithstanding the obstacles, educational progress in the southern states between 1900 and 1930 was conspicuously large and even remarkable, when measured by the past record of that section. The official statistics tell this creditable story of progress. Here is a state, for example, whose public school property in 1900 was valued at less than one million dollars and which was spending at that time only about one million dollars in the support of public education. In 1929-30 the public school property of that state had a value of approximately one hundred million dollars and the State expended on public educational enterprises nearly forty millions. Many communities in that state have school buildings whose cost exceeded or equalled that of the total school property of the state in 1900. Similar if not equal progress in the physical equipment of schools was made in other southern states. Moreover, improvement was made in many other directions: in improved means of teacher training, in lengthened school terms, in better salaries for teachers, and in the extension of public educational effort upward into the secondary field and in higher education.

And yet with all this development general education in the southern states, when measured by national standards, had not reached a conspicuously high level. The deficiency is first of all evident in the amount of educational opportunity provided in the southern states. The average annual school term of all the forty-eight states was greater by nearly a school month and a half, that is, by nearly thirty days every year, than the annual term provided by the southern states. If the comparison is between the southern and the other states the difference in educational provision was even larger. The annual school term of the most backward of the southern states was shorter by three months than the terms provided by the most advanced states. In schools of some southern states the term was five months or only one hundred days a year. A third of the children in the state that was probably the most advanced of all the southern group had opportunity for only six months' schooling a year. That is to say, those children received only two-thirds as much schooling

as those in educationally advanced states. Moreover, the quality of the education of these children was probably inferior because poorly trained and ineffective teachers always gravitate to schools with short terms.

The evils of such short school terms and such ineffective and dispiriting teachers stand revealed in the matter of attendance of children at school. The high percentage of non-attendance, already noted, is probably due in part to defective school attendance and child labor legislation. Every child enrolled in school in the average southern state attends annually only seventy-two per cent as many days as the average child of school age in the entire United States. The average southern child receives two years of schooling less than the average child in the United States. And, again, if the comparison is between the southern and the other states the difference is even larger, in favor of the child outside the South.

The southern states are below national standards in the salaries of teachers in elementary, secondary, and normal schools and in the higher institutions. The average annual salaries of supervisors, principals, and teachers are about sixty per cent as large in these states as the average for the country as a whole. In a few southern states the salaries are only half and in one only a little more than a third as large as in the entire United States. The states outside the South most advanced in this particular are rewarding their teachers more than four times as well as is the least advanced state in the South. The southern states are below national standards in facilities for the training of teachers, and are also deficient in the physical equipment of schools. In the average value of school property per student enrolled the southern states provide for their children only about half as well as the country at large. In total expenditures per pupil in attendance upon public elementary and secondary schools, these states do a little more than half as well as the average for all the forty-eight states. In the percentage of children in high school, many of the southern states are at the bottom of the list. It is estimated that nearly a half million southern white children do not have access to high school advantages of any kind. And studies in one representative southern state reveal that its high school graduates are less well educated than first year high school students in states with adequate school terms and well-trained and well-paid teachers.

The evil effect of this difference in amount of schooling may be seen also even among many college students. One representative higher educational institution in the South has found that most of its freshmen enter quite unprepared in the elements of English composition and approximately forty per cent of them are so defi-

cient that they can not be admitted to freshmen English until they have taken a more elementary course consisting of work that should be done in the secondary schools. The institution has also discovered that its average freshman exhibits a stage of educational progress which, measured by national standards, is normal for second-year high school students and that some of the less well-prepared freshmen "actually write like pupils in the fourth or fifth grade." Higher educational institutions in other parts of the United States are probably afflicted with some freshmen who take liberties with the language and exhibit also other evidences of illiteracy. But if the reports are correct, the southern states are most conspicuous for this grievous distress and for the position which they occupy below national standards in other educational matters.

But sheer or near illiteracy is not confined to the college campus. Its blight spreads to wider areas. One-tenth of the native white adult population of a state which claims to be the leader in the South is illiterate. Two hundred and fifty thousand native born white women, in sheer illiteracy, are reported in eleven southern states, and 110,000 of these are in Louisiana, North Carolina, and Tennessee. And there is an equal or even larger number of native southern white men who have been forgotten in the same suffocating loneliness.

II

THE SOUTHERN STATES also rank far below national standards in libraries. In public libraries they are at the bottom of the list. Forty-three per cent of the population of the United States are reported to be without public library facilities, but seventy-one per cent of the people in the South are without such facilities. The average per capita expenditure for public library service in the United States is about thirty-three cents. In the southern states the per capita expenditure ranges from two cents in the state that does least to eighteen cents in the state that does most for public libraries. The average per capita circulation of public library books is five times larger in the United States than in the southern states. In this respect the typical southern state is doing one-sixteenth as well as California, one-tenth as well as Massachusetts, one-eighth as well as Indiana, and one-sixth as well as Illinois and Iowa. For every inhabitant of the United States there is available about two-thirds of a public library book. In Massachusetts there are two and one-fourth such books, but in some southern states there is only one-sixteenth of a public library book available for each inhabitant.

According to the latest published statistics of a prosperity year, the people of at least four southern states had in their garages more

automobiles than books in their public libraries ; and in at least one of these states the increase in automobiles during the five years that preceded the depression exceeded the increase in public library books. Only about fifty counties in the South have county libraries with truck or deposit station service for every community and person in such counties, while forty-six of the fifty-eight counties in California alone are provided with such service. Except for school textbooks the southern states are the leanest book market in the United States. As readers of the leading national magazines they rank at the bottom, and as readers of newspapers the country at large makes almost a three-fold better showing than the southern states. By these exhibits it appears that the taste of southerners does not run to literature.

In college libraries, whether private, denominational, or state-supported, the deficiency is also conspicuous. The southern states are doing in this respect only one-fourth as well as the country as a whole. Connecticut has in its college and university libraries eight times more books than North Carolina and twenty times more than Arkansas. The University of Illinois expended for books for its library in 1927-1928 more money than the combined expenditures for the same purpose by the universities of nine southern states : Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia ; so did the University of Michigan ; and Harvard University alone expended for books for its library that year more than was spent for the same purpose by the universities of all the eleven strictly southern states. The libraries of the University of California and the University of Illinois contain 160,000 more volumes than the libraries of all the southern state universities. Harvard has twice as many books as all these eleven universities ; and the library of that institution added to its huge collection in 1929-30 more books than three southern state universities have collected in their libraries since their establishment.

III

THE DEVASTATION OF war from 1861 to 1865 and the destructive results of the tragic years of Reconstruction made educational growth very difficult as late as 1900. But about the turn of the century conditions were ripe and the way prepared for considerable educational advancement. The needed organized agencies of propaganda appeared in the Conference for Education in the South, also known as the Southern Conference Movement, the Southern Educational Movement, and the Ogden Movement, and in the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board. Through these

means influential people of the North became acquainted with those of congenial spirit in the South and gained a saner view of the perplexing problems and needs of southern life. Meetings of the Conference for Education in the South were held in many places throughout the southern states. The Southern Education Board was organized to aid in the development and the wise direction of educational sentiment and to establish larger policies for education, by appealing for increased financial resources and by arousing and organizing local forces for self development. Extension and systematic field work was planned and done and a bureau of investigation and publication was established.

The influence of this novel campaign for education has continued throughout these years. The press of the southern states was enlisted and in general its support has continued. Able advocates of better schools have come forward and have given their services in this continuing movement. In recent years the most practical school questions have been discussed and at the present moment, notwithstanding the economic depression, there is wide interest throughout the South in such matters as better school buildings, increased school funds, improved methods of teaching, enriched courses of study, travelling libraries, industrial education, and improved educational legislation, organization and administration. During recent years popular education has been a theme more widely and enthusiastically discussed than ever before and interest in it has spread intimately among the people.

The General Education Board, which was formed for the purpose of wise and systematic co-operation and financial assistance to education and other interests, has had a remarkable influence in this whole region. The work of this foundation has been varied. Large contributions have been made for the promotion of practical farming. Demonstration farms have been employed under supervision. State demonstration agents have conducted work among boys and girls under actual farming conditions through organized clubs. The promotion of secondary education has constituted another important service of this foundation which has appropriated considerable sums to the state departments and to state universities. Through this means hundreds of secondary schools, which were late to appear in the southern states, have been built and maintained. In addition, the General Education Board has made gifts for higher education in many of the southern states to increase endowments, improve equipment, and to expand their work. It has also contributed to the support of Negro schools, mainly those for the training of teachers, and has helped to promote rural school supervision

under the direction of state departments of education, for the promotion of better economic, educational and social conditions of the Negroes. Another service of the General Education Board has appeared in its aid to medical education, schools of education in state universities, and the financing of state school surveys and the direction of educational studies.

Among the first formal resolutions passed by the Conference for Education in the South some three decades ago, one pointed especially to the old and high spirited colleges and universities of the South as having a strong claim upon a generous share of that stream of private wealth in the United States that was then enriching and vitalizing the higher education of the North and West. It was stated that the achievements of the southern states deserved the sympathetic recognition of the country and of the world at large. At that time private, denominational, and public higher educational institutions in the southern states were very poor. Some of them struggled for existence. During the years between 1898 and 1903 benefactions to institutions of higher learning had amounted to more than sixty-one million dollars but little of that money had reached institutions in the southern states. At the latter date all of the southern colleges and universities had only fifteen millions of the 157 millions of productive funds then held by the colleges and universities of the United States. College libraries in the United States contained nearly nine millions of volumes, but only one and one-fourth million were found in the colleges and universities of the South. At that time these institutions had only about one million dollars invested in scientific apparatus as against a total of seventeen million for the higher educational institutions in the entire country. The physical equipment of the colleges of the United States at that time was approximately 150 millions but less than nine millions of it was to be found in the southern states. The total annual income available for higher education in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia was less than the annual income of Harvard University alone.

Since the passage of the resolution of the Conference for Education in the South, public funds for higher education have greatly increased, and considerable private wealth has found its way into southern educational institutions. The most conspicuous example of private benefaction is that of Duke University which has just moved into a magnificent plant at Durham, North Carolina, and is expanding its educational facilities on a tremendous scale. And other institutions here and there in the southern states have received aid from

time to time from private sources ; but, taken by and large, higher educational institutions in the southern states have not yet been as fortunate in public support or private benefaction as institutions in other parts of the country.

One result of this condition may be seen in the serious lack of opportunities for graduate instruction and study in the South, which is not yet strong in the power to attract scholars and to encourage research. It is very doubtful whether, when measured by national standards, a single graduate school in the entire southern states can take first rank, although three or four universities are making encouraging advances in this direction. Overdue is the cultural debt of that section to the eastern and western states upon which students from the southern states have so long had to depend for first-rate graduate opportunities. A large graduate school of the East probably confers in one year as many graduate degrees, if not more, than are conferred by all of the institutions in the southern states which are attempting to give graduate instruction.

IV

DURING THE YEARS immediately preceding the depression considerable progress was made in the education of Negroes, although much remained to be done before the educational facilities for the children of the Negro race in the South could compare favorably with those provided for the white people. During the decade from 1918 to 1928 eight of the southern states spent more than thirty million dollars for the building and equipping of public school buildings for Negro children. At this rate, the school plants for the Negro children of the southern states should in time be made modern, comfortable, and more nearly sufficient to meet their needs.

This same decade embraces almost all that has been done in the southern states to provide public high schools for Negroes. As late as 1918 there were few, if any, public standard high schools for Negroes except in some of the larger cities and a few state institutions. In 1925 there were nearly a hundred public schools and about fifty private schools of secondary grade for Negroes, with about one thousand graduates. In 1928 there were more than 160 public high schools and about half as many private high schools with nearly 5,000 graduates, in the states which formed the Confederacy, and Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. Progress in this direction continues in practically all the states, in those commonly known as the black belt of the lower South, as well as those known as the border or near border states. In general and with few exceptions these schools are measured by the same

or similar standards as the schools for white children. In addition to the standard or accredited public high schools for Negroes there are many non-standard which, in time, are likely to become standardized and accredited. About half of the graduates of standard high schools enter higher educational institutions. There are approximately 15,000 students enrolled in the normal schools and colleges for Negroes. Considerable progress has been made also in the development of institutions for the training of teachers.

For the most part, however, the education of Negroes in the southern states is confined to the elementary schools. These are the only schools attended by about 95 per cent of the Negro children, and most of these are in the first three or four grades. This condition is generally accounted deplorable but it is tolerable only because it seems to be improving, and if the rate of recent progress is maintained, this blight upon southern life will soon be in part removed. An encouraging sign in this direction appears in the fact that attendance laws, although now very inadequate in many sections in the southern states, are being more thoroughly enforced than formerly. Figures for enrollment and attendance show considerable gains in recent years. The salaries of teachers have been increased, and school terms have been lengthened from about 108 days to 134 days annually in elementary schools, and from about 128 to 154 days in the secondary schools. Funds for maintenance generally have also greatly increased in recent years.

Discrimination in the education of the Negroes, who compose about 30 per cent of the total population of the southern states, is still evident, however, and perhaps no explanation except that of racial grounds can be given for the differences in educational facilities for the whites and the Negroes. There are inequalities in values of school property, in general educational expenditures, and in length of school terms. Yet there is evidence to indicate that the southern states are now more determined than ever to rebuild the public school system for the Negroes and to make it more nearly adequate for their needs. Thoughtful leaders in the South are encouraged over the increasing sums from public sources that are now being spent on Negro education.

In this movement for improved educational facilities for Negro children in the southern states, considerable assistance has come from the funds of foundations which generally operate through the state departments of education and the officers of those departments. Among the foundations which have been of greatest assistance is the General Education Board, which has aided county training schools and summer schools and provided fellowships and funds for

the salaries and expenses of state agents for Negro rural schools and for other educational enterprises. This foundation has granted large sums also to aid in developing common schools for Negroes throughout the South. Up to 1928 it had appropriated nearly fifteen million dollars for colleges and schools, home makers clubs, medical schools, and miscellaneous interests. The Anna T. Jeanes Fund has given considerable aid in employing Negro teachers, who work under the direction of the county superintendents, in encouraging rural teachers, introducing simple home industries, giving lessons on sanitation and cleanliness, promoting improvement of schoolhouses and grounds, and organizing clubs for the general betterment of the school and community. More than seven hundred thousand dollars has come from this source in aid of Negro education in the southern states, the beneficiary areas supplementing these contributions to the extent of nearly a million and one-quarter for more than 300 counties in fourteen states. The John F. Slater Fund has encouraged county training schools, which number more than 300, and many of which are accredited public high schools. The Phelps-Stokes Fund has also aided in the education of the Negroes. The Julius Rosenwald Fund has appropriated nearly four million dollars to build schoolhouses for Negroes. This aid has been supplemented by public funds amounting to more than twelve millions, by contributions from white people in the neighborhoods benefited by the Rosenwald grants, and by funds from Negroes themselves who have raised more than four million dollars during the last decade and a half. Benefactions from the Duke Foundation and from the late B. N. Duke have greatly aided some colleges for Negroes in North Carolina. Altogether more than thirty million dollars have been contributed by special funds for Negro education in the South.

The poor quality of the schools for Negroes has often given rise to distrust and misgivings concerning the value of education for them. This may be one reason why the problem of Negro education has been so troublesome and discouraging. Moreover, the relation between education and public health, public safety, economic wealth, and civic betterment generally has not yet been definitely and fully established in the minds of many of the Negroes themselves or of others who have seemed interested in their education. This condition has been due not alone to meager educational provisions and to lack of the proper kind of leadership among the Negroes but also to a false conception which zealous, but often indiscreet, reformers have had of education for the Negroes. The lack of the Negro's industrial skill has served to retard the economic progress of the South, and until adequate and proper educational

provision is made for the Negro, this condition is likely to continue. The South is rapidly coming to see that instruction and training in industrial skill will carry also valuable lessons in economy and thrift, in health habits, cleanliness, and respectability, and in regard for order and for law. The properly educated Negro has not only a larger earning capacity but higher ideals of living. He lives in a better home, wears better clothes, has more wholesome food for himself and his family, has better health and higher moral standards, is ambitious for the proper education and the decent rearing of his children, is a more effective worker and thus helps to create more wealth, and in times of difficulty or race friction is always on the side of law and order. He is a more useful and a better citizen than the uneducated, unintelligent, or improperly trained Negro.²

The real progress of education for the Negro in the South is to be measured, therefore, by an increase in his industry and thrift, in the exhibition of the virtues of self-restraint, and in the practice of good habits of citizenship. These qualities and abilities can be promoted only by adequate educational facilities and the right kind of leadership. But the real success of the Negro as an effective and productive citizen depends for him, as for the white man, more upon his behavior and his sense of social responsibility than on his technical or formal educational achievement. To these ends the elementary-school system for the Negro children needs to be strengthened and improved by providing better-trained teachers, better houses and equipment, and closer supervision. The curriculum of the elementary school needs to be related more closely to the daily life of the Negro, with more effective and practical instruction in agriculture, gardening, household arts, home-making and simple industries, health, sanitation, morality, cleanliness, and the fundamentals of good citizenship. The facilities for training teachers for the Negro schools need to be improved, and more industrial and agricultural secondary schools need to be provided in all the southern states.

V

THE FAILURE OF the southern states to establish and maintain under public support and control, educational facilities that creditably approach national standards helps to perpetuate that section as a very fertile field for a zealous, if sometimes visionary, missionary effort. An incomplete list shows more than one hundred schools

² It is estimated that more than 112,000 Negro workers in the South are ill and incapacitated for work all the time, and that the annual economic loss from preventable illness and deaths of these Negroes is nearly \$50,000,000.

maintained in seven of the southern states largely by outside religious and philanthropic organizations. A complete report from the entire South would probably show a great many more.

Many counties, not only in Virginia, but in other parts of the South, doubtless have conditions similar to those President Hoover discovered near his camp on the Rapidan River in Madison County, where Ray Burraker took the famous 'possum. Two-thirds of the twenty-nine schools in that county are one-room schools, and "the average salary of white teachers in the county is below the average for all teachers both white and colored, in the State," reported a careful correspondent to the *New York Times*. He added that the Virginia state department of education "blames the indifference of mountain parents for the conditions that exist. Such an explanation merely emphasizes the vicious circle through which illiterate parents pass on their own heritage to their children, a circle that can hardly be broken without more and better schools and a more rigid enforcement of the attendance laws." The conditions aroused the sympathies of Mr. Hoover, who decided to initiate a move looking to the education of the neglected children in the region surrounding his camp. If enough men of wealth and position could be induced to establish summer camps in the South, perhaps many of the educational obligations which southern states have failed to meet fully could be discharged, and the underprivileged children could be given the educational opportunity promised by their state constitutions. If the educational requirements of these constitutions were properly observed, however, little need would exist in the South for the sympathies of visitors and the numerous "St. Peter's-in-the-Mountains" or "St. Mary's-in-the-Woods" schools.

There are those who seriously raise the question of the South's economic resources. They point to the fact that in per capita wealth and per capita income the southern states are far behind some other sections of the country, and say that the deficiencies are economic as well as technically educational. Moreover, some believe that the recent boast of economic prosperity in the South is overdone, just as is the boast of educational advancement; and that the case of the critics of the cultural backwardness of the South would be more impressive if they pointed out how the economic handicap may be overcome. Equally competent authorities believe, on the other hand, that the South is a region of bulging bounties, that it can do for schools all that it really wants to do, but that, on account of outworn and vicious taxation systems, equitable and adequate sources of revenue have not yet been tapped for educational and social purposes. Moreover, the impressive fact that the areas of high

per capita wealth and income are identical with the areas of advanced school systems, suggests that if the South is poor it may be so because it has so long had poor schools. Some thoughtful southerners even believe that the South would not now be cursed with industrial bitterness and strife, had it been blessed in the past with excellent schools.

The rank of education in the southern states is kept low, of course, in part by the Negro. Their general attitude toward his education lies close to the root of the whole problem, as one editor has so well said; and the failure of state legislatures to bring the schools up closer to the average standards of the nation is apparently due in part, at least, to a reluctance to apply those standards to Negro schools. The lack of the Negro's industrial skill will continue to keep the South backward so long as provision is not made for his proper education and training.

Education in the South is also retarded by the political character of its administration. The chief state school officers (and many county school officers) are selected on a strictly political basis in all the states that formed the Confederacy, and in most of them they are selected by popular vote, as their high sheriffs and constables are selected, a method which prevents the prescription of educational and professional qualifications. These officers are identified, therefore, with partisan politics, and bound to party pledges. Although he occupies potentially a most strategic position for moral and educational leadership, actually the state superintendent of schools is often practically as helpless as the Grand Kleagle of the K. K. K. would be at a Eucharistic Congress.

But worse than the belief that the South is too poor to afford standard educational facilities for all the children, worse than the Negro and the increased burden which the dual school system entails, and worse even (if anything can be worse) than partisan politics in public educational machinery and mediocrity in public educational management, are the handicaps of provincial prejudice and complacency. These social insanities help to perpetuate educational backwardness in the South. Satisfaction with what we have done during the past three decades blinds us to the things we should do now. The South is in grave danger of ballyhooing itself into further backwardness. Educational inequalities are in some respects as glaring now as they were twenty-five years ago, but the professional southerner does not hesitate to describe "as conspicuous achievements" many educational improvements which would pass unnoticed in really advanced states. Exaggerated claims of progress by influential southern leaders are frequently taken in the South

as actual defenses of the section's educational shortcomings.

The southern states have advanced in education. They certainly needed to do that, but not one of them is yet an educationally advanced state, measured by national standards. The one that is probably the most nearly advanced of the southern group should do twice as much as it was doing in the best years before the depression to be ranked as an average state educationally among the forty-eight. These states need to make more progress, and the need is cumulative. The times demand an increased and increasing investment of funds and of trained leadership in education of all, white and black. But the Pollyanna boosters will not help these states to attain to national standards. Already has one of them begun to pay the penalty for extravagant praise and flattery. During the last four years some of its educational institutions have been "cut off with a shilling" not because of their delinquency, but probably because the members of the legislature believed these bedtime stories and that the educational task in the state was finished. The loud beating of the tom-toms about the trends where the South believes it leads, may stop its ears to the truth about where it actually lags.

Disguise the truth as we may, throw the blame wherever we will, on the twin calamities of the Civil War and the tragic era of Reconstruction, on the predominantly rural character of the South, on the presence of the Negro, on real or fancied poverty, on the climate—that is, on geography and therefore on God—no matter how we seek to excuse our deficiencies, these remain obvious to even the most casual observer. And whatever the cause of the backwardness of the South in education, the affliction itself stifles industry, represses effort, discourages enterprise, weakens the desire for excellence, and makes us satisfied with second-rate achievements.

The typical professional southerner exhibits almost a morbid sensitiveness to just criticism of the South. But the educational deficiencies themselves and not reports of them, as some southerners complain, now defame the region. We need to quit grumbling about the Civil War, the Negro, the Republican party, and the boll weevil, or the depression, as dire as these afflictions were and are. The South can attain to national standards in education, in industry, and in other phases of life. But it must first face squarely its shortcomings, strive more mightily to demonstrate the quality and the quantity of its educational facilities by testing them comparatively with the best that other states possess, establish the habit of intelligent self-criticism, and use more fully its material resources to increase its educational resources. Otherwise the South will continue

to lag and to permit the heavy taxation of provincial prejudice and false pride which is now levied and collected at so many points in that section.

The economic depression which began in 1929 has paralyzed education in the southern states as in other parts of the country. But a comparison of conditions in these states with conditions elsewhere shows that education in those states which provided good schools before 1929 has suffered least during the depression and that those states which, even in the fair weather days, were not offering adequate educational advantages to all their children have suffered most during the past four years in the reduction of the educational opportunities which they were offering in 1929-30.

As pointed out above, children in the southern states received prior to the depression educational opportunities seriously inferior to those provided in the nation as a whole. These facts meant discrimination against children in the southern states and in the long run must result in an adult citizenship handicapped by limited education and other social deficiencies. The southern states, even in their best educational days, were in the position of a second runner in a race and since that time the conditions have every year become more and more critical. The school have been hampered, the teachers and managers of schools have been frustrated, salaries have been slashed and salary increments denied, school terms shortened, schools closed, building programs delayed or abandoned, the teaching load and the size of classes have been increased, grotesque educational legislation has been enacted, and other restrictions have been made in the name of economy.

Here, as elsewhere, much that the school workers have been paid to do has been strangely assailed. The elementary school has been denounced as aimless and based upon false beliefs, the secondary school has been called an expensive and inert fetish, and higher education has been denounced as degenerate. Many of the arguments advanced a century ago against education at public expense have been brought forward afresh during the past three or four years; and the validity of some of the principles believed to have been accepted and settled in the public educational policy of the southern states has been questioned, if not denied. Here, as elsewhere, debts, deficits, and the depression have been offered as reasons for economies urged in educational budgets. Perhaps the severe assaults upon current educational theories and practices have their roots in the belief that too high and unwarranted claims were made in the name of education and in the fact that many of the magical promised effects of education, including its alleged power

of removing poverty and crime, have not been unfulfilled.

Whatever the explanation, however, a result of this strange reaction against schools³ will be a lowered quality of educational work. The present situation should dispose the southern people to earnest reflection. To those who teach and manage schools it brings fresh responsibilities which cannot be evaded. Here, as elsewhere in this country and in other parts of the Western World, the way to recuperation in other crises lay in education. The way out of the present confusion and hysteria is through not less but more education.

True, there is need for economy in education as in other public interests. But there is danger that the recent feverish agitation and demand for economy may be turned into campaigns whose catchwords will disastrously cripple the schools. The history of education in the southern states shows that an emergency, whether due to war, pestilence, flood, famine, or economic disturbance, is an additional reason for maintaining educational work in unimpaired validity. Those who are overwhelmed by the philosophy of defeatism that threatens to spread in education should be heartened by the record of other crises. The southern states can ill-afford to relax their efforts even for a short time. To do so would greatly increase the educational disadvantages which are now so heavily set against children in the South and would make it more and more difficult for those states to regain the footing which they had before the depression began.

There is, however, evidence of a belief among some of those who labor in what Horace Mann called "the realm of mind and morals" that the depression may have a tonic effect on "educators" and bring their feet to the ground. The crisis will become a blessing if it forces us from superficialities to realities and from the apparent tendency of the people to mistake the shadow for the substance of education. While many of the problems which the schools now face flow directly from the depression there may be others which the depression did not bring directly. The crisis has been accompanied by a definite tendency to submit the schools to a most critical scru-

³ It appears that in one respect the present economic depression differs from the crises that have afflicted the people of the United States in the past. During the past century the people of this country have experienced a dozen or more well-marked economic crises each one of which was accompanied by conditions of lowered production, shrinkage in capital, bankruptcy, falling prices, reduced earnings, wage cuts, unemployment, unrest and distress. But in other periods of depression educational facilities were enlarged or maintained as in normal times. See Edgar W. Knight, "Schools Go on in Lean Years," in *The New York Times*, March 6, 1932; "Education in Depression," in *North Carolina Teacher*, January, 1933. See also R. S. Pitkin, *Public School Support in the United States During Periods of Economic Depression*, 1933.

tiny. This tendency must be helpful. Few educational managers can deny that some educational follies have been committed in the past. They welcome honest attempts to determine what can safely be done to adjust the work of the schools to the distressed conditions of the times. Most if not all of them are alert to the necessity that education must bear a fair share of the burden of reduced costs of government and they are deeply concerned that the values of education must be preserved during this period of severe testing. They know that they and their schools are facing an extraordinary test of merit and that a revaluation of their work is being made. Most of them are convinced that everybody needs to learn,—the school people, those who sit in judgment upon their work, and the parents and public generally,—that “ruin and recovery are alike from within,” as Epictetus said in his golden manner many centuries ago.

“We must meet fiscal deficits,” says President Frank P. Graham, of the University of North Carolina,” but we must not keep piling up social deficits in the common life of the people. We must balance budgets in a depression by long run financing of the gigantic burdens of a collapsed prosperity. We must balance books but we must not unbalance the lives of people and the hopes of youth. . . .

“We cannot pinch our way out. We must create our way out. We must pay off the long running debt by the long run building up of the capacities and powers of the people and the hopes of their children for a chance equal to any chance of any children in the world.”

“Why are we so far behind in our standards as workers, thinkers, and writers?” a thoughtful woman asked her South in the day of its humiliation and woe in the summer of 1865. And answering the question, she wrote these words: “Thy day of regeneration and renovation will never dawn till thou hast learned to dig deep, and lay the foundations broad and firm—learned to educate thy children thoroughly—learned to distinguish gold from gilding, silver from tinsel.”

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

BY H. CLARENCE NIXON

HIGHER EDUCATION in the South has an older and richer background than has secondary education in this section. The College of William and Mary is second in age to Harvard ; several southern state universities, as those of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia or Alabama, have historical records that run back more than a hundred years ; and not a few denominational colleges, extant and non-extant, were founded in times when slavery was in vogue. In reality college life became an important feature of the old South, especially of plantation society. As William E. Dodd has pointed out, in *The Cotton Kingdom*, southern colleges in the fifties compared not unfavorably with those of the East in total enrollment, financial support, and faculty calibre. The slavocracy was more interested in higher education for the few than in effective secondary education for the many.

To the influence of this ante-bellum background certain existent trends can be traced. One of these trends is the continuing southern interest in separate colleges for girls, in striking conformity with the social attitudes of plantation days. Old southern ideals are sometimes emphasized and even capitalized in the development of such colleges. Besides many church and private colleges for young women, the eight state-supported colleges exclusively for women in America are in the South, including Oklahoma. Wesleyan College, a Georgia school for women, claims to have conferred in 1840 the first college degree received by a woman.

From the same background most of the colleges of the South have received a strong religious heritage, chiefly Protestant, a respect for the form and organization of religion, though not necessarily for independent religious thought. With this influence there is a strong tendency to hold even the largest university responsible for properly nursing the student body as to morals and personal conduct. Ministers of the gospel have been rather close to college

administration, even in the case of state institutions, and the church call has not been entirely foreign to non-denominational schools. It seems natural that Nashville, the great church town, capital of southern Methodism and publication center for various denominations, should also be the city with about the largest cluster of colleges, in the South, and, furthermore, that the most conspicuous edifice of George Peabody College for Teachers in that city is the Social-Religious Building.

Another tie-up with the ante-bellum beginnings is the continuity of the classical tradition in the South, with a declining student constituency for Greek and Latin and with classics professors shifting to institutional administrative functions. The head of the Georgia School of Technology, for instance, is the author of a Latin text; the chancellor of Vanderbilt University, the president of the University of Alabama, and the graduate dean of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute are former instructors in the classics; and the Tulane dean of arts and sciences is still giving courses in Latin. Rather close to this group in general outlook are such men as the head of Rice Institute, a mathematician with Princeton antecedents, the president of Washington and Lee, who came up through the field of English, and the dean of Sophie Newcomb (in the Tulane system), who heads an English department and has special interest in Shakespeare. These leaders may be counted upon to uphold the ideals of culture and the disciplines of science, to remain immune from those nonsensical ideas and practices denounced by Abraham Flexner in his published lectures and articles on universities. They are, in general, educational and economic conservatives, and as conservatives they have much support from the preacher-presidents of the various denominational colleges in exemplifying a leadership that is rather disinclined to play with social dynamite. Though not opposed to academic freedom, the typical college administrators of the South today are as little given to criticism of the industrial order as were their intellectual forbears given to criticism of the order of slavery. With abundant sympathy for science, they are not bold social scientists or social prophets, as is the exceptional Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina and a liberal in the eyes of liberals.

This general leadership is better suited to cultural guidance of the academic four-year college than to the job of shaping the scope and destiny of the pioneering and exploring university, and it may be said that such a college, and not such a university, has characteristically arrived in the South. More than six score four-year colleges are now members of the Southern Association of Colleges

and Secondary Schools, an organization that was founded in 1895 through the initiative of Vanderbilt University and with the charter-membership of Vanderbilt, the University of the South (Sewanee), Trinity College (now Duke University), Washington and Lee University, the University of North Carolina, and the University of Mississippi. In addition to the present membership, about thirty other four-year non-member colleges may be mentioned as having the Association's approval with reservations. There are also seventy-four non-member Negro schools of higher learning within the territory of the Association, which includes Kentucky and all the ex-Confederate states except Arkansas. Twenty-one of these Negro schools are considered by a committee agent of the organization as doing a general quality of work "such as to warrant the admission of their graduates without condition to any institution requiring the bachelor's degree for entrance."¹ Fisk University, of Nashville, has received the best rating among the Negro schools, according to this report.

The growth of this Association is an index of the growth of colleges and creditable secondary schools in the South. The time has come when it is an institutional handicap to be excluded from membership, as the state colleges of Mississippi have recently realized. But in view of the enlarged membership, no longer consisting predominantly of pace-setting colleges, it is also time to be on guard against overestimating membership as a badge of merit. It may be proper to consider that the Association has inevitably finished the rôle of educational statesmanship and become an administrative clearing house for checking and inquiry as to standards. It has, partly through necessity, tended to overemphasize standardized measuring-rods, such as the amount of income or endowment and the proportion of faculty members holding the Ph.D. degree. It is partly responsible for the tendency to give the Ph.D. label the right of way over meritorious teaching, even for the instruction of undergraduates. A recent exchange professor from an English university, speaking in private of a particular southern teacher of English, said that he was a good teacher and a good writer, as judged by observation and results, and worth three times his salary according to British standards, but was held down to an assistant professorship for the lack of a degree.

With upwards of a score of four-year teachers colleges holding membership in the Association and others seeking membership, it seems pertinent to question the value and economy of the recent

¹ *Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States*, Montgomery, Alabama, December 3-4, 1931, *passim*.

rapid expansion of pedagogical education, which has nevertheless met a certain need in the rural South. Does Kentucky need four state teachers colleges in addition to the state university? Does Alabama need four state teachers colleges, with lagging payrolls (in 1933), in addition to a normal school or two, with a school of education at the University of Alabama and similar offerings at Auburn? Does Tennessee need three such colleges, with one of them near enough to Nashville to be considered as a suburb of the George Peabody College for Teachers? Such a multiplicity of provisions for the training of teachers, supplemented by courses in education in numerous other colleges, warrants the assumption of duplication and waste with violence to the sense of proportion. The situation suggests that the South needs fewer but better teachers colleges with less total cost and more real scholarship.

Aside from teachers colleges and education courses, there is not much variation from the conventional paths either of curriculum or method in higher education south of the Potomac. The region at the present time has nothing to compare in significance or originality with the Hutchins experiment in undergraduate work at the University of Chicago or with the Jeffersonian beginnings at the University of Virginia. An attempt out of the ordinary and rather widely heralded is Hamilton Holt's "adventure in old-fangled education" with Rollins College at Winter Park, Florida. He has in a few years built up a college of a few hundred students from nearly nothing, with emphasis on cultural education, as detached from professional training or graduate research, and with the conference method for teacher-student contact, instead of the routine lecture or recitation methods. With a beautiful physical environment blessed by a necklace of lakes and with a cultural fusion between college and town, Rollins offers a healthy flair for art and learning and creative effort. If it can escape becoming a cross between a boarding school and a chautauqua, this college may be able to show constructive leadership in giving the proper slant and emphasis to collegiate education. But old-fangled education has not disappeared from the South, and occasionally a small "hick" college is found to be inspirationally successful in bringing the boy, the book, and the teacher together with low cost and little publicity. An example is Piedmont College in the mountains of North Georgia, a school which might furnish a lesson or two to a few larger institutions in how not to spend money extravagantly on programs of building expansion.²

² "I Teach in a Hick College," by W. B. Phillips, is a cleverly written article on this college, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, CXIXL (March, 1932), 327-332.

An institution, which has a special reason for existence and which, according to Benjamin Andrews of Teachers College (Columbia), "stretches dollars farther in securing educational results than probably any other in the country," is Berea College in the mountains of Kentucky. It is on a free-tuition basis and has three millions of endowment, six thousand acres of land, forty departments of labor and a dean of labor. Located on the Boone Trail about seventy-five years ago, it is an offshoot of Oberlin College, a veritable Oberlin in Kentucky, and claims without subsidy from sect or state to have "provided a Christian education for tens of thousands of young people from the Southern Mountains, regardless of poverty." It has been an excellent place to earn and learn under the consciousness of an uplift atmosphere, and the administration has been successful in appealing for funds, especially in the North, the section furnishing a majority of the trustees. However, good roads and industries are penetrating the mountains, and Berea's territory is no longer a delimitation of poverty. The college must eventually shift its rôle as an educational mission station and undertake to hold its own as a typical independent college. It has an opportunity in the light of its history and setting for the liberal cultivation and ventilation of progressive ideas bearing on modern industrial society, an opportunity to lead in solving social problems as Berea has already shown leadership in solving educational problems for individuals.

In the face of industrial progress, southern colleges are comparatively lacking in liberal clubs, radical groups, or articulate social mindedness on the part of students, though allowance must be made for sporadic movements in the period of deepening depression. One exception is the non-indigenous and non-recognized Commonwealth College near Mena, Arkansas, where thirty-five or fifty or more labor students and labor faculty divide time between cultivating hilly acres and carrying on an experiment in workers' education, primarily with reference to the social sciences. No degrees are conferred, and the flexible entrance requirements may call for comments on democracy, capitalism, socialism, trade unionism, Mencken, Mussolini, Norman Thomas, Bernard Shaw, and Clarence Darrow, with the addition of a good joke. A faculty list makes mention of the Ph.D. degree, graduate work or instructional experience at the Universities of Chicago and Wisconsin, and contributions to national magazines, including the *American Mercury*. The school is not free from dissension. It may be cited for its anti-smugness, though it lacks the facilities and the standing of a college. It shares honors with Columbia University in having had students involved in Kentucky mine controversies.

II

THE LIBERAL ARTS colleges, especially those which are divisions of universities, have been threatened in their cultural aspects by tending to become mere feeders and supporters of professional schools in the progress-minded new South. Such subordination tends to weaken the academic spirit with damage to cultural values, but the recent depression may receive credit for checking the headlong rush to professional training, with a consequent restoration of a vanishing motive in education. In fact, it is somewhat refreshing to note a slight renaissance of general learning in college communities in the last two years.

In comparison with academic colleges, the various professional and graduate schools of the South must be given less praise. There are many southern medical schools for turning out doctors, but, according to Abraham Flexner, only those of Tulane, of Vanderbilt, and, potentially, of Duke can be considered adequately equipped for all branches of work, including medical research. In the field of medical education for Negroes, Meharry at Nashville has been rendering good service. The same limitations apply to law, though the South is less peculiar in this respect. There are many southern schools for turning out lawyers, but few for elevating law as a field of social engineering, and the regional environment is not yet favorable for the work of these few. There are full-time professors of law in the South with the training and the attitude of social scientists, but not easy is their task of transcending the function of manufacturing practicing lawyers. The University of North Carolina law school has been forward-looking and socially minded, while the schools of Duke, Tulane, and the University of Texas show a strong interest in building up standards and faculties. The schools of engineering, agriculture and other technical branches, especially those connected with universities and land grant colleges, are generally maintaining a high quality of work in response to economic needs. It would be safer in the South to wager at random on the merits of an engineering or agricultural college than on those of a law or medical school. Commerce and journalism in this section are sometimes, though not always, counted as snap courses for athletes, and it must be said that there are extension courses which are jokes except for the cash to the professor and the credit to the student. Extension courses are offered by more than forty southern institutions, including leading universities and "fresh-water" colleges, and it is not infrequently true that both the instructor and the student are teachers with abundant work independently of any

extension course. This criticism is not applicable, of course, to the different kinds of popular and worthy extension services carried on by state institutions and agricultural experiment stations for public benefit and not for academic credit.

If a comprehensive and productive graduate school is the distinguishing mark of a university, it is a fact, hard to deny, that in the South the term "university" is frequently a misnomer. The typical graduate school of the region seems to be a collection of courses for permitting members and prospective members of the teaching profession to get a master's degree with a view to the improvement of salary and status. Professors, perhaps with heavy undergraduate teaching loads, may be found struggling to see that hard-working graduate students, perhaps with mediocre capacity, may learn something about research and bibliography or scientific technique and get a little broader view than that of mediocre undergraduates. The graduate school has not been attracting the most capable graduates from its own campus, and the relative backwardness of the South in research, whether scientific or social, regional or general, has been greater than potential resources justify. The data presented by Wilson Gee, of the University of Virginia, in his study, *Research Barriers in the South*, show a strong connection between inadequate graduate schools and the "drag out of the South" of native scholars. With heavier teaching loads and comparatively smaller salaries (with due allowance for variations in living costs), southern professors are more seriously handicapped than their northern brothers in terms of leisure, facilities, and opportunities for research and creative activity.

Few are the southern institutions that are really prepared and equipped to give the work for the Ph.D. degree. The state universities of North Carolina and Texas, because of ably manned departments, library facilities, and general equipment, are the best prepared for giving this degree in the several fields. The University of Virginia is developing good work for advanced degrees, and Duke University seems to be making disjointed progress. Vanderbilt is well equipped for giving the doctorate in English, history, and medicine. Tulane gives an occasional Ph.D. in medicine. Peabody has been too lavish in Ph.D. offerings with extremely limited library facilities. The six southern institutions now granting the doctorate in chemistry are the Universities of Virginia, North Carolina and Texas, Duke University, Rice Institute, and Vanderbilt.³

³ J. E. Mills, *Chemical Progress in the South* (New York, 1930), p. 16. This observer says, "There is a great deal more chemical research work being done in the South than is generally realized." At Chapel Hill the research done by W. C. Coker in Botany is especially noteworthy.

Much credit is due outside foundations for the financial stimulation of research among graduate students and faculty groups in not a few southern universities. Much credit must also be given to research groups at the University of North Carolina for excellent work and promotion in the sphere of regional studies, especially in the social sciences, with good measures of praise to the Universities of Virginia and Texas for similar efforts. The late Walter L. Fleming, as dean and chairman of the social science faculty, achieved real progress in organizing research at Vanderbilt, and Charles W. Pipkin is giving dynamic encouragement toward such activities at Louisiana State University. Howard W. Odum, of North Carolina, is the most distinctive champion of regional research in the South. E. C. Barker has been a leader in historical study at Texas and turned out much original work on his own account. The medical groups at Tulane and Vanderbilt must not be passed over. And high praise must be given the University of North Carolina and Duke University for the development of university presses and publications of merit and importance for turning the results of research into light. The University of Oklahoma is one of others making progress in publication. In the field of discussion, it is refreshing to note such faculty-edited magazines as the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Duke), *Social Forces* (North Carolina), the *Sewanee Review*, the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, the *Southwest Review* (Southern Methodist University and Louisiana State University), and the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* (Texas, with the support of the Southwestern Social Science Association). The University of Virginia's annual summer Institute of Public Affairs, which has been in existence for half a decade, takes high rank in the whole country as a forum for the discussion of public questions with frankness and freedom. Emory, North Carolina, and Louisiana State are other universities deserving mention for the sponsorship of conferences of community or regional significance.

Southern students in graduate work or in undergraduate courses requiring a wide reading are often confronted with inadequate library facilities, for southern libraries are not on a par with southern athletics in the national picture. An analysis of annual library expenditures per enrolled student for thirty-four major institutions of the country shows in dollars a high of eighty-seven, a low of six, and an average of twenty-two, with sixteen for North Carolina, thirteen for Tulane and ten for Louisiana State, and little improvement in the lower brackets is to be expected with the appearance of later figures. About eight or nine universities (and no colleges) between the Potomac and the Rio Grande may be listed as having

libraries of 100,000 or more volumes, with the University of Texas showing a total of half a million volumes and topping the list, the University of North Carolina taking second place, Duke third, and the University of Virginia fourth. The University of Oklahoma has a library with over 120,000 volumes. Emory University and Louisiana State University, while far from the top in number of volumes, deserve favorable mention for excellent library facilities and administration. Vanderbilt and Tulane are statistically in the hundred thousand class, if all departmental and divisional collections be included and if, in the case of Tulane, no deductions be made for extensive duplications between the main library and the Newcomb library, which should be co-ordinated. Both of these universities fall far short of the library standards set up by the Carnegie Corporation, though they are manifesting efforts toward improvement. A noteworthy step for the advancement of southern Negro education was marked by the dedication in the spring of 1932 of Atlanta University's new library building, described as "a handsome colonial structure with stack room for 120,000 books and reading space for 400 persons." Such physical arrangements surpass those of most southern colleges and universities in proportion to the student body.

III

SOUTHERN COLLEGES and universities reflect little evidence of plan or design in the general lay-out of buildings and grounds. The state universities have as a rule been established in mere towns or small cities and have tended to escape serious shortage of campus space, but until recently their buildings have sprung up at different times, in different styles, and seemingly like the rise of the British Empire, "in a fit of absence of mind." There are building needs not met, and there are buildings hardly needed, within the same state, for the growth in numbers of students has tended to develop a great and absorbing interest in building expansion on the part of heads of state institutions. The president of a physically advancing state university in the lower South once expressed to the writer a frank preference for the headship of an institution with an "expansion program" in comparison with that of a university of slower growth and higher standing, coming dangerously near to putting buildings before scholarship.

A striking exception to the planlessness among state institutions is Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge, which has been transferred from an old to a new campus under a new building program. The University of Alabama has managed to preserve a central spaciousness through a recent building expansion. The hand-

some library building at the University of North Carolina is suggestive of the idea that the library should be the heart of a university. Of the non-state institutions, Duke University, established on a new campus with Gothic buildings and artistic planning in all particulars, even to the stadium, a natural amphitheater, furnishes the most impressive exception to the general run, but Peabody's stately campus has been developed from the beginning by a definite plan for both buildings and landscape. Emory University, a transferred and transformed institution, is on a new campus in a beautiful part of Atlanta, with buildings consistently of Georgia white marble. An excellent physical location at Vanderbilt has been somewhat spoiled by an incongruity of buildings, too much dominated by the medical school. The Tulane campus suffers in appearance and convenience from a too narrow frontage on St. Charles Avenue, the most important approach. A significant example among the smaller campuses is that of the University of the South at Sewanee on the mountain, with buildings of native stone and an appearance which pleases and inspires.

In athletics the southern campus produces a brand of football that has measured up to national standards and attracted national interest. The chase and turf background, the agrarian frontier survivals, and the social heritage from war and duel combine to give instinctive interest to this game, which is also strongly boosted under a new commercial spirit by partisans of growing colleges in growing towns and districts, with a feeling for good advertising. The South is a chronological era behind the East in football history, for the game is still achieving increasing importance in Dixie, while it is on the decline after the climax among the leading and largest institutions of the East. The South has yet to learn that institutional standings in football and productive scholarship are not necessarily correlative. A few of the larger schools have become slightly interested in plans for regularizing the conditions of this major sport, which needs a bit of deflation for the general good of the colleges and universities. Circumstances and inklings suggest that Vanderbilt, a former leader on the gridiron, is the most rapidly developing a sophistication which detaches university prestige from football, while Emory's policy of no intercollegiate football may become more interesting to observe.

Southern colleges and universities have had their share of extramural interference, not at all restricted to athletics. Baptist schools have furnished victims for heresy-hunting, and Methodist fundamentalists have lamented the intellectual waywardness in their establishments. Non-denominational private institutions, fortunate in having

relatively the greatest degree of religious and political independence, are not free from social and economic pressure. The state colleges of Mississippi have just recently passed out of an upheaval of Bilbo politics. The Alabama Polytechnic Institute has been experiencing administrative difficulties, with frequent changes in the presidency under political friction between the agricultural and the industrial interests that affect the institution. Virginius Dabney, in his *Liberalism in the South*, shows that on the whole southern professors have fared no worse than those of other sections in matters of academic freedom and academic tenure, but he hints, with an element of justification, that southern institutions might use a procedure that is more straightforward and less devious in their administrative dealings with a professor who is a *persona non grata*. Cases or controversies involving the issues of academic freedom or tenure or both have recently arisen at Rollins College, the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Louisiana State University, North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, and the Texas Technological College, as well as in Mississippi, while a few years ago, the University of Tennessee received serious criticism as the result of an investigation by a committee of the American Association of University Professors. Direct or circumstantial evidence in many of these cases and in others not mentioned indicates external pressure on administrative officers.

Southern professors have not exercised the daring boldness of constructive and destructive criticism which has been manifest in a few of the outstanding universities of the country, and southern institutions have tended to assume an apologetic or defensive attitude rather than an aggressive or progressive policy in the face of controversy. But President Frank P. Graham, of North Carolina, in 1932 had to confront and did confront fearlessly the organized public attack of a reactionary group seeking a virtual censorship of intellectual activities. It is also refreshing to note the healthy security at Vanderbilt for a professor clashing openly and pointedly with an industrialist trustee of the university on ticklish economic issues of vital concern to the latter.

The timidity or caution on the part of leaders of the southern institutions has been due partly to the two facts that they have needed more money badly and have been getting it fairly fast (until the middle of the depression). The University of Tennessee officials and faculty were rather silent on the issue when the legislature of that state was considering the anti-evolution law; the same legislature was making a handsome new appropriation for the University. The financial strength of southern schools of higher learning has

increased by a few hundred per cent since 1900. The combined annual receipts of all universities, colleges and professional schools in the southern states for a recent year approximated a hundred million dollars, exclusive of additions to endowments, and this was slightly less than one-fifth of the total for all such schools in the United States. The combined productive funds of all the higher institutions in these thirteen states appear to be somewhat less than the combined endowments of Yale and Harvard. The University of Texas, because of extensive holdings of oil lands, may be counted the most highly endowed southern university, while the University of Virginia also has an endowment of several million dollars and the Universities of North Carolina and Alabama have much smaller endowments. Duke's endowment is second to that of Texas, with Vanderbilt's taking third place. Available statistics indicate that there are seventeen southern colleges and universities with endowments ranging upwards from two million dollars and that the grand total for the sixteen without the University of Texas is about equal to the endowment of Harvard.

It is clear that substantial material progress has been made by the higher institutions of the South in the last ten years, and this progress is very likely greater than is realized. Not only buildings but laboratories and equipment have been increased and improved. Notable advance has been made particularly in those branches of science which have an immediate utilitarian bearing, as, for example, in industrial chemistry, to meet the demands of special industrial expansion and the many scores of millions in new capital. Many chemistry departments have been accommodating from five hundred to fifteen hundred or more students. The plantation regions and large towns have lost their monopoly of the student population, for boys and girls have poured in from up-country hills and hamlets, often from homes that have known no schooling beyond the grammar grades, and not averse to the spirit of "Us engineers don't need no English." It is not an infrequent case to find a college with a bare numerical existence in 1920 reporting hundreds or a thousand students ten years later. The University of Alabama is as nearly typical as unusual, with a change in enrollment from hardly a thousand to more than three thousand in less than twenty years. This general growth has tended to burden teachers with large classes, but faculties have also expanded. In spite of rapid growths in student enrollments, teaching loads have been reduced in many cases, while professors' salaries have received additions that may not be entirely removed by depression cuts. There are now a few institutions in the South offering competition to the leading schools

of the North in securing or holding scholars that are leaders in their fields, though on the whole the interest in strong faculties might have been greater under the economic circumstances. The new buildings have not been great hatcheries of new ideas that register beyond the orbit of the publicity office.

IV

MANY OF THE trends so far passed under review or criticism are national as well as southern trends, and the southern institutions are subject to the additional criticism of not being sufficiently regional in trends and outlook. Many dollars should be saved by a more effective recognition of special southern conditions, and greater social values should be achieved by a more frank facing of southern problems.

It is one fundamental condition that southern per capita income is seriously limited in comparison with that of most other sections of the United States, and that means the state dollar or the church dollar or the private endowment dollar should be stretched far by a maximum of co-ordination and a minimum of duplication in the realm of higher education. With the social dollar inevitably split in some fashion between two races, integration of the activities among the institutions of each race appears to be all the more imperative. The state of Alabama can ill afford the cost of friction and competition between the state university and the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, with schools of engineering at both places and the previously mentioned education courses in partial competition with four state teachers' colleges. The state of Alabama can ill afford to maintain these six institutions and a seventh, the state college for women, with little centralization of control or administration. There is not room at the legislative feed-trough under the present organization for all, and higher education is in danger of becoming a log-rolling scramble for "pork." It will continue to strain the agrarian state of Mississippi to support a variety of colleges, if the institutions are to have genuinely high standards. Louisiana, fortunate in having the land grant college integrated as part of the state university, can perhaps ill afford to see this university maintain a new medical center in physical proximity to the medical school of Tulane University in New Orleans. Tennessee has too much state institutional spread and seemingly too little official appreciation of the existence of important non-tax-supported colleges and universities within the borders of the commonwealth. Future appraisal will have to be made of the intellectual co-operation and co-ordination between Duke University and the University of North

Carolina, which are located on campuses only a few miles apart.

The South, in comparison with the rest of the country, has piled up state and local indebtedness most rapidly since 1915 in proportion to taxable wealth, and high debt charges are always burdensome for an agrarian economy. Such charges tend to play havoc with ordinary revenue and to leave little for education in hard times, with schools and teachers playing second fiddle to bondholders. Higher education is given a setback from which recovery will be long, slow and difficult in spite of wholesome changes in organization and economical administration. The financial figures and estimates given in this survey must be drastically discounted to show the effects of economic forces, legislative acts, and administrative decrees. Some of the most useful institutions, as the University of North Carolina, have been hit the hardest, and one might raise the query as to whether it is better to have good roads built of bonds and leading to a second-class or third-class university or to have poorer roads leading to a first-class university.

If a few appendix-like schools can not be abolished, as has occasionally been proposed or achieved in depression days, serious consideration should be given the definite steps taken by the states of North Carolina and Georgia for putting state higher institutions into one university system with a central administration and one directing head for the purposes of co-ordination and economy. The progress of these important projects should be carefully watched from all quarters where adapted imitation is possible. Consolidation in Texas has been discussed, and President Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, gives hearty attention to a proposal by Governor Murray, of Oklahoma, that state institutions be co-ordinated under a board that would include five members from the non-tax-supported schools. State movements for constructive economy and integration should be accompanied by efforts of officers and boards of small private and denominational colleges to check such schools from giving courses in highly specialized branches of applied science in duplication of courses given more adequately, effectively and with much less per capita cost by the larger institutions. The announcement of a poverty-stricken college, to cite one illustration, lists one professor of physics and chemistry with offerings of courses in qualitative analysis, quantitative analysis, general organic chemistry, chemistry of food and nutrition, and beginning work in chemistry and physics. There should be a way to prevent such doings by an agrarian college.

If the South is going industrial, it is suicidal to overlook the social aspects and consequences of machine civilization, and yet social

science is trailing technology afar in the South. With room and need for a dozen university centers of regional research in social subjects, only two or three can be mentioned, and these are struggling with the difficulties of finance and publication. There is too little scientific information on the social conditions of the cotton textile industry, though something has been achieved, thanks largely to the University of North Carolina group. It is time to cease mere denunciation of political demagoguery and to analyze the new backgrounds of politics in the light of industrialism, urbanization and rural change. Among other problems which have been barely touched and await scholarly investigation in the South are taxation and government economy, transportation, various phases of rural society in the cotton belt, and racial issues growing out of the changing status of the Negro. These and others offer a rich opportunity for university study and leadership. Inadequate is the spirit of the southern professor of sociology who lamented the recent critique of industrialism by the "Tennessee agrarians" for fear that *I'll Take My Stand* might jeopardize monetary connections with research foundations. Quantitative production in the name of research merely for high-class exploitation is not what the South needs, and it is not enough to set a student or a professor to work on a meticulous task merely to call it research or to get an external subsidy for it. The goal should be a bold synthesis with independent interpretation in an encouraging atmosphere of freedom that rises above the level of an indifferent tolerance. It is incidentally unfortunate that so many administrative men in southern institutions seem to know so little and to care so little about the social sciences. The state universities and colleges, in spite of, or because of, close contact with politics, are ahead of the southern endowed institutions in social awareness and interest in social studies.

It is possible for the South, receiving late the industrial tide, to avoid the evils of exploitation that accompanied the initial industrial revolution in England and in New England. But there are no agencies other than universities and colleges to provide the light, directly or indirectly, by which the new South may escape these evils. As the South and southern universities are catching step with national trends by opening the door more widely for applied science, technology and teachers' courses, the South and southern universities should also open the door more widely for the development of social investigation and social criticism, such as is exemplified by national leaders like Paul Douglas, Felix Frankfurter, and the late W. Z. Ripley. Such criticism for the South must be developed at home, for it can not be effectively imported so easily as technology.

It may be possible for an indigenous critical sophistication to sift and save from industrial destruction a few of the cultural values of that agrarian civilization which could give forth a Jefferson or a Lee and which remains epitomized in a Stark Young.

V

THE ANTE-BELLUM college or university was essentially in and of an aristocracy, a sort of frontier aristocracy and a frontier institution though they were. Today the southern schools are functioning in a democracy and learning somewhat slowly that they must in a sense teach communities as well as individuals. The University of North Carolina has become the Wisconsin of the South in wide community leadership and influence. Mention might be made of other state universities, including the University of Virginia. The land grant colleges are, of course, associated with the spread of valuable scientific information chiefly of an agricultural nature, but no little of this information is too dull and needs humanizing. More might be done by a few of these colleges in popular economics for southern farmers. Peabody, perhaps more than any other independently endowed college, has recognized and seized the opportunity of extending influence beyond its campus and its city. Tulane's department of middle American research and social work school have valuable community ties or interests, and, in fact, all professional schools have important community connections, if only for human or technical laboratory purposes. The more cultural or humanistic leadership, however, is left largely to chance. The conception of the whole university or college functioning as a vital cultural center of and for a community has not taken root so strongly in the South as in the West. But the conception is needed, for, whatever may be said of southern civilization at the top, the southern democracy is the most backward in the country by all the statistical measurements of culture. The southern literate whites, taken as a whole, are largely a non-reading public, and any practical steps or program toward remedying this shortcoming should prove more far-reaching in value than all the technical courses in journalism. The state college or university has the opportunity and the machinery for a wider range of extra-mural influence, while the independent institution may be able to carry on a more intensive and selective cultivation of its environment, as is sometimes demonstrated in the field of religion by church schools, Catholic and Protestant.

The institution's responsibility to ennoble the life of its community implies no obligation to lower the bars of the senior or the freshman class for an invasion of the incompetents. But, unfortunately,

that has in a degree been done in the South, in spite of, or because of, the standardization of entrance requirements. Commenting informally before a faculty group on the mortality of freshmen, Chancellor Kirkland, of Vanderbilt University, once remarked that such a policy as to raw material would bring failure to any manufacturing plant. One might follow up with an inquiry as to the product of a plant neglecting to scrap inferior raw material. An experienced and observant dean in a land grant college of the South gave it as his judgment that the World War marked a serious decline in the quality of his students, though entrance requirements had been lifted. The South in the recent easy years of prosperity has been wasting too much good money on the attempted higher education of newly arrived gate-crashers, with perhaps not sufficient attention to the preservation of civilization at the top. The new South still retains as a heritage from the old South a rather wide division and variety between the high and low elements of its society, fine at the top and large at the bottom. Consequently, any process of standardization, with all the safeguards of red tape, is in danger of meaning low standards. With a lower income and a lower level of educational status for the whole population, the South can not afford to imitate the North or the West by attempting higher education on a full democratic basis, whatever be the efficacy of such a basis.

The college or university that is independent of state or church should be in the most favorable position for applying selective processes within or above the structure of standardization, for the purpose of turning out the highest type of graduate as to training and culture. Unless such an institution avails itself of such an opportunity and obligation, there is little reason for its existence. Authorities of state universities, with consciousness of serving a democracy, might go forward with the encouragement from the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, who insisted on a democracy qualified by a sifting for merit and who wished higher education to be at public expense only for those with talents, including the brilliant poor. He envisaged a university as a large influence in a democracy but as actually receiving into its inner circle only those endowed with the capacity for leadership. A modernized Jeffersonian sifting would throw out many now at any state university and bring in many now denied that privilege, and a somewhat similar reversal would result from such a testing of many a non-state institution. However, a modernized Jefferson might meet failure in more cases than one as a university head in his own South.

It seems to this writer that the southern endowed colleges and universities especially should give more attention than they are

giving to the problem of selection and to educating the select through a system of courses adapted to students of superior merit and ability. Personally, I should like to see enough institutions scrapped or reduced to make room for a college or university to be constituted entirely of such students and a faculty suitable for such students in scholarship, teaching powers and creative ability. Such an institution may be considered to exist, unassembled, in the athletic sense of "All-Southern." For the "All-Southern" faculty, I should pick such men as George Petrie, of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, the late E. C. Branson, of the University of North Carolina, and John Crowe Ransom, of Vanderbilt University. The first of these professors can point with pride to a large number of his students who have gone on in the field of history and social science, to W. O. Scroggs, Frank L. Owsley, C. C. Thach, Watson Davis, A. B. Moore, the late Walter L. Fleming, and others. The second, up to the time of his recent death, led and inspired a number of active young scholars in the study and investigation of rural social problems with tangible results. The third, a poet and critic of literature and life, has, as teacher and colleague, deeply influenced younger writers, including Donald Davidson, Allen Tate, Andrew Lytle, and Robert Penn Warren. In view of what these men have done or are doing in the development of high-grade timber into excellent products, what would be their achievements and influence, could they be released from the routine of teaching cross-sections of the college population? What the pleasure and advantage of those capable students so hungry for more contact with such teachers?

My own interest in the subject of segregating excellent students for special attention is inspired by my experience during the last three years at Tulane as co-director, along with R. P. McCutcheon of the English department, of a double-subject combination course limited to selected students above the sophomore year. Rigid and personally enforced requirements keep the class enrollment below fifteen, with no worship of numbers, and the members do heavy work excessively well in the twin fields of history and literature of the nineteenth century. There are no exemptions and no honors, the attraction being the experience of able students working together with the stimulating clash of minds and ideas. The meetings frequently run over the time limit, with conferences and group sessions outside of the schedule. The results so far inspire the wish that such ventures may increase.

It is observable that the great depression, with its financial reckoning, has the result of a weeding-out improvement in higher education, and elimination of needless courses and even of schools. The

enforced emphasis on planning and economy among southern institutions is in many ways a wholesome consummation, but the highest wisdom is in demand to prevent any rigid limitation on intellectual growth and activity in the reconstruction. Alertness and foresight are necessary lest the depression serve as a blind force with the sweeping effect of a mowing machine, cutting down weeds and valuable growths alike. The South, having made less headway with mass trends in higher education, should not be the most backward in a reversal toward a more discriminative cultivation of the cultural garden, with less emphasis on the overproduction of cheap staples and more attention to choice crops.

RELIGION IN THE SOUTH

BY EDWIN McNEILL POTEAT, JR.

THERE IS A sense in which the effort to assess the religion of a place or period or people exposes one to hazards similar to those involved in writing a diary for someone else. In the effort to be objective one easily becomes objectionable. Religion, like a person, appears in public and creates impressions. But what religion does in private is nobody's business. To offer to casual eyes a record of one's own public and private doings requires a measure of caution; but to give unsolicited the doings of a neighbor requires the abandonment of all the constraints of fear or prudence.

The fact that a spurious distinction exists in the common mind between some things called secular and other things called sacred prejudices the successful prospects of any discussion of religion. Economics, politics, art, education, et cetera, are secular. Impious hands—if honest—may therefore handle them as familiarly as necessity demands. But religion being sacred makes its handling by even honest hands a profanation if they are too intimate and a sacrilege if they undertake alterations. The combination therefore of the private and sacred qualities of religion presents a formidable barrier to an essay upon it.

But obviously no appraisal of culture below the Potomac—or above it, for that matter—would be complete without a study of religion. Religion has a curious way of affecting nearly everything in life though much of its impact is oblique and disguised. It preserves traditions with uncompromising stubbornness; it can administer a *coup de grace* in many of its conflicts by an adroit use of the word *conscience*. It can elevate opinions into movements, though often it establishes ideas without benefit of the syllogism. It can fuse disparate elements with a song or scatter conventions with a slogan. From totem pole to mausoleum, religion affects life both corporate and individual. Certainly in the South what religion does is as clear as anywhere in the country.

Yet one must not approach such a study without keeping continuously in mind the elusive character of personal religion and the vexation sure to follow the effort to state definitively the qualities of the life of religion in the southern group. Wherever religion flames in a passionate spirit it rarely communicates itself fully to a large group for long. Savonarola left Florence much as he found it. Wherever religion is moribund it is quite indifferent to its proper social implicates. There is, moreover, a growing impatience with the institutional aspects of religion that goes by the mistaken name of irreligion, an impatience which in its own way may be close kin to religious fervor.

It is unnecessary to attempt an exhaustive discussion of what we mean by religion. "Fear engendered the gods," said an ancient. But the progressive elimination of our fears has not removed the sense of the divine from the human heart. "Religion began when the first fool met the first knave," said Voltaire. But the likelihood is that when they first met, the categories "knave" and "fool" had long since been established by the religion of an earlier day. Comte and the Positivists outlined three stages in the progress of thought: the primitive, the metaphysical, and the scientific. Religion emerges in the first, modulates into philosophy in the second, and disappears in the third. Therefore what we treasure in our hearts as religion is as vestigial as the vermiform appendix we grow on our large intestine. But this error is being corrected by the Personalists who admit the validity even of vestiges. Santayana wrote of Columbus trusting "the soul's invincible surmise." That, for many moderns would pass for the essence of religion.

Religion seems to be a long deferred consequence of the emergence of the psychic life. When we first became conscious of ourselves it was the result at least partially of a collision between ourselves and the external physical world. That collision was indeed the point of consciousness. And there followed, of course, a sense of limitation and a desire to avoid further conflict with the external world. This was a longing for freedom. And the quest for deliverance drove some of us to something that is the basis for religion.

So religion would appear to be the recognition and confident acceptance of the subjection of self to ultimate causes and forces of existence external to itself, and the effort to participate consciously in the order and harmony of these forces. The feeling of conflict and dependence equals the mysterious presence of God in us. In response to innumerable impulses, temperamental and environmental, man has fabricated forms for the expression of religion. This has issued in ecstasy and isolation; it has been social and meliorative,

penal and oppressive. It has been finely speculative and rational, hysterical and superstitious. It has been a tyranny and a restraint, an institution and a wistfulness. And if it has often been the agent of chastening, it has perhaps as often been the matrix of our liberties.

One of the most manifest tendencies of religion is to crystallize into social attitudes and institutions. The theocracy of ancient Israel is an illustration of a nationalistic crystallization, as the corporate conversion of Rome under Constantine was political. Under St. Augustine, brilliant young Bishop of Hippo, the Roman Catholic Church emerged definitely into an institutional form as later under the genius of Thomas Aquinas the Christian religion became a philosophy of aggressiveness and importance.

But such crystallizations are followed in time by periods of uncertainty and decay. As in biology catabolism follows anabolism, and in society chaos follows cosmos, so in the life of religion diaspora follows consolidation. Israel is scattered abroad; Rome loses its cohesion as the Greek Church withdraws. Martin Luther tears a nation out of the heart of Rome and Henry VIII gives a new vitality if not a totally new hierarchy to the Church of England to spite the Pope. Calvin and Arminius quarrel and establish schools, and out of the bosom of the church the evil spirits of such rationalists as Spinoza, Descartes, and Bacon are exorcised.

It is possible therefore to say that certain ages and places under the impetus of strong persons or strange circumstances seem to produce religious phenomena of unique character and outline. It is the thesis of the present study that religion in the South offers singular interest, and it is the method of the study to describe its uniqueness, account for it and evaluate it.

The South has been solid politically for a long time. So strong is this traditional solidarity in the nation that there is seldom any question as to how the South will vote in national elections; and so potent is this solidarity in the individual that the statement of a southern democrat to the effect that he "would sooner vote for a hound-dog on the democratic ticket than the finest man the republicans might offer" is typical even if extreme. There are few politically doubtful states. There are few doubtful voters. The party today metes out condign punishment to political turn-coats, and there has been up until recently only a negligible independent vote.

It is not necessary to inquire into the reasons for this. The fact is adduced in order to make more intelligible the observation that the South is religiously solid in much the same way. As the South is solid, the North and West are fluid. Political and religious heresy in other sections of the country may be regarded as enlightenment

or liberalism. In the South heresy is still heresy with the vast majority of people. This is to say that the religious South exhibits a more homogeneous quality than any other section. And for that reason it is more alive even though that vitality can, under violent stimulation, run all the way from personal hysterics to social madness, encompassing en route all the fine, sane, regulative, and elevating impulses of true religion. People still go to church, support church enterprises, make much of their ministers. They still in the main submit readily to demagoguery in the pulpit, and enjoy the thrill of denominational competition.

How account for this relative (for it can not be said to be an essential) difference? There is the much advertised southern temperament. It is notably hospitable, it is emotional and romantic; it is lazy. If climate has induced these qualities, an easy excuse is at hand for the defections it has caused. The cause, however, seems to lie further back. It is striking to observe that the first settlers of the southern states were more of a type, racially and religiously, than was the case with New England, for example. Racially they were mainly from the stock of England. From Lord Baltimore in the Catholic palatinate in Maryland through the Anglicans in Virginia, Sir William Sayle in South Carolina, and Oglethorpe and the Wesleys in Georgia, the strain was predominantly English. There were a few Huguenots, Moravians, Salzburger, and others in North and South Carolina and Georgia, a few early Spanish in Florida and French in the Mississippi delta. Their influence has dominated some localities, but in considering the whole region, they have been relatively unimportant.

Religiously much the same was true. In the days of the early settlements the Anglican and Roman Catholic difference was neither acrid nor wholly separatist. Lord Baltimore was called a popish recusant because of his easy tolerance of the Protestants in Maryland. The Protestants elsewhere found limitless areas for their occupation if ideas and proximity brought them into conflict over religious matters.

In New England—where the contrast is perhaps clearest—we find the situation distinctly different. The Puritans were non-conformists and the feud that caused their departure from England in quest of asylum first in Holland and then in the new world was later renewed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The settlement of New Netherlands brought a multitude of different nationalities to the mouth of the Hudson River, and according to John Fiske fifteen different languages were spoken in 1647 on Manhattan Island.

“Instead of dividing up the land into great patroonships, held

and governed by individual lords of the manor, immigrants of small means were offered farms stocked with necessary cattle on terms that meant the payment of a moderate rental for four or five years, after which it was made possible for the settler to buy the farm and stock outright. Offers of this kind were open to all immigrants irrespective of their nationality. By pursuing this policy New Netherland differed widely from Virginia and New England. In both the latter, colonization was restricted to persons of the same race and, in the case of New England, to those holding the same religious belief. As a result of the Dutch West India Company's indiscriminate hospitality to people of all nationalities, the little settlement of New Amsterdam during these first years of its existence, began to show a cosmopolitan character in its citizenry that has differentiated it ever since from other centers of population."¹

Add to this the Swedish settlements on the Delaware River and the pretentious Quaker settlements in Pennsylvania which brought startling innovations into the treatment of the red-skins, and we see still more clearly the heterogeneity of the establishments north of the Potomac. Finally, when we come to the days when our open doors invited almost unrestricted immigration, we find Italians pouring into the North and Irish settlers into New England who brought a variety of Roman Catholicism which was less tolerant than the Maryland type and which is to this good day a powerful element in the religion of that general section. German and Scandinavian immigrants moved into the Middle West and while making better citizens than the South European irredenta, they preserved their language and religion inviolate to a marked degree for a long time.

Viewed from this angle it appears clear why the record of considerable conflict in the religious life of the North has found its way into our histories. Roger Williams plagued Massachusetts Bay Colony with his protests against what he thought was religious tyranny and became the advocate of a new principle of dissolution when he moved to Providence and established a settlement based upon the most far-reaching notions of religious liberty. When the powerful Jonathan Edwards went to violent extremes in the preaching of Calvinism, he provoked a revolt which under the leadership of Channing became the Unitarian movement. This striking religious innovation—for such it was—gained considerable momentum from the participation of Emerson. It is worth noting that a strange and important liberalizing movement of thought had awakened the mind of New England with Emerson for its noble and pure-hearted preacher in 1837. This activity moved out into the establishment

¹ Clifford Smyth, *Henry Hudson*, pp. 135-136.

of the Trancendentalist school of philosophy and found practical expression in the Brook Farm experiment which, while not specifically religious, affected materially the social aspects of religious thought.

The South, a vaster area in which communities were smaller and more scattered, escaped much of this conflict and seems to have created little of its own. The political struggles under the late Stuarts were exclusively in the North. Episcopal influence was strongest in the South and there were no clergymen in that fellowship who could match the fervor of Jonathan Edwards or stir revolt against Calvinist extremes through the passion of pulpit utterance. Hence no Channing challenged serene southern orthodoxy and no Emerson appeared to validate the heresy by the use of chaste and mellifluous language. Where there was non-conformist activity it was ecclesiastical rather than doctrinal and while resolute it was rarely fiery. Perhaps the languid climate helped to hush debate; perhaps it was easier to move into the uninhabited spaces and establish a new settlement than to stay at home and quarrel about theology.

Reference may be made again to the Anglo-Saxon character of the southern settlers. Differences of religious opinion were softened by the fact that Romanists and Protestants were, remotely at least, sprung from the same forebears. The turbulent Irish and the passionate Italians made no appreciable rift in the solid racial integrity below the Potomac. If New York, following early Dutch tradition, became a social and political and religious potpourri, the South remained untouched and regarded itself as pure because few alien Jews and tempestuous Europeans lived within its borders.

The South, moreover, was agrarian, and its one staple crop was cotton. The consequences of this fact were—and still are—far reaching. Cotton created an aristocracy and demanded slavery. It became the arbiter of fashion and the register of wealth. It gave to religion a weird and haunting ardor through the Negroes' sharing in worship and interpretation.

With the coming of the Civil War every northern and southern interest was cleft sharply. The bitterness of that strife left the South suspicious of northern culture, politics, and religion and intensified its loyalty to what it had come to feel was uniquely its own. The preachers who thundered abolition from Yankee pulpits were apostates. Their heresy was met by an elaborate and furious defense of slavery from the Holy Scriptures. Not only did Christian men hold slaves for the Glory of God, churches themselves frequently advanced the Kingdom of Heaven by letting out for hire slaves who had become the chattel property of the House of God. After

the war missionaries from the North to southern Negroes found themselves socially outcast among the whites. The Ku Klux Klan enlisted under its sheets many a Baptist and Methodist parson who could boast of its saving grace among the carpet-baggers and their followers. During the stormy days when white supremacy was a political issue, its enthusiasm spilled over into religious attitudes and finally created a situation which often found white Christians acting like pagans toward their black brethren.

It was inevitable that religion should have shared the "backwardness" of the South in the post-bellum decades. A zeal for the old orthodoxy was a part of the reluctance of the southerners to lose the old aristocratic tradition in society. When Harry Ward in Chicago and Walter Rauschenbusch in Rochester stirred the religious bodies of the North with their demand that religion undertake seriously to attack palpable social iniquities in modern life, they were accused of substituting a social gospel for the traditional individual need of redemption, and their efforts were discredited and their ideas interdicted. Perhaps the way in which pre-millenarianism has flourished in the South in recent years is psychologically allied to the Messianism of later Judaism, that saw no hope for society except in a cataclysm.

II

A QUESTION NOW presses upon us to which it is necessary to attempt an answer. If, as we review history, differences can be observed between religion in the South and religion elsewhere, does it follow that these same differences exist today? This inquiry leads to an effort to describe the religious *status quo*. Here it will be difficult to keep distinctions clear. The South is undergoing a great transition, and this process of change blurs differences to the point oftentimes of quite obscuring them. We must exercise caution therefore lest an impression be regarded as a dogmatic claim, and lest a relative distinction be thought a trenchant difference.

As one views the present scene, one is struck by the strictness of the denominational set-up. Not only are the sectarian lines in the South clearly drawn, the Mason and Dixon line also divides the respective denominations. Despite no end of talk the northern and southern Methodists still can not agree to unite, and the proposal to effect a reunion between the northern and southern Baptists has gotten hardly beyond a timid whisper. It is not enough to say that the South can not forget the rancor of the Civil War. It is strange that the church should cherish what business has forgotten. The fact more nearly is that there is a doubt on the part of the southern

branches of the larger denominations of the loyalty of their northern brethren to evangelical Christianity. If this is true, then it is to be expected that the boast of orthodoxy is still loud in the churches of the South. And that means further that denominational orthodoxy is quite as potent as theological orthodoxy. Each denomination regards itself as the custodian of some special doctrine and divine grace. The Baptist insistence on immersion as the only scriptural mode of baptism and rejection of ecclesiasticism and infant baptism, the Presbyterian defense of the Westminster confession and a particular church polity, the Methodist maintenance of another church order, and the Episcopalian loyalty to apostolic succession and an exclusive episcopacy—these all comprise orthodoxies as distinct as the theology in which they all practically agree. A loyal Baptist would be as slow to reject immersion as he would be to deny immortality; a Methodist minister would come as surely under censure for defying the appointment of his Bishop as he would for denying the Virgin Birth. And if an Episcopal minister invited a Presbyterian to administer the Sacrament of Holy Communion in his church, his orthodoxy would as inevitably be suspected as if he had questioned the fact of the Resurrection.

Fidelity both to group and gospel results in amazing duplication of work, particularly in small towns. It is the rule to see from three to six denominations struggling desperately to live and work in a town of four to seven hundred population. This ratio of church to population is fairly constant as the size of the settlement is augmented. The fact that there is economic waste and weariness in such a system is perfectly plain. But this is perhaps regarded as an unexplained chastening of the Lord or a challenge to something or other, and so minister and people hang on valiantly and sometimes even appear to take masochistic delight in the pains it inflicts upon them.

Beyond question the most extreme form of this denominational separatism is found in the splits within the major southern churches themselves. There are said to be six kinds of Baptists, seven kinds of Presbyterians and corresponding refinements of difference in the other denominations. And frequently the bitterness between these intra-denominational sects is as intense as it may be between larger rivals. Yet to date there has been little success in erasing the peccadilloes that have divided them and they struggle heroically to preserve their own peculiarities uncompromised.

There is only slight evidence of a desire to federate and combine churches. How meagre the results have been is indicated by the U. S. Census of Religious Bodies which lists only sixteen federated

churches in the South out of a total of three hundred sixty-one in the United States. These sixteen churches have an aggregate membership of 3,747. Compare this with a membership of 56,230 elsewhere over the country. Many denominations can show memberships in several of their local churches equal to the total federated membership in all the South. And when we remember that the strictly denominational churches number something like fourteen millions in membership, the 3,747 members of the strictly inter- or non-denominational churches appear all but negligible.

This denominational incorruptibility can be observed also in the field of education. Each denomination undertakes to provide college training for its own particular constituency. Many of the charters by which these institutions operate provide that the boards of trustees shall have none but bona fide members of the particular denomination on them. In this way the sectarian integrity of the college can be guaranteed. Compare this with the disappearance of aggressive denominational qualities in such one time church schools as Yale, Brown, Colgate, Williams, Amherst and others in the North. With the possible exception of Vanderbilt and the University of Richmond, these northern schools have no parallel in the South. Membership in a certain church is an important qualification for prospective faculty members and more often than not there is pressure from ardent alumni to keep the faculty in strict line on certain alleged religious ideas no matter what enlightened scholarship may have to say. Every once in so often the papers are filled with the resolutions of well-meaning clergymen who protest against evolution or some cognate monstrosity of thought in the name not so much of enlightenment as of orthodoxy. And when institutions look to their religious bodies for financial support, it is easy to see how harassed a president may become who is forever between the devil of doctrinal rectitude and the deep blue sea of deficit.

Co-education is a very recent experiment in the South. The first college for women in the country—Wesleyan Female College—was established in Macon, Georgia, in 1836. But if women must be educated—and to the strictly orthodox St. Paul seemed dubious about it—they had far better be educated in separate schools. How far this is a remnant of that curious though unquestionably romantic "southern chivalry" it is impossible to say. The austere and remote eminence upon which the southern woman was supposed to rest may be reflected in her segregation in separate schools for her training.

Theological institutions preserve their strictness both in theology and denomination. Those that would like to be liberal are careful

to advertise themselves as conservative progressives. But judged by the standards of modern liberalism, there is not a liberal theological school in the South. On the contrary, there are some that boast of their defiance of modern thought and deliberately cater to obscurantist sympathies in their respective groups. In the late controversy over evolution in the South there was not a single institution committed to the teaching of religion that took a stand against that amazing stupidity of the threatening laity. All the while there were theological professors in considerable numbers who were outraged by the squabble yet who dared not, for reasons of expediency, protest.

There are other unique institutional aspects of religion in the South that are deserving of comment. In the rural sections, touch with adult life is conspicuously restricted to the occasional political hustings, court-week, and church. The church has been and still is the center of much social interest and activity. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the country church is its annual revival meeting. This generally takes place about the time cotton is beginning to boll up and tobacco is laid by.² Preaching goes on sometimes all day with dinner on the grounds in plenitude that no depression can

² St. George, S. C., Oct. 1, 1932. AP—They've laid by the crops in the South Carolina low country, picked the last white boll of cotton, dug the potatoes and left an old hand or two at home to tend the stock while the white folks go to the Indians' field camp meeting.

The camp meeting, a cross between a religious revival and a week-long picnic, has been the year's crowning event in this section for more than a century. It will reach its height Sunday when families from miles away will pour into Dorchester County to be summoned to the "stand."

The summons is sounded by an aged Negro man who blows familiar religious airs on a sweetly tuned horn. In answer to the plaintive notes, the "campers" gather for prayers before breakfast, for a service each morning and afternoon and for "preaching" at night.

Each year from the Wednesday preceding the first Sunday in October until the Monday following, the "campers" gather at the Indians' field grounds.

They take up their abode in a hundred "tents" arranged in a circle around the "stand." The "tents," generally two stories high, are permanent wooden structures within arms' reach of each other. They are without bottom floors, straw being packed on the ground where the women and children sleep.

The men occupy the upper section as sleeping quarters. They have mattresses placed on racks or thrown on the floor for their beds.

The front of the lower section is used for eating quarters while the cooking is done under a lean-to arranged at the back. The finest foods known to this section come forth from these improvised kitchens and the noon dinner on Sunday is an attraction within itself. . . .

Until a few years ago, the place was lighted at night by great lightwood fires, built on stands five feet high and visible for miles around. An electric lighting system now has replaced this picturesque method.

The meetings are under the direction of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. . . .

diminish. Here annually the unchurched are brought into church fellowship, hearts are warmed by the ardor of the visiting evangelist, local feuds are patched up in an ecstasy of Christian fellowship, the community is purged and life is medicated for the coming fall and winter. It would be quite impossible to estimate the value of these annual gatherings in genuine uplift and happiness. That camp-meetings have sometimes gone to extremes of hysteria and emotional debauchery is no reason for discrediting the true values of this significant rural social experience. Many city churches preserve this annual revival tradition in some denominations, notably the Baptist. But it is without question a remnant of less sophisticated days than the present and often restores the rustic religious atmosphere so easily lost in the efforts to be otherwise urbane.³

The recrudescence of the Ku Klux Klan in recent years and the efforts of its leadership to fasten a religious meaning to it call for at least a reference. In the South the white man is supreme. Orthodoxy supports him in this by a reminder that once a difficulty in the family of Noah—Noah himself, it seems, having been overcome by one of the undignified concomitants of intoxication—resulted in a curse being laid on the progenitor of the black peoples. The white man, whether from religious motives or otherwise, shares in keeping that malediction alive. Lynchings have their defenders yet among southern Christians. In response to a question widely scattered among southerners regarding the stand the church ought to take on race relationships, numerous replies indicated a disapproval of lynching “except in the case of rape.” The exception provides, of course, the case in which the white man’s supremacy is most dramatically disputed. It is easy to see, therefore, among folk who take their Bibles seriously—and literally—that it has been possible for preachers to take the Klansman’s veil with a crusader’s exaltation of spirit and sense of divine commission.

³ John Charles McNeill has caught the reflections of the childlike Negro mind on this feature of southern religious life in his little poem *’Ligion* :

De Augus’ meetin’ ’s over now
 We’s all done been baptize’,
 Me en Ham en Hick’ry Jim
 En Joe’s big Lize.

Oh, ’ligion is a cu’i’s thing
 In its workin’ amongs’ men!
 We’ll hatter wait a whole yur now
 ’Fo’ bein’ baptize’ again!

III

THUS FAR OUR study has sketched religion in the South as it is exhibited in its institutional aspects. What is the character of the professional men who keep it alive? What of its leadership? If caution has been necessary hitherto, precaution is needed now. The butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker all resent efforts to classify them. And the most amenable butcher of them all would draw the line at allowing a fellow pig-sticker to do the classifying. There are, however, broad lines with penumbrous edges which may be drawn across the ministerial field. The shadowy borders will afford refuge for those who dislike classification; the clear bands of light will find many anxious to be found therein.

There is a sense in which there are definite castes among the ministers of the South. The Episcopalian is an aristocrat with certain prescriptive rights inhering in his hereditary ordination. The Presbyterian is a Bourbon, as distrustful of theological Whiggery as he is proud of his well-won reputation for culture. The Baptist and Methodist are proletarians, the apostles to the poor who heard the Master gladly. The Episcopalians are relatively few, as is becoming to aristocracy, and they enjoy their exclusiveness to the point of advertising it in their collars. The Presbyterians are more numerous, though their natural refinement inhibits the inclination to boast about it. The Methodists and Baptists swarm through the South like locusts and can with astonishing facility get deep into the hearts of the folk everywhere and under all conditions, being clown or curate as the need for religious guidance demands.

An inquiry into the opinions of laymen regarding ministers in the state of North Carolina was conducted by the author in connection with another study. By a carefully selected roster, what was thought to be a sympathetic and frank estimate was placed on the Protestant ministers of this fairly representative southern state. Some features of the composite picture developed from these replies ought to serve as a fair judgment on the minister by his lay brethren.

"The minister is different in appearance and manner. In his attitudes he wins both applause and mild censure. No hypocrite he. He is utterly sincere; he seeks not to dissemble. Almost beyond dispute he possesses the cardinal virtue of honesty. Both in manner and word he is refreshingly and convincingly candid. In fact his candor leads him into intolerance, and even into bitterness. He can not contemplate wickedness with unruffled temper; he hears opinions opposite to his own advanced and is—far too often—provoked into violent and unreasonable stubbornness by them. Particularly is he

intolerant of religious judgments that differ from his own. And then, by one of those strange paradoxes that enliven human nature, alongside his definite intolerance is an equally definite complacency. He views the social scene with relative unconcern, or if he is distressed by social problems he gives little evidence of it. Nor does he very often protest against the ecclesiastical set-up he shares. The infinite elaborations of denominational machinery, the overlapping and duplication in rural communities, the pitifully inadequate moral and financial support that slipshod methods make inevitable, do not arouse him to very vigorous protest or amendment. He accepts these as divinely ordained, the ark of Jehovah that impious hands must not touch.

"He is public-spirited. When others protest preoccupation, he puts himself at the disposal of every public interest. He will throw his influence invariably on the side of good government, honest politics, and public morality. And whatever his limitations as to ideas, he will speak out and spare not when his conscience orders him. Immeasurably beyond the members of any other group he can be expected to share generously such means as he possesses in the financial support of every worthy enterprise.

"His religion is out of date, mostly. Maybe he has despaired of keeping it à la mode. Maybe he believes it better out-moded. He has struggled with the nature and permanence of revelation. Maybe he is exhausted with the effort to keep up with the madly careering world in which he lives. But the general impact of his religion on society and individuals is of a conservative character. It is likely to be negative and prohibitive and repressive, to the exclusion of being positive and creative and expressive. Many of the things he says are grounded in a philosophy the profane world has left behind for good reasons supported by ample evidence. Many of his judgments turn out on examination to be prejudices. As a result he lacks sympathetic touch with youth and can not offer them wise counsel for living in the modern world.

"And yet he is withal a good sort. He is agreeable company, he exercises a genial and beneficent influence where he goes. Once in a while he becomes pompous and affects an artificial tone of voice. But he is all right. He comprehends baseball; he can cast a plug for bass; his fund of good clean stories is well-nigh inexhaustible. He can enliven nearly any gathering with an exhortation or an anecdote. He is welcomed in homes; he is offered a place on the platform on almost every occasion; he invokes divine blessing on barbecue and ballot; he is a valued customer in the shops; he complains little and praises much; his generosity is proverbial and

his demands a minimum. He can ill be dispensed with for all his declining importance in modern life."⁴

We must leave this appraisal of the religious leaders, accepting or correcting it as our inclinations lead, and move on to more particular reference to the religious ideas of the South. The South is orthodox—so clearly so that the very word itself needs no definition. That means, of course, that the issue of fundamentalism vs. modernism is likely to be joined whenever their respective advocates meet. And the modernist is generally discredited from the start by the very name that is given him. Few states in the South have escaped the scandal of a legislative effort to ban the teaching of evolution, and few have been the ministerial voices to protest. The fear that evolution and other modernist errors will subvert if not utterly destroy evangelical religion still stalks unrebuked through wide areas of the region south of the Potomac.

A study of the denominational press of the South and the doctrinal statements of the various denominations⁵ reveals a marked accord in the fundamental tenets which they preach. In spite of considerable ecclesiastical differences the theology of the South is the same in its broad essentials among all the religious groups. Whether one meets in a Quaker Meeting House in Guilford County, North Carolina, or in a Methodist Church in Savannah, or in St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans, the basal religious philosophy is the same. Scratch any sectarian skin and the same orthodox blood flows. This is what accounts in a measure for the uniform dullness of most of the sectarian papers. The necessity for keeping orthodox shuts them out of fields of contemporary thought where even a hasty excursion would be regarded as dangerous. Some papers still have to enliven their pages with discussions about the rightness of women speaking in church and allied perplexities, and the "letters to the editor" invariably indicate the excitement that such matters can bring to the lay reader in Goose-Creek township. There is not a southern religious journal comparable to the liberal *Christian Century* in Chicago—a weekly which it should be said is gaining considerable patronage from the liberal-minded ministry in the South.

How well established southern orthodoxy is may be understood when it is pointed out that it is the direct product of the prodigious writings of Thomas Aquinas, the *doctor angelicus* of the 13th century. In the *Summa*, his most important religious work, he immovably established the dichotomy between natural and revealed knowledge.

⁴ From an unpublished lecture by the author at Duke University, to the Methodist Ministers' Conference, "The Minister as the World Sees Him."

⁵ U. S. Census of Religious Bodies, 1926.

This is of course what supplies the basis for a belief in the plenary inspiration and verbal inerrancy of the Bible, and sets resolutely at naught so-called scientific notions that appear to contradict scriptural statements. Revealed knowledge is superior to natural knowledge. The Bible is the medium of revelation. Therefore, what modern scientific thought may have to say about such cardinal doctrines as the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection of the Body of Jesus, the Ascension and physical return of Christ, is discredited at once, since it conflicts with the "revealed" facts. One reason why Emerson founded a new philosophy in New England was that he and others revolted against this Thomist dualism. The fact that it is undisputed by the ponderous majority in the South today accounts in part for the absence of any indigenous philosophical school developing within southern borders.

It is instructive in this connection to point out that unorthodox theological sects exist in quite as unimportant numbers as do the unorthodox denominational or federated churches referred to above. Only seven per cent of the Unitarian Churches in the country are in the South—25 out of 353. And of the Christian Science churches in the United States totalling 1,913, only 259 are in the South, or a ratio of approximately 13 per cent.

Another feature of this fidelity to traditional doctrine is the distrust of the "social gospel" and the almost exclusive concern for individual salvation as opposed to social reform. This has resulted in extraordinary restriction of the social vision of the ministry. That religion has anything to say on politics is denied by laymen who accused the ministers of bigotry and intolerance in the presidential campaign of 1928. The impact of Christianity has either been feeble or its contact cushioned as it has touched race relationships, industry, business, politics and the like; and there is a pretty general feeling among Christians that preachers had far better let social fires alone and keep to the business of saving individual brands from the burning.

It is sometimes urged that the ministry in the South is just as progressive as the pew will permit, that the average preacher is retarded in his progress more by the tremendous inertia of uninstructed and narrow-minded laymen than by any disinclinations of his own. While there are situations where such is indubitably the case, the results of a recent study undertaken in connection with this chapter revealed a surprising unanimity in answers given by both laymen and ministers to a series of questions on religion. It is perhaps more true to say, in the light of such evidence, that liberal ministers either find or create liberal congregations and their oppo-

site establish congenial relationships in the same way, so that the conflict between progressive preaching and reactionary hearing is not so serious as is sometimes thought.

It is not to be expected that religion can escape the general trend of contemporary events in the South. However boastful we may be of our orthodoxy, and however noisy may be the damnations hurled at northern modernism, and even if complacency can soften the features of our religion into benign and boundless inactivity, no exemption can be claimed against suffering the inevitable shocks of a new day.

In New England these shocks have already shivered the structure of religion—the warmth of change has thawed religion into a sort of shapeless fluidity. Old traditions are lost and new opinions are not yet set. It was perhaps easy for this to happen north of the Potomac. Communities were larger and proximity made the exchange of ideas easy. It is one of the qualities of urban life that it grows sophisticated and critical. The infusion of alien cultures through all but unlimited immigration, the vast changes that industrialization brought, the detachment of scholarship from church control—these and other influences in the North broke its religious solidarity.

There were those who protested. The famous revival in Yale in early 1700 was a torrential penitence and turning away from the false gods of those stirring days. King's College (Columbia University) had its origin in the purpose expressed in its charter: "to bring a knowledge of God to our young people through the Saving Grace of Jesus Christ." Harvard, with a similar concern but perhaps with an opposite result, was built "in order to protect the people from an uneducated ministry." And the results of this thawing out have been partially outlined above.

How far have such influences impinged on the religion of the South? Elsewhere in this volume the developments in education, industry, and race relationships are discussed. It needs hardly more than to be pointed out that these three movements among others are irresistibly thawing the solid religious South. Liberalism has become a passion in state institutions and if there are illiberal colleges still rebuking the liberal tide, they do it hardly with the support of their student bodies. A generation of young people is arising that knows not the shibboleths of early orthodoxy and in many instances looks with genuine disapproval on certain traditional southern attitudes. Take for example racial attitudes. To hear a young white student address a young Negro student as "Miss" and to see them sit together at a meal is still certain to throw most of their elders into a blind fury and to make the air ring with the

old cries against social equality and mixed marriages. But some southern students who take their religion seriously are actually creating a new sentiment in personal race attitudes and are demanding that their bewildered elders at least practice the elemental Christian virtues of justice and love, even if they still insist on being Brahmins to the pariah blacks in their communities.

If religion has as yet failed to come to grips with the dangerous aspects of industrialization in the South it is perhaps because of the ancient distrust of the social gospel and the nature of its orthodoxy. It may be because its perils are new and its social implications not generally realized. But at least this much is true: if in certain industrialized areas in the North the church has definitely succumbed to its evils and grown silent, certainly the voice of southern religion is beginning to speak out. Whether it too will be threatened into silence remains to be seen. But its chance for the mediation of a new spirit to the mechanization of the new South is beginning to be seized, and occasionally one is heartened to find a minister who will not be browbeaten by a manufacturer who tries to buy his silence with a generous subscription to the church budget.

How far the leadership of religion is being liberalized would be hard to say. Over against the fact that increasing numbers of men are going to Yale Divinity school and Union Seminary in New York—to mention only two liberal theological schools—is the fact that they often fear somewhat to return to the South because of the treatment some liberals have received from tory rivals or from the hierarchy of the organized Philistines.

It is some encouragement to progressives to note that it has become customary for church bodies in assembly to draft resolutions on matters of general moral concern. Of late these reports have turned away from denunciations of amusements and focused upon the iniquities in social, economic, and industrial life. The activities of the War Department in the exploitation of college and high school students in military training have stimulated no little church resentment and protest. The resolutions touching modern moral problems do not, it is to be feared, get much beyond the stage of being adopted and it must be said that as yet very little careful research has been undertaken and made widely available. The result is that the masses are still largely apathetic toward such matters though they seem uniformly interested when put in touch with them.

Wherever new industrial communities grow up, churches are established by the mission boards of the various denominations, though this fine service is often vitiated by the overlapping of church

effort referred to above in connection with rural church life.

One remembers the lament of a prominent member of the Southern Interracial Commission to the effect that the hardest crowd of people in the South to interest in race problems was the ministers. The observation must be modified considerably by the statement that the speaker himself has done an incalculably great service in interesting many young ministers without knowing it.

We have undertaken to present religion as an experience that affects all human life vitally and offers certain unique qualities as it exists south of the Potomac. These qualities we have to account for by the fact of a somewhat more homogeneous life—racial, religious, and economic—than has been exhibited in other sections of the country, notably in the North. We have asked the question as to whether differences existing in the earlier decades of the life of the South have persisted to the present or have various new counterparts. The answer to this has been that the differences very largely persist, but that under the impact of certain tendencies, nationally felt, the old order of religion gives some indication at certain points of yielding to a new order, though hardly with such momentum as warrants being called a definite movement.⁶ It is necessary in conclusion to look somewhat into the future, but with a curious rather than with a prophetic eye.

IV

IT WOULD BE easy to provoke a lively debate on the question as to whether the church is losing or gaining ground. A survey of rural churches made in Virginia showed that church membership had recently increased 10 per cent during a period in which school attendance decreased 17 per cent. It would be perilous to generalize from such figures, for they might be taken to point to a final disappearance of the country school. In the same way it would be dangerous to deduce conclusions from percentages from another state that showed the ratio as unfavorable to church growth. A body of opinion elicited by a questionnaire was almost equally divided on the question. Like most questions of this sort the conventional and obliging answer should perhaps be "yes and no." It is a fact hardly to be disputed, however, that the past three years (1930-33) have shown a marked resurgence of interest in church activities. Those who are anxious that the economic depression of these days shall instruct us attribute this new interest in the church to the economic collapse and to an alleged reversion to simpler

⁶ It is impossible, within the brief compass of such a study, to survey all the liberal influences at work.

habits of life. We are all inclined, however, to distrust the tutelage of misfortune after a while, especially when prosperity returns and proves, on the whole, a much more seductive instructor.

Setting aside for the present the settlement of that question and asking leave to defer a definitive answer at least fifty years, we can with some measure of certainty point out that the next five decades will be a crucial period for the religion of the South. The South has paid homage to Thomas Jefferson, named its towns after him and thought it was democratic. The South has paid homage to orthodox religion and named its towns and churches Bethel, Hepzibah, and Mt. Zion and thought it was Christian. But the creeds of Jeffersonian democracy and southern orthodoxy have suffered critical examination and some modification; and, if they are to endure, will no doubt suffer further amendment. What education will do to religion in the South it is not difficult to foresee. Certain great ideas are fast becoming the stock-in-trade of the most elementary cultural equipment. The Copernican cosmology and the antiquity of man can not ever again have the violent denials in the name of religion that reverberated through the South a decade ago. That means that the cosmology of traditional orthodoxy is doomed and that in turn means that the whole framework of orthodoxy itself is shaken, displacing, as it does, the hitherto omnipotent doctrine of the literal and inerrant inspiration of the Scriptures. Added to this, the gradual absorption of an evolutionary philosophy by all educated people constitutes another assault upon orthodoxy that will not recoil simply because the pulpit orders its retreat.

As this is being written, the Report of the Laymen on Christian Missions is being introduced to the Christian bodies of the country. It boldly challenges points of view never before so openly disputed, and breaks the silence of uncritical acquiescence in the *status quo* of Christianity's greatest enterprise. Furthermore, it calls on American Christianity to think vigorously in terms of denominational mergers and the ultimate erasure of sectarian lines. Some denominational papers in the South have already predicted a major battle and have fired preliminary salvos.

The radio has done no little in loosening the minds of church folk. When it was the final resource of the fundamentalist ten years ago first to quote Harry Emerson Fosdick and then quarter him, hearers who knew nothing about him but what they were told thought him to be some poorly disguised angel of darkness. Now the very man speaks to them. Over and over again simple folk who had been told to hate him for Christ's sake have been heard to remark that they could see nothing wrong with him. They even go

so far as to "accept" him, and make invidious comparisons between him and his detractors. These quondam enemies have been wooed by modern religious ideas over the radio and it will never be quite so easy again for local preachers to reprobate the now widely heard preachers of an enlightened Christianity.

All of this seems to be descriptive of a state of ferment. So it is. And out of it there seem even now to be emerging four fairly distinct religious groupings. The first is the drift of the devout—those who hold to the complete literal inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible—toward defeatist attitudes represented by such cults as Pre-Millennianism. Their hope is not in a change in the present world, but in its destruction. The second group includes those who care relatively little for theological matters and enter reluctantly and ill-prepared into contests over dogma, but who are the guardians of boards, institutions, and agencies of organization and control. Institutionalists, they have been called. The third group is a small progressive crowd, dignified and conciliatory where possible, warmly evangelical and mentally alert, conscious of the new day and its new demands, and of the inadequacy of the teaching and technique of a former generation. The fourth is that impatient crowd who say that modern thought has discredited the obscurantism and mumbo-jumbo of all religious ideas and behavior, and that candor in facing our world would demand that all religion be completely excised from modern life. They have therefore cut themselves off from contact with the religious movement. Sometimes they are cynical, sometimes rude, and sometimes a wistfulness haunts their emancipation.

These groups react rather conspicuously on each other. It is the shock of their contacts that throws off the sparks of religious controversy. The devout still trail the guardians of organization, because they can not yet get on without them, though they hope that the imminent catastrophe for which they wait will soon render all mundane religious organizations obsolete. The institutionalists prey on the devout. Without them support for their programs would be hard to find. The progressives invoke the castigations of both the devout and the institutionalists, the former because of their modernism, the latter because of their criticism of the institutional *status quo*. And the fourth group—the apostates—are proof to the devout of what education has done to religion, a warning to the institutionalists of what education can do, and a challenge to the progressives to demonstrate that true education is not the enemy of true religion.

That this obligation resting upon the progressives is neither unwelcome nor arduous is plain to those who know the true temper

of the leaders of thought in most of the southern centers of learning. Cynicism is the mood that is most stubbornly resistant to the advances of religion. It is the state of mind which—in the campus vernacular—says, “Believe me I know, and its all the bunk,” and which—in the chaste language of an ancient—says, “All is vanity, and a striving after the wind.” When one becomes morally skeptical of the value of the religious temper and contemptuous of all its agents and formulations, religion dies. It is much in vogue to deny, in the name of culture, the indefectible quality that eager and beholding spirits have claimed for religion since the time of Plato. In certain academic quarters the sneer has become a disguise for shallowness, and a spurious liberalism has advertised itself in some class rooms by the noisy sophistries of immature doctors of philosophy, sophistries that are mistaken by callow sophomores for boldness and profundity.

It is not to be understood that a claim is being made here for freedom from this sort of thing in the South. But there is, beyond question, less of it than in some other sections of the country. However glaring the failures of some church colleges to silence the interference of well-meaning but uninstructed constituencies whose religious bigotry has challenged academic freedom, there are, on the other hand, executive officers and faculty members who have not sold their thought-right for a mess of patronage. And in all such institutions there is an effort to make the claims of religion clear and dignified and for the most part up-to-date. Chapel attendance may not any longer be compulsory, and this is all to the good if it allows religion to press its imperatives in other ways.

But of even more interest than the obvious concern of church schools for the preservation of the religious life is the religious concern of the heads of state institutions in the South. This is not the place to give lists of names and places, but from a considerable personal acquaintance with state schools in the South Atlantic area the author can say that in many of them chancellors, presidents, deans, officers of administration, and faculty members are persons of genuine—though perhaps not always conventional—religious interest. From experiences in services of “Religious Emphasis Week” in many centers of learning it is possible to record the distinct impression of the anxiety of faculties to have students face life religiously, and the equal eagerness of students to inquire into the life of the spirit. There may be some who sneer during such a series of addresses, but their sneers are moderated at least by the spirit of seriousness pervading the campus, and a modern approach to the problems of religion can still have a warm and appreciative

hearing by the student body on most campuses in the South.

There is much truth in the assertion that the South can save or destroy evangelical religion in the next hundred years. As it approaches the modern problems of social readjustment in the light of the worth of the human personality—the basis of all true liberalism, as it brings to industry new attitudes and practices of equity and compassion, as it seeks to salvage human values from the imminent collapse of our present political alignment and injects into international relationships some of the sanity and unselfishness of the founder of Christianity, it may bring a new type of revival into American life.

It must be intellectually rejuvenated. Given time, that must inevitably happen. But in other matters the South has certain peculiar qualities that ought to aid in this religious revival. Traditionally warm-hearted, southern folk make their religion emotionally winsome; traditionally democratic, they can make their religion practical and humane. As the Vermonter is taciturn and frigid, so the Georgian is loquacious and confiding, and the two latter qualities can make an intelligent religion hearty and gracious.

A certain public figure who had been the storm center for no little controversy was being discussed recently by two of his ardent friends. "Well," said one, "I hope when I'm Dr. ———'s age I shall have the kind of friends he has." "Yes," returned the other, "And when I'm his age I hope I have the same kind of enemies he has."

Inevitably sides will be taken in the religious conflict that lies just beyond our immediate salient. And it will be a good thing if the South fifty years from now has the same kind of enemies and friends that religion south of the Potomac will have half a century hence.

THE FINE ARTS

BY ULA MILNER GREGORY

FOR LONG THE South has existed architecturally on memories. The stately residences of Charleston, the patio homes of New Orleans, the plantation mansions along the Mississippi and in the tidewater region of Virginia, the Spanish missions of Texas and Florida, are architectural achievements universally acknowledged. They have been talked of, written of, and photographed. That they are all achievements of the pre-Civil War South is significant. The intervening years between the Civil War and the close of the century were productive of little architecturally to draw the attention of the world, but an era in which poor taste ruled everywhere could hardly have been expected to produce much of merit in a Reconstruction ridden South. And so the uneventful years have been passed over in most discussions of southern architecture, and attention has been focused on the triumphant past.

But one is not content forever with memories. Today the South, with new wealth resulting from industrial development, is building. A survey of the situation at present will reveal how extensive this activity is and the measure of architectural accomplishment so far.

The South has not yet produced a new domestic architecture as distinctive as that of the old South. It is as if the South realizes that it is no longer separate from the rest of the country in its manner of living and in consequence is building its new homes little differently from the East, the North, or the West. Practically every city in America in its newer residence sections is a medley of styles—a sort of international architectural exposition. To some of us it does not seem that anything is more expressive of the spirit of our time than this free mixing and handling of styles in our architecture, than this evidence of world consciousness, as it were, on our part.

While catholicity of taste is undoubtedly the outstanding mark of domestic architecture in the country and in the South today, nevertheless in various sections tendencies to build more in one style

than another can also be noted. For example, among the newer residences in Virginia and South Carolina, Georgian and Classical Revival adaptations seem to predominate. In Atlanta, Georgia, the same situation prevails. This is, of course, a carrying on of the architectural traditions of these sections. Among the states bordering the Gulf, in the sections directly on the Gulf, there is a strong leaning towards Spanish or more generally speaking, Mediterranean type homes. Florida has most conspicuously caught the attention of the country by its elaborate and extensive use of this type.

Among the many styles employed in the South three seem most widely in use: English, Georgian, Mediterranean. The popularity of each of these has a sound basis. The English type house with its Tudor bank of casements is adaptable to climatic conditions; the Georgian and Classical Revival types with their spacious interiors and many openings are supremely comfortable and in harmony with the mode of living; the interior open court arrangement and the bright exterior coloring of the Mediterranean type are highly pleasing with the natural setting.

Undoubtedly the South has acquired many fine homes through the ingenuity of its architects in importing and adapting established styles. That the same ingenuity has not been directed to developing an indigenous style of architecture seems unfortunate, however. Despite all the fine construction that has been done, the fact remains that the South has not made any original contribution to the contemporary architecture of America. The South is today regaling herself, as it were, in borrowed finery and while attaining admiration thereby, is losing its chance of permanent honor by failing to create for its use something beautiful of its very own.

Among the most encouraging sights in the South today are the rising skylines of the larger cities. Cities steeped in tradition and history, such as Richmond and New Orleans, while preserving their priceless associations, are building energetically and extensively. The yearly changes in such cities as Atlanta and Birmingham are striking. Most thrilling of all is the Southwest with its big new cities virtually springing up overnight.

The physical aspect of southern cities is undoubtedly changing with the progress of the South industrially and commercially, but the transformation can not be expected to be instantaneously universal. At present, it scarcely touches any but the larger cities and even in them only touches here and there. Sheer ugliness is still the chief mark of the business sections of the majority of southern cities. A succession of flat roofed, rectangular buildings down the main streets is the uninspired rule. A universal lack of imagination

in the choice and handling of building materials, together with a misdirected sense of decoration, prevails. In contrast to what exists practically universally, the new buildings rising here and there that are well designed, though still proportionately rare, seem vastly important.

In height the average new office building in the South is about fifteen stories. In design the majority are of the straight vertical type. While some cities have passed zoning ordinances requiring the set-back treatment in the upper stories, there is no general need for such rulings as yet. When this treatment is used at present it is inspired more by a desire to conform to eastern metropolitan appearances than by dictates of the law.

As in the case of residence architecture, the inspiration for commercial buildings has been drawn from many sources. Classic, Gothic, or Renaissance origins can be recognized in many of our modern buildings. Actually the source is of slight importance provided the architect has the ability to translate the old beauty into new terms, to adapt the old forms to modern usages. An illustration of the successful use of the Gothic source in modern office design is the Medical Arts Building, San Antonio, Texas, Ralph Cameron, architect. The imposing Hibernia Bank and Trust Company, New Orleans, Favrot and Livaudais, architects, brings the beauty of classical detail into the business district.

While every building draws some inspiration from the past, some seem more completely independent than others. The new commercial buildings, in which the architects have subordinated the horizontal lines between the windows by the use of a dark material and have accentuated the vertical panels between them, seem to have caught most successfully the soaring spirit of the modern skyscraper. Two especially lovely buildings come to mind to illustrate this point, though there are many that could be mentioned. One is the Alabama Power Company building, Birmingham, Alabama, Warren, Knight and Davis, architects, which won the gold medal for the most beautiful commercial building exhibited at the 1929 Southern Architectural and Industrial Arts Exposition, Memphis, Tennessee. The other is the Tower Petroleum Building of Dallas, Texas, Mark Lemmon, architect.

As has been said, the South has by no means as yet anywhere complete business sections of new and imposing buildings, but building activity is extensive throughout the South. Most important of all is the fact that a good percentage of the buildings recently erected have been notable not only from the chamber of commerce standpoint of their size, but also from the architect's standard of design.

An almost complete reversal of conditions exists in the field of institutional architecture. Among the older educational institutions in the South there is much architectural charm. With the beauty of such campuses as that of the University of Virginia and the University of North Carolina in mind, we can not help experiencing a sense of disappointment at the sight of many of the new southern campuses. The South is certainly spending money on the enlargement and the improvement of its colleges and universities and it is satisfying to see so many signs of progress in big new buildings, modern in every respect. But it is regrettable that there could not be real beauty more often combined with the other admirable features. Upon campus after campus one sees new buildings pleasing in detail and appointments yet when glimpsed in silhouette against the sky they have an angularity, a starkness of outline that is distressing.

One exception to the general level of mediocrity is the campus of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas. The splendid buildings are of Venetian Renaissance origin designed by Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson, architects, with William Ward Watkin, associate architect. Ample grounds, skillfully planted, are provided for their setting. The approach to the main building through a great avenue of trees is particularly effective. The university is one having unusual character in its buildings and setting.

Another new southern campus that is distinctive is that of Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge. Here the architecture is very fittingly Mediterranean in type, the light coloring of the buildings making an attractive mass against the semi-tropical Louisiana scenery. The original plans for the University were drawn by Theodore C. Link of Chicago and the further developments by other architects since his death have followed his conception.

Southwestern University, Memphis, Tennessee, received recognition of its architectural charm in 1929, when the entrance tower of the University won the award of the gold medal for educational institutions at the Southern Architectural and Industrial Arts Exposition. The architect for the University is Henry Hibbs.

Great interest has attended the development of Duke University at Durham, North Carolina, during the past seven years. The fortune provided by James Buchanan Duke in 1924 for the enlargement of Trinity College into Duke University, contingent upon the change of the name of the institution, has made a remarkable building program possible. Duke University now comprises about fifty buildings located on two campuses, one the University proper, the other that of the College for Women. Horace Trumbauer, the

architect for both campuses, has created two very different scenes upon each of them. The Duke University buildings are of Tudor Gothic design, very impressive in their line and mass and fine in detail. The buildings of the College for Women are of Georgian architecture and have the simple dignity of that style. In plan and equipment the buildings are receiving wide recognition as models of modern institutional construction. The whole undertaking is of such scope and its possibilities are so splendid that it is one of the most important recent educational enterprises anywhere in the country.

The increased business activity of the South during the past ten years has had a direct effect upon the churches of the South. As business districts have expanded, residence sections have shifted and in consequence old churches have been left behind and new ones made essential.

In general the newer churches present a good appearance. That some of them on close study show poor quality in the material used and sparseness of decorative detail can be blamed on the mistaken endeavor to spread limited funds over too large a surface. Undoubtedly for this reason the new churches are more mediocre than outstanding.

Yet some of them are notable. Among this number are the Idlewild Presbyterian Church, Memphis, Tennessee, George Awsumb, architect; the Diocesan Seminary, New Orleans, Louisiana, Diboll and Owen, architects; the Christian Science Church, Dallas, Texas, Mark Lemmon, architect; the Highland Park Methodist Church, Dallas, Texas, DeWitt and Lemmon, architects; Church Street Methodist Church, Knoxville, Tennessee, Barber and McMurray, architects, office of John Russell Pope, associate architects.

Special mention should certainly be made of the work of Hobart B. Upjohn in North Carolina. He has created a number of rarely lovely churches, among them the Village Chapel at Pinehurst and the Chapel of the Cross at Chapel Hill.

The modern spirit that has been expressed so effectively in some of the new commercial buildings is also found in some of the new public buildings. The achievement of this class as a whole constitutes a stimulating force in the field of contemporary southern architecture. Many of the new public buildings have a monumentality of design, a bigness of handling, that make them seem essentially modern.

The Caddo Parish Courthouse, Shreveport, Louisiana, designed by Edward A. Neild, architect, is highly effective in its massive blocking. The Dade County Court House, Miami, Florida, A. Ten Eyck Brown, architect, is another convincingly modern arrange-

ment. Most successful of all seems the Municipal Auditorium, San Antonio, Messrs. Ayers, architects. In its completely modern treatment of old Spanish form it achieves something lovely and impressive.

Most widely known among the semi-public buildings of the South is the Masonic Memorial at Arlington, Virginia. The architect, Harvey W. Corbett, has struck a formal note in the impressive piling up of the mass that is wholly in keeping with the inspiration of the building. The memorial was officially dedicated in 1932.

It will be observed from the foregoing that throughout the southern states there are recent architectural achievements of decided quality. Some states have realized their finest things in the form of college architecture, others in churches, office buildings, or public buildings. But it is noteworthy that so much real distinction exists, and it is highly encouraging that the good things are not concentrated in one state, but are spread throughout the South.

SCULPTURE

AMERICA COULD never be called a sculpture-loving nation like France or Italy. A trip through either of these countries impresses one with the poverty of America sculpturally. The emotions, aspirations, and triumphs of these nations seem to have crystallized through the centuries into marble and bronze monuments. In America sculpture has always been held as something apart, rather than as one of the natural mediums of expression. The situation is most keenly felt in the Middle West, the West, and the South.

A ready excuse for the lack of sculpture in the South is the poverty that was prevalent after the Civil War, the period in which the North erected so many of its monuments. That this explanation is not truly sufficient, however, is evident when one checks the sculptural commissions given in the South since the World War. Comparatively few of the World War memorials erected in the South have been sculptured monuments, the majority have been bridges, roads, and auditoriums.

The only state in the South that can boast a long list of sculptured possessions is Virginia. Richmond as the capital has a fine array of monuments. Notable among these are Washington by Houdon; Robert E. Lee by Mercie; Jefferson Davis and General Wickham by Valentine. Charlottesville, the seat of the University of Virginia, has almost as many monuments as Richmond and several of high quality—a Lewis and Clark group and an equestrian Stonewall Jackson by Charles Keck; a second monument to George Rogers Clark of great merit by Robert L. Aitken, and the expressive Thomas

Jefferson by Karl Bitter. Arlington, of course, adds greatly to the state's total. A glance through the list of monuments in other cities in the state shows work by Herbert Adams and Bryan Baker, monuments by Charles Keck in several places, and many monuments by George Julian Zolney. Even the smaller cities in Virginia are thus seen to call upon sculptors of national reputation to design their memorials.

After Virginia several states group together in the quantity and quality of their sculpture. Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas are about in the same class.

At Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, Georgia, the most stupendous sculptural undertaking is in progress that has ever been conceived anywhere in the world. The idea of carving the face of the gigantic Stone Mountain as a memorial to the Confederacy originated with Mrs. Helen Plane and was adopted by the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1916. Gutzon Borglum was appointed sculptor, and carving was begun in 1923. In 1925, following severe disagreements, his contract was cancelled and Augustus Lukeman was appointed his successor. However, this did not secure peace for the project. Arguments have continued and orders have been given and countermanded so often that the work has only progressed fitfully to the present day. At present the three main figures of the central group, those of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson, are being carved. According to the plans they will be ultimately the center of a vast panorama. Immediately upon the completion of these figures, however, the next phase of the work to be undertaken will be the Memorial Hall. It is to be a semi-circular shrine quarried in the rock beneath the central group.

In Georgia there are of further note several monuments by Daniel Chester French. The Spencer Memorial in Atlanta and the General Oglethorpe Monument in Savannah are by him, and both have harmonious bases by Henry Bacon, architect.

Mississippi possesses an important repository of sculpture in the National Park Cemetery at Vicksburg. Among the memorials in the Park are the works of such men as Lorado Taft, Herbert Adams, A. A. Weinman, and Solon Borglum.

In New Orleans, Louisiana has its one center of sculpture but a highly important one. New Orleans presents the appearance of a richly ornamented city. Actually little of the sculpture seen in New Orleans is of real æsthetic value, but the majority of the monuments have been given such attractive settings that the effect is most pleasing. One of the fine things, admirably placed, is the Wounded Stag by Antoine Louis Barye, which stands in front of

the Delgado Museum of Art. The center of the historic Jackson Square is accented by one of Clark Mills' famous equestrian statues of General Jackson. At the entrance to Audubon Park is a very graceful symbolic fountain by Isidore Konti, while under the oaks in both Audubon and City Parks are wading pools by him. Effectively placed on the plaza in front of the Courthouse is the bronze figure of Chief Justice White by Bryan Baker.

Texas possesses practically no monuments in comparison with its size and its history, but it does have, as Louisiana has, one outstanding center. In Austin is preserved the tradition of one of the finest sculptors the South has ever had, Elisabet Nez. In Austin her studio has been perpetuated as a museum for her works. At the capitol itself are her monuments to General Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin, and in the cemetery her figure of Albert Sidney Johnston.

In Tennessee, North Carolina, and Kentucky there are a number of monuments and a good proportion of them are of high quality, but as they are scattered throughout the states it is difficult to consider them. None of these states has a notable center of sculpture like the states just mentioned.

At the bottom of our list of states classified by their sculptural wealth are Alabama, Arkansas and Florida. One can practically count on one hand the number of sculptured monuments in each of these states. Each of them has, however, one or two monuments of merit.

But if Florida is lacking in sculptured monuments, it nevertheless possesses the finest example of the union of sculpture and architecture in the South and one of the outstanding examples in the whole country.

After years of indifference, architects and sculptors seem to have suddenly reawakened to a realization of the architectural possibilities of sculpture. We are seeing less and less today of buildings upon which have been applied as ornament realistic figures or inadequate plaques, and more buildings on which architects and sculptors have worked from the beginning for the union of design and decoration.

At Mountain Lake Sanctuary, in Florida, one of the most perfect embodiments of the new ideals has been realized in the Carillon Tower built for Edward Bok by Milton B. Medary, architect and Lee Lawrie, sculptor.

The Tower draws its inspiration from the bell tower of Malines, Belgium, and has all the loveliness of soaring Gothic grace. In true Gothic spirit it is a mass of sculpture, every piece accenting and

harmonizing the lines and the form of the building. Lee Lawrie, with forty associates, produced the sculptures. *Faïence* is used in the decoration of the eight bell windows. The bronze entrance door is the work of Samuel Yellin of Philadelphia. The whole is a monument to the beauty of the united arts. Milton B. Medary, architect, was awarded the Gold Medal of Honor of the American Institute of Architects in 1929 for distinguished achievement in architecture, specifically for the Bok Carillon Tower.

Recently two buildings have been completed in Louisiana that notably advance the new ideas. The first is the Criminal Courts and Jail Building in New Orleans, Diboll and Owen, architects. The sculptural decorations by Angela Gregory have been conceived as an integral part of the architecture. In content the various stone reliefs and bronze panels in their symbolism of the authority of the state and narration of the state history, are closely allied to the purposes of the building. In breadth of treatment they are in harmony with the massive forms of the architecture.

At Baton Rouge the new Louisiana State Capital has been completed and is challenging attention. In design the building is distinctly modern and monumental. The architect, Leon C. Weiss, of Weiss, Dreyfous and Seiferth, has embodied in his building a wealth of sculptured decorations. The central sculptured decorations are the work of Lee Lawrie. Other phases of the work have been done by Alexander A. Weinman, Ulric H. Ellerhusen, Lorado Taft, Isidore Konti, Angela Gregory, Albert Rieker, Juanita Gonzales, and the Piccirilli Brothers.

In Nashville, Tennessee, the recent completion of a reproduction of the Parthenon has provided another example of fine co-operation between architects and sculptors. Nashville, "the Athens of the South," had its first Parthenon for the Tennessee Centennial Exposition of 1897. When this temporary building finally disintegrated the Board of Park Commissions determined to reconstruct it in lasting material. As it now stands, the building is a detailed reconstruction of the original except for the material used, a cement mixture being substituted for marble, which was too costly. Russell E. Hart was the architect, with George D. Nevins, associate. The pediment sculptures were done by Bell Kinney Scholz and Leopold F. Scholz, and the metopes by George Julian Zolney. Intensive research was a necessary preliminary to work by architects and sculptors and while their reconstruction can not possibly satisfy all archaeologists in every detail, still they have undoubtedly recreated a great measure of the beauty of the original.

These four examples of union of architecture and sculpture are

the most important the South has produced. Other buildings could be mentioned upon which sculpture has been effectively used, but in no others has it been used so extensively or in the same degree.

From this survey of sculpture in the South let us turn to southern sculptors themselves. In the 1931 edition of the *American Art Annual* are listed thirty-three native southern sculptors. The most widely known name among these is that of Augustus Lukeman, a native of Virginia. Others in the list who have achieved more than a local reputation are William Couper, Nancy Cox McCormick, Angela Gregory, Ernest Bruce Haswell, Bonnie MacLeary, Waldine Amanda Tauch, and Enid Yandell.

While the directory certainly does not include all native southern sculptors, still it probably does include the majority of them. Even if a few names were added to it, the list would not be impressive numerically. Nor is it replete with names of national and international reputation. Undoubtedly the South has a long process of development ahead before reaching a real intensity of sculptural appreciation and creation. But for that matter, so does the nation as a whole.

PAINTING

EVIDENCE OF A country's love of painting is generally found in the number and size and quality of the country's museums. It is hoped that the love of painting in the South is not accurately gauged by southern museums, for in these things the South is conspicuously lacking. Throughout the whole South there is not one museum which will bear comparison with the best elsewhere in the country.

A survey of the South shows that in a number of cities good permanent collections of paintings are being built up; in others homes have been provided for collections to be formed in the future; but in only a handful of cities are there at present art associations that possess both homes and collections of any value. The present state of things is thus undoubtedly distressing, but at the same time there is encouragement for the future.

The Dallas Art Association, Dallas, Texas, is a case in point. Over a period of years the Association has been acquiring a good permanent collection. A recent bond issue covering various city improvements contained a provision for a \$200,000 museum. It is thus certain that in the near future Dallas will have a fine museum building.

Asheville, North Carolina, and Knoxville, Tennessee, are examples of southern cities that have recently acquired permanent homes for their art associations. In these cities the next few years should see

the growth of permanent collections and increasing general art interest among the citizens.

The above cases are among many that could be cited to show that while there is little in the South at present in the way of museums to arouse pride, there is considerable art activity, and ten years hence any survey that is made should show great improvement.

Among the museums which are already well established those of New Orleans and Houston are most outstanding. The Delgado Museum of Art at New Orleans is very fortunate in its attractive building by Lebenbaum and March, architects, and in its varied and generally fine collection. The Houston Museum of Fine Arts also has the nucleus of a good permanent collection, but most important of all it possesses the finest equipped building in the South for museum work. The Museum designed by William Ward Watkin is being erected in sections and only a part of the whole is now completed, but even in this portion lecture facilities, a library, and a special children's room have been provided. The extent and scope of the educational work of the Museum marks it the most progressive art museum in the South at present.

Nashville, Tennessee, has recently entered the class of cities having real art museums. Nashville's famous reproduction of the Parthenon was dedicated on its completion in 1930 as an art museum, and a \$100,000 collection of paintings was given by an anonymous donor.

The Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences in Savannah, Georgia, is generally recognized for its fine collection of contemporary paintings. The existence of the museum in the old Telfair residence creates for it a good deal of atmosphere and provides a perfect setting for the decorative art collections. Undoubtedly the present building is delightful and is probably all that the city requires at present. However, it must be observed that this custom of housing museums in the South in old residences does not allow for free growth nor real progress along the newer lines of educational activity.

It is evident from this brief review of some of the South's best museums that although these and a few others are worthy of note, they are by no means museums of the first class. While in most cases there are good paintings, no gallery possesses anything like a truly comprehensive collection. Most of the possessions are of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries with emphasis on American work. There is scarcely any early Italian or Spanish work in the South, and practically nothing of early Flemish or even Dutch schools.

The South in consequence depends greatly upon traveling exhibitions to supplement the scope of its museum collections. The exhibi-

tions used are principally obtained through the American Federation of Arts, the Southern States Art League, and eastern art dealers. From these sources a variety of material is available and fine exhibitions can be selected.

The American Federation of Arts, for example, offers about seventy circulating exhibitions each season. These cover a wide range of subject matter including oil painting, water color, industrial art, architecture and prints.

The exhibitions of the Southern States Art League, being devoted entirely to the work of members, offer a more limited assistance to museums. But the work the League is accomplishing throughout the South in the interest of art generally can not be overestimated. Its exhibitions are the great medium through which southern artists speak and through which the southern public hears the message of its own art.

The more established museums in the larger cities have the added advantage of being able to obtain loan exhibitions from eastern dealers. While the majority of the collections sent out are undoubtedly of a commercial sort, still with proper persuasion, excellent exhibitions can be obtained. For example, as fine a collection of modern art was shown in Dallas at the Dallas Art Association in 1931, through the courtesy of the Rehn Galleries, as one could hope to see in New York itself. It was a distinguished gathering of the work of outstanding contemporary American painters. Eastern dealers are recognizing more and more the possibilities of the southern market and in consequence are loaning finer collections each year. The greatest opportunity in the way of loan exhibitions probably lies for southern art museums in these dealers' collections.

Anyone familiar with art organizations and activities in the South is aware of the large number of people painting in the South. Practically every city has its art club and almost every club holds a yearly exhibition of the work of its members. The work of the majority of these clubs is, of course, of the amateur sort, but the movement as a whole is significant in its educational effect.

The number of professional artists of southern origin is less impressive. In the 1931 edition of *The American Art Annual*, there are listed three hundred and thirty-five native southern artists. The directory as a whole contains approximately five thousand names, which means that the South contributed only about six per cent of the total number. Of course, as has already been stated, the directory certainly omits some artists, but the majority are probably included, and the percentage of artists from the different sections of the country in any case would remain about the same.

Among the artists listed, it is further interesting to check those southerners who have attained national reputation. In this group the following certainly must be included : Carle Blenner, Virginia ; Hugh H. Breckenridge, Virginia ; Benjamin C. Brown, Arkansas ; George de Forest Brush, Tennessee ; John E. Bundy, North Carolina ; Charles Courtney Curran, Kentucky ; Jerry Farnsworth, Georgia ; Julian Lamar, Georgia ; Allen Lewis, Alabama ; Jerome Myers, Virginia ; William P. Silva, Georgia ; Alice R. Huger Smith, South Carolina ; Helen M. Turner, Kentucky ; Walter Ufer, Kentucky ; Murray Bewley, Texas.

One can not read the names of these artists and note their southern birthplaces without a feeling of satisfaction, but unfortunately gratification must be short lived. Any rechecking of the list brings the realization that few of these names are associated with the South in the public mind. Actually, scarcely any of these artists have lived in their native states or in the South for years. While the South may thus claim them as native sons, little honor actually comes to her through their accomplishments. Scattered throughout the country, there is no common note to be found among their works, no tie that binds it all into a special southern contribution to American art.

It is tragic that the South has not been able to retain many of the best artists she has produced, but the apathy that has long existed in regard to art matters is responsible for their loss. More responsive centers, more lucrative ones, have naturally drawn them away.

On the other hand, it is obvious upon reading the above list that the names of many artists prominent in the South are not included. Some of those who are doing the greatest work for art in the South are not southerners by birth but, drawn here by various causes, it has become the section of their adoption and devoted interest.

No one person has done more for art in the South than Ellsworth Woodward of New Orleans. Originally from Massachusetts, he came South in 1885 to teach at Tulane University. With splendid imagination he appreciated at once the possibilities of the material at hand for the development of an indigenous art. He has labored untiringly to impart his vision to others and to bring about its realization. Besides being a painter of note, especially in the medium of water color, he is also an outstanding educator. As Director of the Newcomb School of Art he has made it a unique institution, and as President of the Southern States Art League, he has developed an organization of force. He is a towering personality in southern art.

William Woodward, his brother, is another artist prominent as a southern painter, not by virtue of his birthplace, but because of

the subjects of his canvases. The Louisiana and Mississippi coast lands are the source of much of his inspiration.

In Texas, Frank Reaugh is a name much honored. He has done a distinctive piece of work in his paintings of the southwestern country and especially of its cattle. His canvases are vivid records of a life that is fast becoming legend. Through his pictures, through his teaching, and his constant work to increase art interest in the southwest, he has been a man of inspiration and influence. Edward G. Eisenlohr is another painter who has given unstintingly of his time for the advancement of art in the Southwest. His works themselves are almost entirely of the country.

In every southern state there is a similar loyal little coterie of artists. The results of their efforts may not seem very great, for the South is woefully apathetic in art matters, but real progress can nevertheless be reckoned during the past decade. Increasing attendance at art exhibitions shows the advance of art appreciation, and exhibitions of southern work reveal a growing tendency to paint the southern scene. Technique, of course, will always vary with the individual. The younger men working in the South are as much interested in experimenting as those anywhere, and paint in as modern a manner, while the majority of the older men are confirmed conservatives. But looking beyond differences of technique, one can sense the slow development of southern art as an entity. It can not be said that there is any great painting coming out of the South today, but much good painting is being done, and most interesting of all, much of it has a distinctly southern flavor.

One of the forces that has meant a great deal to southern artists during recent years is the Southern States Art League. Organized in 1922, it has afforded annual important opportunities for exhibition and has lent needed encouragement to individuals and further helped in the formulation of sectional ideals. The League holds one large exhibition of the work of members each year, in which work in all mediums is invited. It then selects a group of paintings from this main exhibition for a circuit tour throughout the South. Through the annual exhibition southern artists are given an opportunity to show their works in stimulating competition, and through the circuit tour to gain a wide audience. To the laymen the League's exhibitions are the means of becoming acquainted with the artists of their own section. The importance of the work the League is doing can hardly be overestimated.

The art schools of the South constitute another important factor in the improvement of the art situation. In them lies a great hope for the increase of artists in the future and for the advancement of

art appreciation generally. According to the 1932 issue of *The American Art Annual* there are seventy art schools and art departments in the South. It can be said at once that there is not one school in the seventy comparable to such institutions as the School of the Chicago Art Institute, the New York School of Fine and Applied Art, or the Cleveland School of Art, to name a few of the country's finest schools. On the other hand, however, quite a number on the list, while small, are schools of real quality, and one or two are genuinely distinguished.

One of the oldest is also one of the finest. It is the School of Art, Newcomb College, New Orleans. The School offers a four-year course leading to the Bachelor of Design degree. Instruction in most mediums is offered, and particularly fine opportunities are available for work in the crafts. The School is famous for its pottery, which has won awards in many expositions and exhibitions. Its embroidery and silver work are also widely known. The distinctive feature of the craft products of Newcomb is their local character of form and decoration. All the designs for the decoration of the pottery, for instance, are drawn from the tree and flower forms familiar in Louisiana. This emphasis on the use of local material runs through instruction in all departments and has given the School and its products their distinctive character.

Memphis, Tennessee, possesses a noteworthy institution in the James Lee Memorial Academy of Arts. It is a comparatively new school, having been founded in 1925, but it is a large one for the South, having an enrollment of over five hundred. The interesting feature of its organization is that it is supported by the Memphis Art Association and the City of Memphis. Instruction is free. It is one of the few schools of this kind in the South.

The schools that exist in connection with museums are few and small, but the fact that any exist at all is encouraging. The Houston Museum of Art maintains a museum school, as do the High Museum of Art in Atlanta and the Gibbes Art Gallery in Charleston. A new addition to this little group, however, bids fair to outstrip them all and be the first notable museum school in the South. At Sarasota, Florida, there was opened in October, 1931, the School of Art of the John and Mabel Ringling Art Museum. As the Ringling collection contains works not ordinarily found in this section of the country—paintings by Rembrandt, Hals, Titian and Tintoretto—the opportunities for development of the school seem excellent.

In the special class of architectural schools there are several of high quality which are supplying the South with fine architects. Among these are the Department of Architecture of the University

of Texas, Goldwin Goldsmith, Director ; the Department of Architecture of Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, directed by William Ward Watkin ; the McIntire School of Fine Arts, University of Virginia, C. E. Campbell, Director ; and the School of Architecture of Tulane University, of which J. Herndon Thompson is the head.

Other schools and art departments could be mentioned, but this review is perhaps sufficient to show the different types of organizations that exist in the South and to show that there are some schools of merit. The South has no large art school open to men and women as other sections of the country have, but the schools that have been mentioned here are all doing work in their own way that is worthwhile.

THE GRAPHIC ARTS

PRINTS OF ONE kind or another have long been appreciated in America. That they are a form of art within the reach of many pocketbooks accounts for a measure of their appeal ; nevertheless our abiding interest in the black and white medium is impressive. It has not diminished one bit from the days of the vogue of the steel engraving, but has grown mightily, with the emphasis only shifted today to etchings and woodcuts.

An even wider appreciation seems assured for the future by the now common inclusion of some work in print making in the regular school art classes. Children who produce their Christmas cards and school programs and a hundred other things by means of linoleum blocks are certainly acquiring a basic knowledge of this phase of art that will illuminate it for them for the rest of their lives.

Every year also sees courses in the graphic arts introduced more widely in art schools. In general the equipment in the southern art schools and college art departments is not yet adequate, but enough does exist to permit interesting experimental work.

Charleston and New Orleans can probably be said to lead the South in creative contribution to the graphic arts. Both these cities offer a wealth of material ready for the hand of the print maker. The doorways and gateways of Charleston and the balconies and courtyards of New Orleans have been wrought into many beautiful prints. But the majority of other cities of any size also have producing artists. This, however, should be noted : only a few of these artists are doing graphic arts exclusively, the majority being painters with a side interest in etching or some other form. In Dallas, Texas, for instance, there is a Graphic Art Society numbering eighteen members, but only one member works exclusively in the graphic art mediums.

Of the graphic artists in the South the two most widely known are Alfred Hutty and J. J. Lankes. Unfortunately the South can not claim either of these internationally recognized men as native artists. Alfred Hutty, while now of Charleston, South Carolina, is originally from Michigan. J. J. Lankes, now a resident of Hilton Village, Virginia, was born in New York.

Among other artists in the South who are producing work of note are Antoinette Rhett and Elizabeth O'Neill Verner of Charleston, South Carolina; Christopher Murphy, Jr., of Savannah, Georgia; George F. Castleden of New Orleans, Louisiana; Allen Lewis of Alabama; Benjamin C. Brown of Marion, Arkansas; Dawson Dawson-Watson and Mary Bonner of San Antonio, Texas; E. Richardson Cherry of Houston, Texas, and Samuel P. Ziegler of Fort Worth. Ziegler has made a distinctive contribution to southern art by his lithographs of Texas oil fields where, among the towering derricks, he has found a rich beauty of line.

With all the books and magazines being published today that require illustrations, it would seem that the age of opportunity for graphic artists is at hand. There is not even much restriction in the way of medium to discourage them, for books and magazines are utilizing work in practically all mediums today. Pen sketches, charcoal drawings, lithographs, woodcuts, etchings, full color compositions—all are being used.

Amidst the mass of material coming continually from the presses, it is fairly impossible to keep abreast of all the good work that is being done. However, it may be interesting to note the names and work of some of the southerners that one comes across often and sees with satisfaction, even though the list is not at all inclusive.

One southern illustrator whose name has been in the limelight is Ben Carlton Mead. An artist who has done much good illustration, he was brought into wider prominence than ever before when the Literary Guild selected J. Frank Dobie's book, *Coronado's Children*, illustrated by him, as one of its 1931 presentations. Mead is from Amarillo, Texas, and the material with which he illustrated the book has been part and parcel of his life since childhood. There is a sureness of form, a directness of presentation about his illustrations that stamps them with the coveted mark of authenticity. Since his success with *Coronado's Children*, he has illustrated another of Dobie's books, *On the Open Range*, a book prepared especially for children. His mediums vary in the two books, but the illustrations have a straightforward character that makes them seem a genuine part of the books and of the section from which he comes.

Another southerner who has a wide reputation is James Daugh-

erty. A North Carolinian by birth, he grew up in a family where reading aloud was an established custom, and he reaped the benefit, as a result, of a well developed power of visualization. He has to his credit, among other works, illustrations for Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln Grows Up*, Benet's *John Brown's Body*, and Finger's *Courageous Companions*.

Allen Lewis of Mobile, Alabama, is a third important illustrator. Among his works are the illustrations for *Short Stories* by Walt Whitman, *Journeys to Bagdad* by Charles Brooks, *Paul Bunyan* by James Stevens, and *Jesus Christ in Flanders* by Balzac.

Many of us grown-ups look with longing eyes at the present-day children's books on the counters of the book stores, for they are vastly different from the story books of a generation ago. Through the greater use of color, children's books have been made much more attractive to the eye; and through simplified spacing of text and illustrations, the reading on and on in them has been made many times more alluring. Truly revolutionary changes have been wrought in this field of publishing.

Dugald Stewart Walker, a Virginian by birth, is one of the most gifted of American illustrators of children's books. He has a mind capable of the purest imagery and a hand skilled enough for its rich representation. He is at his finest when given free rein into the lands of the imagination. A delightful book, *Dream Boats and Other Stories*, is his own creation from cover to cover, both the text and illustrations being his. Among other works are the illustrations for *Rainbow Gold* by Sara Teasdale; the illustrations for four books by Padraic Colum; and the illustration of a Hans Andersen collection.

Of equal original genius is Rhea Wells of Tennessee. He is also both a creator of stories and their illustrator. From his pen and brush have come that most unusual series of biographies of animals, which include *Beppo the Donkey*, *Coco the Goat*, and *Peppi the Duck*.

Manning de V. Lee of Charleston, South Carolina, also has a wide reputation because of his illustration, among other works, of Lang's *Blue Fairy Book* and *Red Fairy Book*. These are collections known to almost every modern youngster.

These are a few southern names among a number that could be mentioned for work of character and quality in the field of book illustration. It is impossible to treat of these illustrators any way but individually for there is no school of illustration that embraces them all. Certain modern ideas are common to the work of all, but that is all that can be said. Chief among these is a keen feeling for the decorative quality of the work, which does not mean an interest in the creation of intricate pattern but the establishment of harmony

between illustrations, and type and text. Beyond this the styles of the different illustrators differ as greatly as their mediums and the particular character of the book at hand.

In the even fuller field of magazine illustration there are other southern names that come continually before one. It may be interesting if a few of these are pointed out, because of the wide circulation of their work. Readers of *Colliers* and *Liberty* will know the name of McCullough Partee, who is an illustrator from Tennessee. In the *Red Book*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *McCall's*, illustrations by Dalton Stevens of Virginia are known. *The Saturday Evening Post*, *The Ladies Home Journal*, and *The Pictorial Review* carry the work of Leslie Turner of Texas. Walter Biggs of Virginia is a specialist in the depiction of southern types, many of which one meets in stories in the *Ladies Home Journal*, *The Woman's Home Companion*, and *Good Housekeeping*. And to mention just one more, there is Robert James Malone, of Alabama, whose cartoons have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Review of Reviews*, *The London Graphic*, and elsewhere.

MUSIC

THE MOST POPULAR of the arts with the general public is undoubtedly music. In comparison with the widespread interest in it, painting and sculpture seem only to appeal to a small minority. Of course the radio is the force that has done so much for the popularization of music throughout America.

In the South the radio has rendered an invaluable service, for even the urban South never experienced in the past the opportunities for good music enjoyed by the urban North. Millions in both the urban and rural South who seldom or never heard any music five years ago are hearing music every day through the radio. Not that all the music that comes over the radio is worth hearing. The most that can be said for some of it is that it is the privilege of everyone to turn the dials and find his own amusement level. But the radio has made it possible, if one wishes, to hear good music every day. Many southerners to whom the great symphony orchestras of the country in the past were mere names have now actually heard them. Great singers, pianists, violinists, whom many southerners formerly hoped to hear only perhaps once in a lifetime on some trip east, can now be heard at home several times a year. To those in places remote from musical centers who have the intelligence to use it properly, the radio is a priceless gift.

Credit must be given the radio for the widespread interest in music now evident among school children. Formerly the majority of children seemed merely to tolerate instruction when given them.

Now it appears that the majority are actively seeking it. A recent survey made in the Dallas Public Schools and published in the Chamber of Commerce bulletin shows very plainly the widespread and genuine interest among school children in that city. During the survey 15,088 children were interviewed. Of this number 1,076 children were taking piano in the public school classes; 1,480 were studying piano under private teachers; 1,767 were interested in taking piano; and 4,646 were interested in studying band and orchestra instruments. The survey further showed that there is an R. O. T. C. band in every Dallas high school; an orchestra in every Dallas high school; approximately ten orchestras in grade schools; and many choral and glee clubs besides. The figures carry real conviction of musical interest existing among boys and girls in Dallas. Happily it is felt that they can be paralleled in many other southern cities.

In Pierre Key's *International Music Year Book* for 1929-1930 a list of conservatories and university and college music departments in the South is given. A numerical summary of the list is as follows: music conservatories and university and college music departments in Alabama number five; Arkansas six; Florida five; Georgia six; Kentucky four; Louisiana four; Mississippi three; North Carolina six; South Carolina six; Tennessee ten; Texas six; Virginia nine.

Of the sixty-eight music schools thus listed, twenty-one have been in existence for fifty years or more, and seventeen for twenty-five years or more. This means, if nothing else, at least that they have been giving something sufficiently valuable to their communities to warrant their continuance. With the exception of seven, all on the list are approved by the boards of education of their respective states. Wide differences in quality naturally exist among them, but it is nevertheless encouraging that there is sufficient support for sixty-eight music schools of some recognized standing in the South.

For students and laymen alike the great outlet for music interest comes through public concert performances. A circular letter was sent out by the writer to the chambers of commerce of some of the South's largest cities asking for a list of important musical attractions enjoyed during the 1930-1931 season. The replies received show the quality of concert performances now generally heard in the South.

Birmingham, Alabama, heard Paderewski, Iturbi, Madame Sigrid Onegin, Richard Crooks, and the Barrere Little Symphony. The reply from Atlanta, Georgia, listed among the most important concerts Paderewski, and The Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. Tampa, Florida, sent the following list: Pierre Luboshutz, Paul

Kochanski, Cyrena Van Gorden, The International Singers, and Moissaya Boguslawski. New Orleans, Louisiana, supplied an extensive list which included concerts by Iturbi, Paderewski, Gigli, The Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and Clare Claibert.

Several of the replies stressed opera as the most important of the season's events. In San Antonio, Texas, three operas by the Chicago Civic Opera Company were heard during the 1930-1931 season. Dallas and Amarillo, Texas, were also visited. The Metropolitan Opera Company appeared in Richmond, Virginia.

These notes on concert and opera performances, incomplete though they are, bring out the fact very clearly that the South is enjoying fine musical attractions today and is enjoying them more widely than ever before.

Several reasons can be given for this development. To begin with, during the past few years adequate auditoriums have been provided for the first time in many southern cities. A second contributing factor is the present depression felt among concert managers, which has made them seek wider fields for their activities. The recent inauguration of concert subscription courses furnishes a third important cause. Subscription courses are now in vogue throughout the country and seem to have taken special root in the southwest. Generally five concerts are given for five dollars. The development of this idea has wrought a two-fold blessing, for it has provided thousands of music lovers with a chance to hear fine music at reasonable prices and at the same time has freed concert managers from the fear of a deficit at the end of each performance, for the money for every performance is in hand before it is even booked. This feature has further wrought a great and beneficial change in concert circles. As subscription courses are sold before the artists are booked, it means that concerts are being sold in terms of music instead of personalities. As more new artists are thus given a chance to appear, a freshening and vitalizing of concert life is being felt.

Let us turn from the musical attractions that have been brought to the South to the music produced here. John Tasker Howard in his authoritative book, *Our American Music*, mentions quite a few native southerners among contemporary musicians of note. In his chapter, "Our Contemporary Composers," he writes of Frank van der Stucken of Texas and Clifton Chalmers of Mississippi among the older generation, Harold Morris of Texas and Carl Bricken of Kentucky among the younger men. Among the modernists, Wallingford Rigger of Georgia is noted. In the realm of our folk music he treats of the contributions of David Guion of Texas, John Powell of Virginia, William J. Reddick of Kentucky, and Oscar J. Fox of

Texas. Lamar Stringfield is another young southern musician who should be noted. He is the conductor of the North Carolina Symphony Orchestra and a composer of promise.

As many musicians of southern birth are also achieving success as artists on the concert stage, the South seems to be satisfactorily contributing her share to the music life and development of America.

Unfortunately it can not also be said that the South is providing local concert opportunities for her musicians commensurate with their number and ability. The majority of musicians in the South are obliged to teach most of the time, opportunities for concert appearances being almost entirely limited to programs at club meetings. The radio is affording some further outlet but as jazz programs are still most in demand, it is not a very ample one.

Symphony orchestras are not widely or adequately supported in the South. In Pierre Key's *International Music Year Book* for 1929-1930 the symphony orchestras of the country are classified in two groups—group one comprising orchestras that are endowed or annually guaranteed, group two those of less certain status. In the first group are the orchestras of the "Eleven Symphony Cities of America," that is, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Saint Louis. No southern city has a place on this list. In the second group there are sixty-two orchestras, eight of which are southern. The southern orchestras listed are those of Mobile, Atlanta, Rome (Georgia), New Orleans, Charleston, Nashville and Dallas and the State orchestra of North Carolina.

Granting that some of the orchestras on this list have become inactive since its compilation, such as the New Orleans Symphony Orchestra, still the number credited to the South will remain about the same for there are a few other orchestras in the South that could be, and are not, upon it. The Dallas Symphony Orchestra is the only one listed in Texas, for instance, whereas Fort Worth, San Antonio, Houston and Amarillo, all have orchestras that might be included.

While none of the eight orchestras are in any way great, several are very creditable organizations. They are giving their communities each year the opportunity of hearing musical compositions that could be heard in no other way. The interpretations may seldom be inspired, but a high average of intelligent rendition is certainly maintained. Moreover, several of the orchestras, such as the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, present guest soloists each year at a number of their concerts. Other symphony associations, such as the Nashville Symphony Orchestra, bring a visiting orchestra for one concert

yearly in addition to presenting their own series. It is thus evident that the southern symphony orchestras that do exist are for the most part important elements in the cultural life of their communities. It is unfortunate, however, that more do not exist and that several of those that give promise of achievement are not established on a firm financial basis, without which it seems practically impossible for them to come to full fruition.

The only other real opportunity for concert work locally afforded southern musicians comes through the music festivals that are held in some cities annually. Considering their value, it is surprising that more southern cities do not have festivals.

According to Pierre Key's *International Music Year Book*, 1929-1930, there are sixteen southern cities that have festival associations sponsoring annually some sort of civic music celebration. Andalusia, Alabama, is one of these. Miami, St. Petersburg and Tampa are three Florida cities on the list. There are also three cities in Georgia included—Atlanta, Rome, and Savannah. Bowling Green and Richmond in Kentucky, and Asheville and Chapel Hill in North Carolina, are listed. Spartanburg, South Carolina, is noted. Amarillo, Beaumont, Clarendon, and Houston are four Texas cities that close the list.

The festivals held are of two kinds—those that are an annual organization of local talent into group performance and those that are the occasion of bringing guest musicians to the city. Both types of festivals are valuable civic assets to the communities in which they are held. Those of the first kind are a tremendous stimulus to local music interests by the opportunity, encouragement, and recognition they give to local talent. Those of the second kind render a great service as the means of attaining the local appearance of important musicians who could not otherwise be attracted to the city.

The majority of southern music festivals are of the first kind, though there are several of the latter. Beaumont, Texas, for instance, sets aside an Annual Music Week in which visiting orchestras and soloists are brought to the city to give a rich series of performances. The Asheville Music Festival Association sponsors one week of grand opera in that city each year. This was also done until recently by the Atlanta Music Festival Association, which brought the Metropolitan Civic Opera Company to Atlanta over a period of years. Spartanburg, South Carolina, invites an important group of musicians to the city every year for a great Spartanburg Music Festival.

For the most part, the idea of holding music festivals has only taken root recently in the South. The majority of the southern

festival associations have been in existence only a few years. Some, however, date as far back as 1910, and these prove by their twenty years or so of existence that they are worthwhile institutions.

DANCING

IN AMERICA DANCING is just beginning to receive recognition as an art. In contrast to its long established and honored position in Europe, the lack of appreciation that has been given it here is conspicuous. But America is fast becoming awake to its possibilities.

Dancing has perhaps had more place in the life of the South in the past than in that of any other part of the country. It has long been one of the widely enjoyed southern social diversions. But here, as elsewhere, the conception of it has been limited to its social or professional aspects. Now the South is also alive to the growing consciousness of the dance as an art. Evidence of this is found, in the first place, in the number and kinds of schools of dancing being supported in the South even in these times of depression. Every large city lists a number of schools. To take the figures from four cities at random: Dallas, Texas, has eleven schools of dancing; Atlanta, Georgia, ten; Birmingham, Alabama, ten; Richmond, Virginia, seven.

That the majority of these schools cater primarily to people whose conception of the dance ends with its exhibition phase is, of course, true. Instruction in these schools centers around acrobatic, tap, and such stage forms of dancing. However, quite a few teachers are providing classes that stress the educational aspects of the art for non professionally inclined persons. In these classes the interpretive possibilities of the medium and its correlation with music are emphasized. Mothers are learning more and more about the art of the dance through programs at their clubs and parent-teacher associations, and in consequence many are now seeking classes in which their children can follow dancing as a cultural study rather than merely as an exhibition feature.

Further evidence of the increasing appreciation of the dance in the South is found in the number of fine dance attractions being added to the regular concert series in many cities. A number of the world's outstanding dancers have toured the South during the past few seasons. New Orleans has enjoyed performances by La Argentina and Harold Kreutzberg and Yvonne Georgi. These last two famous dancers were also seen in Atlanta, as well as Ted Shawn and the Denishawn Dancers. Birmingham has been visited by Theodore Kosloff and his Russian dancers. Dallas has enjoyed Harold Kreutzberg and Yvonne Georgi, Irma Duncan, the Denishawns, Andreas

Pavley, Theodore Kosloff and his Russian dancers, and Mary Wigman.

Nothing is greater proof of the recognition being accorded the dance than the way in which leaders in the other arts are drawing it into their activities. To cite what has been done in just one city is impressive, though these facts could be duplicated in many southern cities. In Dallas the Highland Park Art Association opened its doors to dancing as a sister art during 1930-1931 by sponsoring a ballet class for children in its galleries. The Dallas Art Association presented in connection with an exhibition of Russian paintings several afternoons of dance programs by Theodore Kosloff and his Russian dancers. The Dallas Symphony Orchestra has allied the dance with its programs on four notable occasions since 1929 when Theodore Kosloff and his Russian dancers have appeared with the Orchestra in presentations entitled Chopin Memories, Scheherazade, Chopin Memories II, and Dionysius.

Such unions as these are looked to as a great help in freeing the dance from its vaudeville connotations in America and establishing it as a form of art.

DRAMA

THE STORY OF the rise of the little theatre in the South is virtually the same as that elsewhere. The complete collapse of the road show in the period following the World War, because of the increased cost of transportation and the competition of motion pictures, made essential the local production of plays if plays were to be seen at all. And the South was thoroughly attached to seeing plays. The leisured life of the old South had carried with it a love of entertainment that sought satisfaction from the show boats on the Mississippi to the imported performances in the southern capitals. Touring companies continued to visit the South until the big crash came.

With such a background of interest and with such desertion as the South experienced after the breakdown of the touring system, it is not surprising that the little theatre idea took root extensively in the South. It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of local theatres in the South today, but everyone widely acquainted with the South knows there are a great number. Every large city possesses about a half dozen dramatic organizations, and many small towns possess acting groups. The difficulty of making a check lies in the practical impossibility of reaching every group that exists, and moreover, of determining which among the known groups can really be called little theatres.

Among the large number that do exist there are, of course, theatres

of vastly different grades. Some theatres are organized by groups which, while protesting their community service, are really animated by social interests. With these the whole movement is more a fad than anything else. They may do good work while they exist, but their existence is contingent upon some social leader's enthusiasm and the mortality rate among them is high. Their unstable organization is one of the things that makes a definite check of little theatres practically impossible. Other groups are genuine in their interests but their leaders lack knowledge and experience of the theatre, and in consequence their programs are amateurish. For these a great service is rendered by the little theatre tournaments now held in many states. These competitions serve as schools of experience, and are the means of establishing standards. In the minority are those groups which really understand the point of a little theatre's existence in a community and which have experience and means enough to produce plays well.

Everyone has his own notion of which theatres belong in this small top group, and at best all estimates are but arbitrary and personal. Nevertheless, it is interesting to read the opinion of such an authoritative writer about the little theatre as Kenneth MacGowan. In his book, *Footlights Across America*, he gives his selection of "Thirty-five Leading Little Theatres." Among this number nine are southern theatres. They are the little theatres of Birmingham, Alabama; Chattanooga, Tennessee; Dallas, Texas; Fort Worth, Texas; Galveston, Texas; New Orleans, Louisiana; Memphis, Tennessee; San Antonio, Texas; and Shreveport, Louisiana.

Of these, the reputations of two are universally acknowledged. The Dallas Little Theatre won the recognition of the country for excellent performance by its successful competition for the David Belasco Cup for three consecutive years. Le Petit Théâtre du Vieux Carré, of New Orleans, is famous both for its good performances and for its atmospheric charm. The theatre consists of a complete new structure in a group of old buildings surrounding a patio in the heart of the French Quarter, and in consequence unites with every modern facility a picturesqueness that is a great distinction.

The dramatic activity going on within our American universities today is of extraordinary extent. It has been estimated that one hundred and fifty American universities and colleges include courses in the production of plays in the curriculum.

In the South the idea has still to take root, but some colleges have established such courses, and one southern university is in the vanguard of the whole movement. The Carolina Playmakers of the University of North Carolina have been writing plays, acting plays,

and producing plays themselves. Under the stimulus of Frederick H. Koch they are yearly finding rich sources of drama in the life and history of the North Carolina people. The several published volumes of *Carolina Folk Plays*, the work of the Carolina Playmakers, show the degree to which they have developed creative and dramatic abilities. Obviously not every play written by them is a masterpiece. In their direct presentation of life about them they often strike depths of tragedy, and sometimes they merely transcribe scenes that are sordidly real. Also the one-act play is not the only or the greatest dramatic vehicle, and the work of the Carolina Playmakers is largely restricted to this form. But perfection can not be demanded of anything and the Playmakers are, moreover, a student group. The ideas that animate the group are genuinely great ones and through their work they are making distinctive, creative contributions to the drama and the drama movement in America, which are not surpassed by the contributions of any other group.

The University of Virginia and the University of Louisville are two other southern universities that have organized dramatic departments of the new kind. The University of South Carolina is a third recent addition to the small southern group. The Palmetto Players of the University of South Carolina were organized in 1929, with the intention of doing a work for this state similar to that done in North Carolina, by the utilization and dramatization of material of state interest.

In the final analysis, however, the greatest product of university dramatic courses in general will probably be found to be the excellent teachers they are sending to direct the dramatic activities of the high schools. About seventy-five per cent of the university dramatic students go to work in the high schools. Their increasing numbers during the past five years have brought about a tremendous change in high school dramatics. Dramatic activities are now recognized by most progressive educators as important factors in the educational process, as tremendous aids in developing social qualities among boys and girls. In consequence, real classes in the production of plays, where actors, designers, and managers are trained, are being substituted for the old sporadic activities. These classes are among the most important experiments being undertaken in line with our new national vision of education for leisure.

The extent to which the South has entered into this work can be judged by tables included in a thesis written by Dina Reese Evans of the University of Iowa, and embodied in Kenneth MacGowan's *Footlights Across America*. One table is concerned with high schools offering courses in play production. The country is divided into nine

sections. The states in which we are interested fall into three sections : West South Central, East South Central, South Atlantic. The table shows that the Far West and the Middle West easily lead the country in this activity. The Southwest section ranks fourth in activity ; the East South Central and South Atlantic sections rank seventh and eighth ; New England winds up the list by ranking ninth. While the Southwest, which includes Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, is thus found in the first half with a good rating for activity, the rest of the South seems slow in taking up this work.

The extent of the interest in drama in the South can nowhere be better gauged than on the city playgrounds. Practically every large city employs a dramatic director of playgrounds, and every playground director carries on an extensive activity in plays, play-writing contests, play-acting tournaments and pageants during the year. Pageants are the dramatic form most keenly delighted in as they afford acting opportunities for the greatest number and also provide the biggest spectacle for the audience. Play-ground acting is, of course, still handicapped by crude provisions for production, but more cities are every year realizing its value and are providing better working arrangements.

While southern interest in the production of plays is impressive, the most important thing of all in regard to drama in the South is the fact that the South is actually producing playwrights. Everyone knows the powerful play that has recently grown out of the mountain life of North Carolina, *Sun Up* by Lula Vollmer, and the pathetic dramatization of Negro character, *Porgy* by DuBose Heyward. These two southern playwrights are internationally recognized.

Most interesting in connection with this survey are the playwrights that have come into being through the impetus of the little theatre movement. There is John William Rogers of Dallas, Texas, whose play *Judge Lynch* was first made public through a play writing contest conducted by the Green Mask Players of Houston, Texas, in which it won the prize. Later, in 1924, *Judge Lynch* was adopted as the first vehicle by which the Dallas Little Theatre entered the National Little Theatre Tournament, and with it the group carried away the coveted Belasco Cup. There is also Kathleen Witherspoon of Dallas, Texas, whose play *Jute* was given presentation by the Oak Cliff Little Theatre of Dallas, and won for the theatre and the author wide recognition. A play of Negro life, *Jute* was subsequently produced by the Dallas Negro Players at their community theatre with remarkable power and beauty.

In number and quality of playwrights produced no southern

theatre, however, has equalled that of the Carolina Playmakers of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Frederick Koch has brought forth playwrights in North Carolina with amazing skill. Of them all Paul Green is the most celebrated. *Blackbeard*, *The No 'Count Boy*, *In Abraham's Bosom*, *The Field God*, and *The House of Connolly* are among his achievements.

That little theatres everywhere are realizing that the encouragement of play writing is as much a part of their responsibility as play producing is seen by the number of little theatres that are conducting play-writing contests. The New Orleans Petit Théâtre du Vieux Carré, the Augusta, Georgia, Little Theatre League, the Lynchburg, Virginia, Little Theatre, are among the many southern theatres active in this regard.

From all this interest in plays, their writing, their acting, their production, something fine and permanent should certainly come. Drama seems to be the form of art in which the South most effectively participates. The explanation may lie in the fact that the South entered the drama movement simultaneously and equally with the other sections of the country, and in consequence has no established feeling of inferiority to discourage its activity. The South rather complacently sits back and is reconciled to being almost out of other artistic activities. Such excuses as lack of money for fine buildings and remoteness as an obstacle in attracting musicians are ready from constant use. The South has been out of the running in these matters for so long that its backwardness in regard to them does not really dampen its self-satisfaction. But the little theatre movement is another thing. There is no reason why the South can not have as good little theatres as any other section of the country. Money is not a necessity; remoteness is of no consequence. All that is required for success is local talent, intellect, and pride. In consequence, it would seem that the South, unchecked by any sense of handicap, has entered the competition in this field with enthusiasm, has fully supplied its quota of little theatres, and has developed its share of fine ones.

THE HANDICRAFTS

BY ALLEN H. EATON

RANKING HIGH in the records of art achievement among the schools of the nation stands the H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College for Women, a part of Tulane University of Louisiana at New Orleans. Newcomb College, as it is familiarly known, was established in 1886 as a memorial to her daughter, whose name it bears, by Mrs. Josephine Louise Newcomb of New York City through a donation to the Tulane Educational Fund of \$100,000, "to be used in establishing the H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College in Tulane University of Louisiana for the higher education of white girls and young women." Mrs. Newcomb's husband, Warren Newcomb, had been a sugar merchant in New Orleans, and in her letter of gift Mrs. Newcomb expressed "a deep personal sympathy with the people of New Orleans and a strong desire to advance the cause of female education in Louisiana." While she expressed her unqualified confidence in the administrators, saying "I do not mean . . . to impose upon you restrictions which will allow the intervention of any person or persons to control, regulate, or interfere with your disposition of the fund which is committed solely to your care and discretion with entire confidence in your fidelity and wisdom," yet she did make the request "that the education given shall look to the practical side of life as well as to literary excellence."

Mrs. Newcomb's interest in this college, planned to give women something like equal opportunities with men, grew from the date of the original grant in 1886 to her death in 1901, and she added further bequests amounting to about \$2,700,000. It is the Art School of Newcomb College which has probably given the institution its greatest fame and which has established its high character among the schools of the nation and its reputation throughout the educational world.

The art expression of Newcomb College of which the handicrafts are the essential part is due more than anything else to the continuous

devotion and practical energy of Ellsworth Woodward. Until his recent retirement he had been the director of the School of Art since its establishment, and his was the guiding spirit even before it opened its doors when he was working and planning for it.

In describing the pioneer efforts with the handicrafts, Mr. Woodward reports, "Across Lake Pontchartrain we found excellent ceramic earth; of course it did not freeze as in the North. A building was fitted up on the old campus downtown, a workman hired, and Newcomb pottery had begun. In this country only Rookwood is older; its start was a little earlier the same year. There seems to have been a spontaneous combustion of kindred minds."

The story of the development of the Newcomb experiment can perhaps be best and briefly told in the words of the regular announcement concerning Newcomb pottery: "Newcomb College through its school of art was among the first to realize that it must abandon the exclusive, traditional course in 'Fine Art' which prepared students for a service for which the community had small desire and which it would but meanly support, and to add such courses of study as lead to application of art to industrial need. To meet this need, felt rather than understood by industry itself, in such a way as to gain active co-operation from the public was the problem, a problem with special difficulties when undertaken in a city which at that time was little more than a commercial port for a vast agricultural region. If no industry stood ready to use the skill of a trained designer there was no inducement to study. If no one saw inducement to study the æsthetic deadlock continued unbroken. However, education and progress demanded a change and the Art School undertook an experiment with pottery as the object lesson. To keep the lesson on a going and developing basis the workers must needs find it profitable and so the College came to paying for the product and shouldering the responsibility of disposing of it."

Thus Newcomb pottery came into being to serve one of the greatest of present-day needs in America—the need of refinement of taste and manners and a better understanding of the spiritual as well as the economic value of beauty.

Pottery is the oldest and perhaps the best known of the handicraft products of Newcomb College, but there are others of equal quality and interest, including embroidery and other forms of needlework, jewelry and metal work, book binding and leather work. Striving for perfection separately but combining the crafts harmoniously where combinations are possible, Newcomb handicrafts have achieved distinction, and at the Panama-Pacific International Ex-

position at San Francisco received the grand prize for the arts and crafts among all entries.

The plan which Mr. Woodward developed and which has been carried out in the practice of all the handicrafts has been the application of local motifs to pottery, needlework, metal work, jewelry, and often to leather and other material used in book binding. Louisiana is rich in its plants, especially in its trees and wild flowers. There is that most picturesque of American trees, the live oak, often with its branches covered with Spanish moss. There are also palms and chinaberry trees, and there are over sixty varieties of wild iris. Many of these have been permanently recorded as motifs on the products of Newcomb College.

Not only was the ceramic development achieved from native clay, but all the decorations for it are derived from native motifs, thus giving every product an individual and indigenous character that has been largely responsible for the fame of these handicrafts. The clay is found in St. Tammany Parish; the designers are southern women educated in the Newcomb School of Art; and the decorations are inspired by the rich material in the land of the orange and palm, the magnolia and jasmine, the bearded cypress, the noble oak and stately yellow pine. These motifs had hitherto been little used in American art, inasmuch as art study and practice had been generally confined to the northern latitudes.

The glaze of the pottery is distinctive, representing a union of chemical theory and practice confined in both body and glaze to Louisiana. It is not likely that the same effects could be secured in any other locality because of the variation in quality of materials used. Although a variety of effects has been achieved, the standard glaze which characterizes the ware is a semi-transparent matte, giving to the under-painting the effect of being seen through a morning mist.

In the making of Newcomb pottery the design is generally drawn with a soft pencil on the stiffening clay vessel and then incised with a steel modeling tool. When finished it has the effect of low relief modeling. The piece is then burned and returned to the decorator, who applies the color with a brush over the modeled design. The general color effect, which might be called the standard color of Newcomb pottery, is a combination of blue and green, although there are contrasting touches of yellow, pink, and white. The ware is hand thrown, which not only gives the artist an opportunity for expression on each piece but also makes each one individual and goes far to assure a product of proportion and grace. The sources of the designs, the originality and high craftsmanship of the articles,

and the painstaking work and skill of the chemists combine to create a unique result.

The distinguishing value in Newcomb embroidery is not found in intricate and difficult stitches but in its design and color, and in the selecting from nature of those motifs which have essential qualities of beauty and which are typical and characteristic of the region. Especial attention is given to the texture of the woven background of embroidery, its strength and its durability, as well as the unfading quality of dyes of the silk thread used on the linen. It is worthy needlework. It includes not only runners and center pieces but special designs for dinner service and wall hangings, as well as church embroidery, vestments, and altar hangings. All Newcomb embroidery will be found marked with the college monogram, which implies that the article has been approved as to its artistic quality and workmanship.

As far as is practicable the art objects in metal and leather reflect the principles referred to in connection with pottery and embroidery. The metal work includes pieces of the minutest designs in jewelry to especially planned sets of silver communion ware. The book binding includes anything from the smallest volume to complete sets. But each and every one is an expression of careful design and execution worthy of the Newcomb traditions.

So much for this indigenous art product. Why is it that the work has continued, improved, and in a modest but very real sense prospered in these nearly twenty-five years? The enterprise has prospered on the whole—indeed, when one reflects that it is a studio business and not a factory, one may say that it has prospered greatly. It has received honors at all the international expositions since 1900. Disinterested critics have pronounced it the best decorated of American pottery and the most American. It is distributed through upwards of fifty odd agencies widely separated. Incidentally, some artists are making a living through it who would in all probability not otherwise be art producers at all. The important consideration is, however, that in this undertaking the public should see, not a commercial enterprise but a laboratory and studio experiment in bringing art and manufacture together on terms of mutual respect and interdependence.

DEVELOPMENT OF HANDICRAFTS IN THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

THE SOUTHERN Highland region has come to be perhaps the most important source of handicraft products in our country. This region, including roughly the mountain sections of Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, and northern Ala-

bama, has continued longer than any other section the practice of hand weaving, basket-making, furniture making and other crafts conducted on a domestic basis. Long after the machine products of northern factories had displaced the articles which for generations had been made on the farms of the North and Middle West, people in the mountains of the southern states continued to make many of these things at home by hand ; even now far back in the mountains many things are yet made by hand and of local materials.

While weaving is quite widely practiced throughout these mountains, it is largely on new looms and of new objects which as a rule are for sale outside the mountains. Here and there one will find families which have kept the weaving tradition unbroken from the old days until now. For instance, in Russellville, Tennessee, Sarah Dougherty, of The Shuttle-Crafters, and her sisters recently had an exhibition of five generations of work from the family looms. Mary Anderson of Berea, who continues to weave the old Kentucky coverlets, came down from the mountains twenty-five years ago to help with the weaving at Berea College. She and her sister had learned to weave from her mother, who died when Mary was ten years old. These two daughters wove all the cloth for the clothes of their eight brothers until they left the mountains. Mrs. Finley Mast of Valle Crucis, North Carolina, and her sister are still weaving on old family looms in the cabin built by the grandfather of her husband in 1827. In this cabin is an old hand spun and hand woven man's suit, a gay one too, a blue coat, white and blue vest, and white checkered trousers, done by Mr. Mast's great-grandmother early in the nineteenth century.

Spinning is less common than weaving in the old mountain families, for when the "fotched on" yarn was secured and used on many a loom, mountain spinning was generally discontinued. But it was not so long ago that wool and linen were extensively spun for clothes, coverlets, curtains, towels, and what not, and in the lower lands where cotton could be raised it was also spun and made into cloth. Mrs. W. B. Thompson of Bryson City, North Carolina, has recently completed a French knot candlewick bedspread done on cotton cloth spun and woven by her mother-in-law, Mrs. Rhoda Hyde, who lives down on the Little Tennessee River. Near Pine Mountain, Kentucky, lives Mrs. Ophia Jackson, who has a striped blanket which is entirely the result of her own labor. The wool in it she sheared and carded ; then she spun it into yarn and dyed it of vegetable mixtures, the blue of indigo, the rose of madder, and wove it on an old mountain loom after a striped pattern of her own design.

Other mountain crafts which have continued more commonly even than weaving are basketry, broom tying, and chair making. City people who have their goods delivered will never understand the importance of baskets to country folk and especially to mountain people, but it is not too much to say that there is no more useful household article in the mountain cabin than the basket, used to hold so many things and tote others from house to house or between house and store. And of course in the early days baskets were put to many uses of one kind or another which have long since been forgotten. For instance, some baskets were woven with accurate and fine meshes for sifting flour; others, for winnowing wheat, rye, oats, and other grains, were so woven that the seeds would fall through the meshes while the chaff and rough material would remain in the basket. Other baskets were so closely woven that they would hold clover seed. Similar baskets were used in New England and other parts of the country in the early days, but like many other necessities, they were supplanted long ago by machine-made substitutes.

There is even now in several mountain sections at least one old-time craftsman making the kind of baskets that have been used for generations in his section. He may sell a few directly to people passing through, but usually his market is the neighbor or the nearest general store, where he will trade them in for supplies to the storekeeper who finds more or less of a steady local demand for them. These baskets vary in size and quality of craftsmanship and some have nails and tacks in them; but here and there one finds a basket maker who has a real feeling for the materials he works with and takes a pride in constructing his baskets, ingeniously fastening the joints and other places where the strain often comes by notching, splitting, and back weaving. Such a basket maker lives near Oldrag, Virginia. He makes a nest of round baskets which fit carefully one within another.

There is a great variety of baskets made in the southern mountains; several of them are native shapes but many have been suggested by the settlement workers and others to meet demands outside the mountains. In spite of the fact that there are many "store made baskets" done in America, Germany, Japan, and other countries, the utilitarian mountain-made basket has not as a rule been displaced by these factory products, and if a little encouragement is given the younger people in the mountains to continue this work, there is no reason why this small home industry should not survive for a long time to come. Baskets are necessities in every household, and many of the mountain types of baskets are practical in

shape, are strong, light in weight, good looking and are inexpensive.

Mountain baskets are made from many materials. Perhaps the white oak splits are the commonest, but willow, honeysuckle, the inner bark of pine, hickory splits and hickory bark, hazel, corn-stalks, cane, rye, and wheat straw are among other things used. The typical mountain basket is white and becomes mellowed by a combination of time, smoke, and earth, but sometimes the new ones are dyed from native walnut, butternut, and hickory nut hulls and other indigenous coloring material.

Before we leave the subject of mountain baskets, mention might be made of an old pioneer custom which seems in a way related to basketry, utilizing as it does small shavings of wood in a very practical way. One evening on a trip through the mountains of North Carolina and Georgia we stopped at dusk at a most attractive old cabin, the main part of which had been built over half a century ago and to which another room, or "house" as it is called by the mountaineer, had been added in recent years. The front door yard was fragrant with the spicy smell of pinks, a great double row of them, and other old fashioned flowers. As we stepped into the big room of the old house we saw beside the fireplace a pile of beautiful, smooth, fresh, sweet smelling shavings. The mother, now past eighty-two years old, sat by the fireplace pulling these shavings off a two or three inch stick perhaps twenty inches long. When asked what they were for she said, "They are my feather bed." She explained that the shavings were used to stuff mattresses, just as years ago on the farms and perhaps even now in some places mattresses are filled annually with new clean wheat straw. But these shavings were much better than wheat straw, the old lady explained, for they were more springy, did not pack down as much, they could be more easily stirred, and "the witch hazel does smell so sweet." This seems to have been an old practice in these mountains, for this family had known of it "allus" and when fifty-five years ago this woman came as a bride to settle in this part of the Highlands and camped out while she and her husband built their cabin, she had made their first "feather" bed of this material. In those days she had also made the cloth in the mattress, for there was little that they could buy from the store, which was a long journey away. They had also woven all the cloth they used for clothing, and she told how in the evenings before the fireplace where she was now sitting she had taught her oldest boy and oldest girl to spin woolen yarn and linen thread and how on each side of the fireplace with their separate spinning wheels these two children would work far into the night so that the mother might have enough yarn and thread to keep

her weaving throughout the next day. But this was in the old days, and although her daughter still worked on the old loom and her daughter-in-law spun wool on the old spinning wheel, yet most of such things now came in from the stores or were ordered through the "wish books," that is, the catalogues of Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward.

In many mountain homes there has never been a store broom, and even where they have come in there still remain hearth and other small brooms made on the premises or by some neighbor from home grown corn, for these small household tools are too handy to do without. The mountain brooms, like the mountain baskets, have undergone many changes in form, variety of handles, and coloring of straw and wrapping materials, as they have been fashioned to meet the widening demand for hearth brooms outside the mountains. Many hundreds, perhaps thousands of these have gone out to hearths in all parts of the country from Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia. While broom making was perhaps never the industry in the mountains that basket making has been, yet there have always been some mountain people who did a good deal of this work and sometimes families have been famous for it. "Broom Tying Willie" is one of the principal broom makers for the Pi Beta Phi Arrowcraft Shop at Gatlinburg, Tennessee. He has another name, but few are familiar with it and there is no reason for giving it here. "Broom Tying Willie" is said to have been taught his craft by an Indian in the Great Smoky Mountains and he does it just as he was taught, one of the characteristic features of his broom being a crook in the handle by which it can be hung on the wall.

Broom corn is of course raised in all parts of the mountains, cut and cured usually by the broom makers themselves. The variety of brooms comes from the way the broom corn is tied, from the varying types of handles, the different colors that are used to dye the straw, and the kinds of materials used for tying the corn. Recently the John C. Campbell Folk School has achieved an unusual and beautiful effect by curing the broom corn seeds on the straw and making a round broom which contains the attractive seed pods in such a way that they hold quite permanently. In order to keep the seed from shattering, the corn must be cut at a certain stage in its growth, and it is not possible to catch it at the right time every year. The brooms from the Virginia mountains are often wrapped with hickory bark colored with the dark brown stain from walnut hulls. Some of those from Pine Mountain and Berea have wooden handles usually shaped by turning or carving the native walnut

wood. An old broom maker near Higgins, North Carolina, gets most of his expression in the handle formed from the limb of the native willow. He cuts a spiral strip out of the stick handle, then dips it in dye usually made from walnut hulls. This gives the exposed part, where the strip of willow bark has been removed, a dark color. Then later on he strips the remainder of the bark off, thus leaving a pattern of wide light and narrow dark lines. This is his own discovery and so far no one seems to have copied it.

The brooms thus roughly described are mainly those made by mountain people, though some of the designs for the handles at Pine Mountain and Berea have been worked out by the students and are usually done by them. There is at Berea a modern broom factory where many of the boy students are able to earn their way through school, but this is a regular commercial broom such as one sees in the city stores and should not be confused with these hearth brooms which are a mountain product and some of which have been made in the same way for generations.

Furniture, especially chairs and stools, is still made in several parts of the mountains. It is probably true that most of the isolated craftsmen who make chairs can still sell them at a lower price than the factory with its machines and overhead. Partly because of this fact they are still much used in the mountain homes. But even if they should cost more, these chairs are usually much preferred to many of the "fotched on" variety because they are more comfortable to sit on and are also more sturdy. They are of course much more appropriate for mountain homes, and in the John C. Campbell Folk School and other places where they are used in meeting halls they present a very attractive appearance and stand hard wear.

Mountain chairs are made of various materials, maple and hickory being favorite woods, and they are put together in a most ingenious way by the old chair makers so that pegs and nails are not needed to hold them. This is accomplished by using a dry wood for the rounds and slats of the back, and a green wood, usually hickory or maple, for the frame. The green wood of the frame, as it dries, will shrink and tighten so thoroughly on the end of the dry rungs that it will "hold 'em fast." Chairs made this way last many years and when in addition to the rounds or rungs the slats in the backs are carefully fitted, the chair will be still longer lived. Some of these chairs are in good condition after more than thirty years of constant use.

Chairs are made in several sizes, both "settin'" and "rockers," and with some variation in materials; the light colored woods, maple, hickory and oak are most common, but often walnut is used

and sometimes ash, cherry, and mulberry for the frames and rounds. The seats are of hickory bark, white oak splits, corn husks, or reeds. The posts are made on a handmade lathe and the rungs are usually shaped with a drawing knife. The extension of the legs above the seat is bent or bowed by wetting, sometimes steaming, and bending the posts in a simple vise. The bending and shaping of the cross slats to fit the back help to make the chair very comfortable.

The chairs are usually made in an open shop or shed with a roof to keep rain or sun off, and in the winter the work is sometimes brought into the house. A drawing knife and a pocket knife are the main tools. Sometimes the workman will have a lathe in which he will turn the posts and even the rounds. This lathe is usually hand-operated by boy or girl power. One of these outdoor shops, without a lathe equipment, will always be remembered for its simplicity and picturesqueness. It was discovered one autumn in a little clearing in the woods with all the materials growing close by that would be needed for chair making. In the open space was the drawing horse, a kind of frame arrangement consisting of a long light log held up at one end with two round stakes spraddled out. There was a home-made vise in which the chair maker could, by pressing down with his foot, hold the piece of wood in place while he shaped it with his drawing knife. All of this was interesting, but it was the beauty of this outdoor shop which marked it apart from others. All over the twenty-foot circle were strewn brilliant autumn leaves of a variety found only in the Appalachian Mountains, every shade of yellow and brown and red, and around the edges of the golden carpet were deep blue gentians in bloom.

Basket making, broom tying, and chair making are usually practiced by the men, but there are two divisions of women's work which have marked the life of the mountains from the earliest days, namely, the making of coverlets and patch work quilts. Although some reference has already been made to weaving as one of the old mountain crafts, something more should be said here. While modern high-powered looms have been employed in the city to fashion imitations of the mountain coverlets and exact copies of the designs have been made and sold to the public for a fraction of the price which the handloom coverlets must bring, yet there is altogether a considerable number of weavers who still make and sell coverlets done in the old-fashioned way. Some of these are old weavers, but some are younger women, and this gives the promise that the mountain coverlet will continue to be made and prized for years to come. There are many patterns in which coverlets have been made in the southern mountains for generations past, some of the most popular being

“Saint Anne’s Robe,” “Governor’s Garden,” “Flowers of Edinboro,” “Braddock’s Defeat,” “Boney Part’s March,” and “Whig Rose.”¹

The coverlet is perhaps the most prized of any of the pioneer mountain women’s work. It was developed when almost all and, in some cases, all of the things which people wore and used in textiles were manufactured in the home. It was true that the coverlet came to us from England, Scotland, and Ireland, yet many of the patterns were undoubtedly worked out here. Coverlets were made by the mountain mother against the day that the children both sons and daughters, should set out for themselves, and it is not uncommon now to see piled up in the mountain-cabin cupboards, coverlets and quilts which were made to be ready when the children leave home. Recently, when I was on a visit to Chunky Gal Mountain, Clay County, North Carolina, an old lady explained to me that they did not see how they could raise the money to pay the taxes on the home place this year, and if they could not they would have to give it up. When asked if she would care to sell any of the coverlets in the three cupboards that were filled with them, she made it clear that these were being kept for the children and nothing would induce her to part with them. There is no object in the mountain household to which so much deep sentiment is attached. All the care and the affection bestowed on the old-world dower chest, with its greater variety of articles, go into these old-time coverlets which are piled up one by one in the cupboard, if there happens to be one, or if not, in the corner of the living room or up in the loft, until the time when the sons and daughters of the household leave the old home. Ann Cobb, of Hindman Settlement, Kentucky, appreciates the old-time things of the mountains and the sentiments of the people among whom she lived, as many others do but as few can express. In her book of verse, *Kinfolks*, Miss Cobb wrote :

KIVERS²

Yes, I’ve sev’ral kivers you can see ;
 ‘Light and hitch your beastie in the shade!
 I don’t foller weaving now so free,
 And all my purtiest ones my forbears made.
 Home-dyed colors kindly meller down
 Better than these new fatched-on ones from town.

¹ Frances L. Goodrich, *Mountain Homespun*.

² In the Kentucky Mountains for generations the chief outlet for the artistic sense of the women has been the weaving of woolen coverlets, many of them of elaborate pattern and rare beauty.

I ricollect my granny at the loom
 Weaving that blue one yonder on the bed.
 She put the shuttle by and laid in tomb.
 Her word was I could claim hit when I wed.
 "Flower of Edinboro" was hits name,
 Betokening the land from which she came.

Nary a daughter have I for the boon,
 But there's my son's wife from the level land,
 She took the night with us at harvest-moon—
 A comely, fair young maid, with loving hand.
 I gave her three—"Sunrise" and "Trailing Vine"
 And "Young Man's Fancy." She admired 'em fine.

That green one mostly 'wrops around the bread ;
 "Tennessee Lace" I take to ride behind.
 Hither and yon right smart of them have fled.
 Inside the chest I keep my choicest kind—
 "Pine-Bloom" and "St. Ann's Robe" (of hickory brown)
 "Star of the East" (that yaller's fading down!)

The Rose? I wove hit courting, long ago—
 Not Simon, though he's proper kind of heart—
His name was Hugh—the fever laid him low—
 I allus keep that kiver set apart.
 "Rose of the Valley," he would laugh and say,
 "The kiver's favoring your face today!"

Another "old timey" practice still kept up by the women in many parts of the mountains is the making of patchwork quilts. Although some of the old designs run back to England and Scotland and others to the colonies in America, now and then one sees or hears of a design so original that it should be recorded as evidence of the creative urge in people everywhere. There is a quilt maker in Ware's Valley, Tennessee, who will never do two alike if she can help it, and who gets her "idees" from the wild flowers and from her own garden, using the gayest of colors on white and often freeing herself from nature's restrictions, as, for instance, doing a blue rose whenever needed to complete a color harmony that calls for it. Then there is the moon and star quilt, done by Grandma Holcomb in the mountains of northern Georgia. Grandma Holcomb had no books of designs or museums to which she could go for inspiration, but she did have the old family cabin with its one window near the fireplace, and out of his narrow little window she watched the moon and stars night after night and finally decided to get her quilt pat-

tern from the heavens. So she waited until the evening star was about to pass the moon and she made drawings of this at different intervals, and this record of the heavens she set down in her patchwork quilt. The quilt, still in existence, is described in the words of her granddaughter as follows: "Two rows of the 'moon and star' are white, the center row is orange color, the ground color is medium blue." It would be interesting to know on what material Grandma Holcomb made her drawing, for pencil and paper were not common then in the mountains and slates and pencils were not used in the schools if there were any in this section at the time. Likely the drawing was made with charcoal on a white oak slab, which when thoroughly filled would be cleaned up by taking a thin shaving off with the drawing knife.

PRESENT DAY PRACTICE OF THE HANDICRAFTS

WHILE NO ATTEMPT has been made here to describe all the old-time things which are still made and treasured in the mountains, perhaps enough has been said to indicate that all of these have not been lost or forgotten. But measured in terms of output and often of popularity there are many products of the present day which should be referred to now, for the recent great stimulus to the handicrafts in the mountains has come through those people who have established schools or settlements or who have otherwise worked out plans to co-operate with the mountain people in both the making and the marketing of their products. The last few years have seen a remarkable development in the handicrafts of the mountain region, and the most promising co-operative step that has been taken is the establishment of the Southern Mountain Handicraft Guild, which now includes in its membership the most important producing handicraft centers in the Southern Highland region.

The Southern Mountain Handicraft Guild grew out of a small meeting held in the Weavers Cabin at Penland, North Carolina, December 29, 1928. There were present representatives of Berea College, the John C. Campbell Folk School, Allanstand Cottage Industries, Spinning Wheel, Cedar Creek Community Center, Penland Weavers and Potters, Crossnore School, and one or two other interested persons, including the writer of this chapter. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the possibility of forming some kind of co-operative organization among those interested in the handicrafts of the Southern Highlands which might do what the individual centers could not do for themselves. It was a conservative group and the dominant thought was that nothing should be done to destroy or discourage the individuality of any center or of any worker, that

copying and duplicating would be discouraged, and that the effort would be made to find ways in which the several centers throughout the region could raise the standard of their products, expand their markets, and generally work out their problems together. The greatest tribute to the vision of those who gathered at Penland on this winter day of 1928 is the fact that the organization now includes in its membership practically every important producing center in the mountain region and has its own salesroom at Asheville, North Carolina. The second meeting of this group was held at the Spinning Wheel at Beaver Lake, North Carolina, the third at the John C. Campbell Folk School at Brasstown, North Carolina, then at Pi Beta Phi's Arrowcraft Shop in Gatlinburg, Tennessee. The next meeting will be at Pine Mountain Settlement School, Pine Mountain, Kentucky. Several meetings have been held in connection with the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers at Knoxville, Tennessee.

The Weavers Cabin deserves mention in passing not only because it was here that the Handicraft Guild had its beginning but on its own account. Within a radius of twenty miles of Penland there are about forty mountain homes in which there is at least one loom and in some two. These are poor people to whom the home industry of weaving means much. No one would think it possible for them to put up a building, so slender are their financial resources, but when the idea of having a central meeting place was brought up they each did something toward it, and the Weavers Cabin was the result. Few could give any money for such a purpose, but all could and did give rough material and work. One family gave one log, others as many as four and five. A nearby neighbor gave the stone for the fireplace and another did the work on it. The cabin is not only a place where the weavers come to get materials and to receive instruction for their weaving, but also a social center for the community for forty miles around, an extraordinary example of what people of very small means can do when working together with a common interest.

The Southern Mountain Handicraft Guild includes, as this chapter goes to press, September 1933, the following handicraft centers in its membership :

Allanstand Cottage Industries, 6 Government Street, Asheville, N. C.

Asheville Normal School, Asheville, N. C.

Associate Missions of South West Virginia, Bluefield, W. Va.

Berea College Fireside Industries, Berea, Ky.

Berea College Woodwork, Berea, Ky.

Blue Ridge Industrial School, Bris, Virginia.
Carr Creek Crafts, Carr Creek, Ky.
Crossnore School, Crossnore, N. C.
Dorland-Bell School, Hot Springs, N. C.
Henderson Settlement School, Linda, Ky.
Hindman Settlement School, Hindman, Ky.
Homeplace, Ary, Perry County, Ky.
John C. Campbell Folk School, Brasstown, N. C.
Matheny Weavers, Berea, Ky.
Penland Weavers and Potters, Penland, N. C.
Pi Beta Phi Settlement School, Gatlinburg, Tenn.
Pine Mountain Settlement School, Pine Mountain, Ky.
Pleasant Hill Community Crafts, Pleasant Hill, Tenn.
St. John's-in-the-Mountains, Endicott, Va.
Tallulah Falls Industrial School, Tallulah Falls, Ga. (Withdrew from Guild July 6, 1932.)
The John and Mary R. Markle School of Industrial Arts, Higgins, N. C.
The Shuttle-Crafters, Russellville, Tenn.
The Spinning Wheel, Asheville, N. C.
The Weave Shop, Saluda, N. C.
Wooton Fireside Industries, Wooton, Ky.
Tryon Toy-Makers, Tryon, N. C.
Mountain Neighbors, Oldrag, Va.
Mountain Cabin Quilters, Carr Creek, Ky.
Pisgah Forest Pottery, Mt. Pisgah, West Asheville, N. C.

The above list includes both schools and other organizations where articles are made, including such old-time objects as have already been referred to as well as more modern things adapted to the handicraft market. Both in variety and quantity the handicraft output of the Southern Highlands is much larger than is generally known. While not complete, yet some idea of this variety is given by a list of articles made and marketed by the members of the Handicraft Guild.

The objects are as follows : baskets of split oak, willow, honeysuckle, inner pine bark, corn stalks, and wheat straw, for waste paper, fruit, flowers, marketing, firewood, and other purposes ; bedsteads made of walnut, cherry, maple, ash, and oak, both finished and unfinished, from original designs and copies of mountain furniture and also early colonial furniture ; boxes turned from wood and joined with hinges and fitted lids ; plain and corn brooms, hearth, witch, and baby brooms, all from native grown broom straw, and

special brooms made from shavings of blue beech and hickory; candlesticks from manzaneta and other natural forms of wood, also turned from walnut, cherry, maple, and holly; chairs, stools, and benches from oak, ash, hickory, walnut, maple, and pine with seats made from corn husks, split oak, split hickory and hickory bark; coverlets and counterpanes, handwoven, many of them on looms that have been in the mountains for generations; dolls made from wood, corn husks, and rags, which include the maize family made at Allansand and the Kentucky poppets made at Homeplace, Ary, Kentucky, as well as other original designs in dolls from North Carolina and Virginia; fans made from feathers of the white goose, grey goose, turkey, and the peacock; lamps with pottery bases, gourd bases, turned wood, and from natural shaped manzaneta with wrought iron and copper shades lined with paper, mica, corn husks, raffia, and woven materials; door mats of corn husks both braided and fringed; metal work in iron, pewter, copper, including toasting forks, andirons, log roller poker, lanterns in iron; plates and bowls, creamers, teapots and trays in copper and pewter; napkin rings and spoons of wood and metal; pillow covers hand-woven, some filled with balsam needles; poppets from Kentucky—dolls with hair of sheep's wool or fur of native animals carved from native wood by a mountain woman; pottery vases, bowls, plates, cups and saucers, jam pots, lamp bases, etc.; quilts, patchwork, applique, with designs original and copied, and in many cases with special attention to quilting; rugs, hooked, braided, and woven, with both original and copied designs; sconces, wall brackets, book racks, book-ends, made from native walnut, cherry, and holly; screens of needlepoint and tapestry, stools of native woods; tables, large, extension, butterfly table, bedside, and medicine tables, made from walnut, cherry, maple, and other native hardwoods; tapestries woven for wall decoration, also for the decoration of small articles such as towels, bridge sets, luncheon sets and curtains; toys and toy furniture made of native pine, maple, walnut, manzaneta, cherry, and poplar; trays and other receptacles made of wood, both turned and joined, some times with carved decorations; wall hangings of various designs, including coverlets, some Swedish and some Mexican designs, and other original designs; woodcarving in walnut, maple, and holly; weaving in wool, linen, cotton, silk, and chenille, including blankets, table covers, mats, runners, scarves and shawls, baby robes, bridge sets, breakfast and luncheon sets, handbags and purses, curtain material, coats, dresses, smocks, hat bands and mittens, upholstering material, and many other useful articles; yarn carded and spun by hand and sometimes colored with native vegetable dyes.

Much of interest and significance in connection with southern handicrafts must be omitted entirely. There are in every southern state craftsmen whose names deserve to be mentioned, but to do so would require many pages of space, and so suggestion must take the place of description. For those who would like details about many of these craftsmen, much information can be had through the Southern States Art League, which includes a large number of men and women who make their living through the practice of or teaching of handicrafts, or both. The president of the League is Ellsworth Woodward, previously referred to in connection with Newcomb College at New Orleans.

There are among both Indians and whites considerable numbers who follow old traditions in the making of useful and beautiful things by hand. Among the Indians are the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Seminoles; among the whites are the Acadians of Louisiana, Americans of French blood who more than a hundred years ago were driven out of Canada and settled largely in Louisiana in the Teche country near New Iberia. Here were laid the scenes of Longfellow's *Evangeline*, in which the forebears of the present day Acadians took part. They are mostly farming people, many of them speaking the French language, and a few still do hand spinning and weaving. They make thread and weave blankets and other articles from a natural brown cotton called "handken" (nankeen) which they grow, the seeds of which were brought by the French from China and given to the Acadians more than a century ago. Information concerning the Acadians can be had from Miss Sarah McIlhenny of Avery Island, Louisiana, who has done much to encourage the continuation of their simple and useful handicrafts.

The activities of the United States Department of Agriculture in extension work throughout the southern states has resulted in a considerable recent output of home products, especially by rural women, and if figures were available they would probably show widespread practice of the handicrafts among farming people. This would include a considerable contribution by members of the boys and girls 4-H clubs, of which there are many in the southern region. To these should be added the practices of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, both of whom are giving more and more attention to manual skills and to the domestic arts.

In the piedmont section of North Carolina there are numerous potteries where old-time hand and foot processes are still practiced. Here the local clay is commonly used and it is ground by mule power. The pottery itself is usually formed on an old fashioned kick wheel. The main products have changed little in generations, the

churns, crocks, jugs, bowls, and jars still being made about as they have been as far back as the potters can remember. In some of these potteries very attractive objects are turned out to meet the modern demand. Perhaps the product best known to the general public is Jugtown Pottery, which has been fostered and directed by Mr. and Mrs. Jacques Busbee near Steeds, North Carolina. This quaint and attractive pottery has been described many times in newspaper and magazine articles and examples are to be found widely scattered throughout the country. Most of the pieces are made by hand, by country workmen of the neighborhood and usually in old-time shapes and glazes. A few very special forms of exceptional interest to the student of ceramics and to the collector, inspired by old Chinese pottery, have been developed by the Busbees, but the native Jugtown Pottery is best known to the public and it is this old-time product which they have done most to continue.

Other potteries in the piedmont region which deserve special mention for both form and color are Cole's Pottery near Seagrove and the Hilton Pottery at Hickory, both in North Carolina. Some of the most attractive glazes to be found in the South have been done at Cole's Pottery, where all the pieces are made by hand, most of them on the kick wheel, and where they are fired in old fashioned long arched kilns. Hilton Pottery also produces some special glazes including attractive combinations of grey and blue, and they do a good many small pieces to hold the jams and jellies put up by the farm women of the southern states. It is not possible here to refer to, much less describe, the many potteries of the piedmont region, the products of which are used widely in the South and occasional examples of which are to be found in other parts of the country. Several of these might properly be rated as small industries, but those referred to here and several others are clearly handicrafts in the meaning used in this chapter, all the work being done by hand except preparing the clay, which is usually mixed in a home-made grinding contrivance, the power being furnished by the family mule.

Mention should here be made of the work of two craftsmen in the mountain region who have achieved distinction as individual potters: O. L. Bachelder of the Omar Khayyam Art Pottery near Candler, North Carolina, and W. B. Stephens of Pisgah Forest Pottery near Asheville, North Carolina.

It is not always easy to draw a line between handicrafts and small industries of the rural sections, as the title of this article seems to require. For instance, in most of the smaller country potteries all the work is done by hand and the results are of course handicrafts in the broad sense, but for the purpose of this chapter a small in-

dustry has been classified as a handicraft only when special efforts are put forth to make the products artistic or as attractive as possible in addition to serving a useful purpose. This result may be achieved, as in the Omar Khayyam Pottery where Mr. Bachelder does all the work personally from the modelling to the firing, controlling the character of a piece from inception to completion. The same is true of the Mount Pisgah Forest Pottery made by Mr. Stephens. In the well known Jugtown Pottery, however, a number of workers take part and the desired results are achieved through the closest supervision over all workers by Jacques Busbee, who sees that old pieces are faithfully reproduced or new pieces carefully worked out by craftsmen whose names and personalities are not especially identified with their products. Then there are other potteries in which there are neither artists or craftsmen in the usual sense but in which people work out problems in their own easy-going ways, sometimes trying to please the public and sometimes doing something for the fun of it. Excellent examples of this type are Cole's Pottery and Hilton Pottery. There is still another type which for the want of a better description might be called "mountain pottery," in which only the local clays are used to fashion churns, crocks, jugs, pitchers, flower-pots, and other articles still much used in rural homes. These potters who turn out articles of everyday use are just everyday potters, yet their crude and practical wares have a fascination which tempts one to write about nothing else. There is a genuine quality about these backcountry utensils which can be felt only by those who know their relation to the simple life in the mountain sections where the old-fashioned dasher churn is still used to "bring" the butter and the crocks and clay milk-pans in which things are kept cool at the family spring differ little from those used everywhere a hundred years ago. It is difficult to refrain from describing in detail the Meaders' Pottery in the mountains in northwestern Georgia, where the whole family "makes things" and where the opening of the big kiln in which the seven children have placed their small hand products for firing is as exciting and happy an event as a Christmas morning.

* * *

Inadequate as the writer realizes this chapter to be in its description of the handicrafts of the South, it is hoped that it contains enough suggestions to invite the reader to explore for himself this mine of rural culture. Although machinery has made great inroads into some of the southern states, resulting in the development of stupendous industries, yet beyond these industrial cities and towns

and often not far from them are rural areas which have scarcely been affected by the industrial revolution except to contribute workers. Now as the urban population is feeling the pinch of depression, countless natives of the South are finding their way back to the country again and very many who left the highlands have returned to them. On the whole, this region will be the last of our great country to accept modern machinery, and there are vast areas where the quantity production salesman will be a long time in making an inroad. The mountain home especially is a base for man and mule power, with occasional exceptions where a swift dropping stream makes a water wheel possible; and, while this gift from nature is most frequently used for grinding corn, the universal mountain food crop for man and beast, sometimes it turns the lathe for a plain furniture maker or helps to convert some of the native wood into small articles of utility for sale. In a good many mountain cabins are now to be found modern hand power looms on which sometimes several members of the household weave articles for home use or to be sent to the market outside, as ways are found. In some of the pioneer homes old looms, for a long time abandoned, have been set up again and are being used to do some of the simpler weaving. The conditions for hand work are unique in many places and through the co-operation of schools, social settlements, and others interested, the Southern Highlands are developing into the most important reservoir of "fireside industries," as they are so happily, called, of any part of the United States.

The region with which this book deals, even though it includes some of the most important industrial developments in America, is on the whole a vast agricultural area, rich indeed in its handicraft heritage. When one thinks of the several types of people living in this great region, of their modes of work and traditions of life, one's great wish is that the importance of this variety be recognized and that these cultural strains be preserved to enrich American life. This conservation is something with which we are all concerned and we should count it a privilege to encourage those handicrafts which are indigenous to the South, the making of which adds much to the cultural as well as to the economic wealth of our nation.

THE FARMER AND HIS FUTURE

BY CLARENCE POE

THE SOUTHERN FARMER—what sort of man is he? And what sort of system does he follow?

Well, it is rather hard to generalize. There are so many different types. But perhaps it might be well to begin by considering two extremes.

For this purpose I should like for us to consider briefly an old North Carolina uncle of mine—Stephen P. Moore was his name—who was farming alongside my father on a 150-acre tract when this century came in and who furnished about the best illustration of perfectly self-contained “live at home” farming I have ever known; and a famous Texan whose 23,000-acre wheat ranch I visited a few months ago and who is an extreme illustration of the big-scale, mechanized, commercialized, “big business” farmer.

I

NOT MANY FARMERS nowadays of course live so independently of the outside world as did my Uncle Stephen. He was a vanishing type, a product of pioneer times. But his case is interesting both as a background for any discussion of present-day southern farming and for studying survivals of his practices.

Of course Uncle Stephen “raised his bread and meat,” as the country phrase has it. One of my earliest recollections is of an enormously big and long pile of his corn outside his barns (big enough for the breastworks of a modern army), the stars and glow-worms of a crisp October night, and happy-hearted neighbors gathered from miles around to help with his annual “corn shucking.” (Nobody in Chatham County ever said “husking.”) If Uncle Stephen ever bought a bushel of corn, I never heard of it. Or a bushel of wheat either. As the corn shucking was a great festival of the autumn season, so wheat-and-oat threshing was a festival of mid-summer. Strong men tanned by the sun, glowing with health, helped

one another at the work, enjoyed meals such as no modern hotel can surpass, and laughed and joked in rare good fellowship. For the community was a little democracy of small farmers where nobody was looked down upon and nobody looked up to—at least not for any reasons except those of character.

So Uncle Stephen made his own bread—"cornbread and biscuit and lightbread" as its three usual forms were called—and he also made his own meat. Hogs of course there were—hogs that fattened on home-grown corn until they were converted into the most delicious sausage and souse meat, hams and shoulders; but he also had home-raised beef and mutton at frequent intervals. And there were all manner of vegetables and old-fashioned herbs in a never-neglected garden, an abundance of milk and cream, poultry and eggs, and home-produced honey. One of my early memories is that of seeing him making sorghum syrup, a substitute for bought molasses. And only a few days ago I saw a still-unrotted timber in the old cider-press that provided him with sweet cider every summer. (A faithful deacon, he never let it get too hard, except so much as he wished changed into farm-produced vinegar.) He even grew his own tobacco and mixed it with dried fig leaves for smoking in a home-made pipe.

From wool he had sheared from the backs of his own sheep his wife wove the homespun in which he dressed; his hose, too, were of cotton or wool, home-carded, spun, and knitted. Blankets were obtained in exchange for wool from his sheep; beds were stuffed with feathers from the geese raised on his farm. An old fashioned "lye hopper" (I haven't seen one in twenty years) mixed its product with thriftily-conserved "soap grease" to provide "home-made soap" for all laundry work. He was his own carpenter and blacksmith, and for a time he and some neighbors, including my father, operated a grist mill and saw mill on the creek. The only tar kiln I remember seeing was his. Even light for night reading or work was largely home-produced "lightwood knots" such as lighted Lincoln's books for him as a boy. One gallon of kerosene lasted Uncle Stephen quite awhile. Chickens, eggs, and butter were exchanged at the village store for small necessities such as coffee, pepper, and salt; no money was ever offered for such things. A few bales of cotton each year paid taxes, doctors' bills, and other unavoidable expenses. He did not make his own coffin, as did another neighbor of ours long before death, but in no other respect do I recall that anyone surpassed Uncle Stephen as a "live at home farmer."

With such independence did he live and work, and yet he never seemed overworked or overly-hurried. He always found time for

his church meetings, the meetings of the Farmers' Alliance, Masonic meetings, public speakings, and the like, and no home that I have ever known dispensed a more delightful and unaffected hospitality. He was an almost ideal citizen—the salt of the earth—happy in creative activity, loving his home and his little domain, and ever seeking to improve it.

II

AND NOW LET us turn to another picture.

Recently I stood in a gigantic wheat farm on our Texas plains. The owner harvested 23,000 acres of wheat last year ; he told me he expected to harvest 30,000 this year. Under his direction are 22 gigantic combines and he declares 1,000 acres a day to be his standard unit in breaking, sowing, or reaping. So vast is the farm (or "wheat-growing factory" might be a better term) that it looked sometimes as if we had been lost in a golden ocean of wheat, and the humming combines to the right and to the left seemed like newly fashioned ships furiously plowing their ways across these strangely colored seas of grain!

Not content merely with the ordinary-sized tractor, this agricultural "captain of industry" now has several 60-horsepower tractors of a size formerly used only for big construction or highway purposes. Not content with making use of the latest model "combine" (one machine reaping the heads of the wheat and threshing them while it hurries along, tractor-driven, through the golden grain), he hitches two combines together—works them in shifts day and night when rushed—and calls for yet bigger combines and for still more powerful tractors, and probably would like to have more than twenty-four hours a day in which to keep his vast factory-farm producing! I heard that he sometimes flies by airplane over his vast holdings, pausing where he will to direct the operation of a crew. Five motorcycle riders carry messages for him or bring news from various fields. His commercial outlook is not only national but international ; the day I was there direct news from Russia gave him word of the wheat outlook in the far-away land of the Soviets.

I do not have any criticism of the gifted, cultured, and affable gentleman who directs all this vast enterprise. I am convinced that he feels he is rendering a real service to America and American agriculture. The day of the small farmer as the dominant factor in agriculture, he thinks, is over. Someone must pioneer and show the way to the most efficient Machine Age Mass Production in agriculture, just as Henry Ford has shown it in industry. And this adventurous agriculturist is indeed doing pioneer work. He is trying to fix the

metes and bounds of the ideal unit for wheat production—ideal solely from this one viewpoint, be it remembered, of producing a bushel of wheat at the lowest possible cost. This unit, he thinks, may be eight to ten times as large as the one he now controls.” And to what other crops than small grain do you think we may carry big-scale production?” I asked. “To corn and to cotton,” was the reply. “One man I know has 8,000 acres in cotton; another, 10,000 acres in corn.”

Yet one very little incident that happened as I talked with the owner of one of these colossal farms has a vast significance. “What do you think,” I asked him, “about the psychological value, or spiritual value we might call it, that is found in the fact that the small farmer is not a mere cog in some gigantic wheel but can take a piece of land and have the satisfaction of seeing from day to day his own soil, his own crops, his own animals, all improving and developing through his own nurture and affection?”

“Frankly, I don’t think farmers care about that sort of thing,” he answered. “It’s like the talk about sunsets and sunrises and the so-called poetry of farm life—it’s sentimentality that doesn’t have any real influence. Just so a job pays him, that’s everything in the world the farmer-worker cares about.”

And yet not three minutes after this remark was made, a laborer stopped this gentleman to say that he was just going to have to quit the work even though he had no idea where he could get another job. “I just can’t stand it any longer,” he said, “the same thing over and over again.” And while he went on and complained specifically about the monotonous diet, it seemed evident to me that he would not have given up the job if it had not been for the deadly monotony of his highly specialized work itself.

III

OF COURSE THERE are few southern farms as highly diversified as was my uncle’s and there are few as highly specialized as this 23,000-acre wheat farm. But we need to consider both extremes. In between we find the general run of southern farmers with policies too well known to require elaboration—the small white farm owner with 50 to 200 acres, working his land himself with the aid of his family and having perhaps one or more white or colored tenants; the small Negro farm-owner cultivating 40 to 100 acres; the large white farmers with several hundred (and in some cases several thousand) acres cultivated largely by tenants who grow cotton or tobacco and are “furnished” supplies by the landowner or the supply merchant.

Many of these tenants, particularly the colored ones, are of the

happy-go-lucky temperament who accept their condition as a natural one and aspire to nothing better. Others—and I know a very fine example of this type on a farm adjoining my own—have an ambition for farm-ownership, and by hard work, horse sense, and careful thrift they achieve this ambition. I know few men whom I regard or honor more highly than this neighbor who has fought his way up from wage-working and tenancy to the possession of a small farm, a neat home, and contented independence. (Might I not add parenthetically that when I saw him two days ago I found that a 39-year old mule that has helped him grow crops for more than twenty years and now too old for service has been kept and fed as a pensioner for two years? Contrast that heart-enlarging contact with animals with the attitude of a factory worker toward the machine he must work with!) And of course it would be uncandid not to add that among our best tenant farmers are many who struggle and struggle but never get ahead. A gifted friend and co-laborer of mine, E. E. Miller, for years managing editor of *The Progressive Farmer*, a man of rarely sensitive spirit who grew up on a small farm in east Tennessee and knew the lot of hard-pressed men and women, once gave in *The Forum* an interpretation, "The Cropper Speaks" that I should like to include at this point:—

"Next year we'll buy a farm," we said,
My wife and I when newly wed ;
But next year came, and next, and next,
And always we were sore perplexed
To find enough to square the store
And get a start for one year more.

I reckon somehow I'm to blame
That we have gone on just the same
For fifteen years ; but looking back
I can't see where my work's been slack,
And we've not wasted what I made.
I know I'm not much at a trade,
And once or twice I've lost like sin
By letting someone take me in.

And twice a farm I've tried to buy
But couldn't gather, low nor high,
The cash I had to have in hand
To get possession of the land.

So still we tend another's fields
And pay him from our scanty yields ;

CULTURE IN THE SOUTH

From hut to hovel move about
Till all our plunder's plumb worn out.

At moving time in years gone by
My wife would fret and fuss and cry
And say, "It's just no use to try
To keep things nice until we get
A home to stay at." "Right, you bet,"
I'd say: "Next year we'll have it too;
I'm sick of this as well as you."
But now we just pull up and go.
She says no word, because, I know,
She's too down-hearted, tired, sad,
From giving up the hope she had.

It's hard for one to spend his life
Toilin' and moilin' in endless strife
With worms and weevils, grass and weeds,
For scarce enough to meet his needs.
It's hard to work for years and then
Be just a slave to other men—
No home your own, no place to stay
If some man says to move away.
It's hard to feel men think of you
As one of a shiftless, thriftless crew—
"He's just a cropper"—that means, "No good;
He could do better if he would."

That's hard, but harder still is this:
To think of what your children miss
And what your women-folks must bear
As you go drifting here and there.

What neighborhood has in its life
Place for a cropper's busy wife?
Who cares to have his kids about?
At school they're likely in and out;
They leave their friends when they must go;
They lose ambition as they grow.
They never set an orchard tree,
Or fix the yard up so 'twill be
A nicer place another year.
Next year they'll likely not be here.
So year by year they drift away
From folks with better show than they;

And year by year the wife grows old,
And less and less life comes to hold
For her of things that women crave.
She, too, is nothing but a slave—
A slave to crops and a busy man
Who must keep going when he can ;
A slave to toil that has no end
And does not help her lot to mend.

IV

BUT PERHAPS BEFORE going further we should review the general agricultural situation in the South through the customary medium of figures. And yet, I would remind readers of the mistake of depending too much on statistics showing the "average" this or that in the South.

Any consideration of southern rural conditions is misleading that does not set out by recognizing (1) that we have two radically dissimilar races, and (2) that in the white race itself we have radically dissimilar elements. In other words, we have to make allowance first of all for several millions Negroes—progressing steadily, but yet as a whole far behind the whites—and next for a considerable proportion of illiterate or near-illiterate white farmers.

Anybody knows that if all the Negroes in the South were segregated in the states of Mississippi and Louisiana, for example, practically every statistical table ever made for the South would be divided into two parts—one for the white farmers representing all the states except these two Negro states of Mississippi and Louisiana, and one for the whole South, including the Negro states. For the northern states, where the rural population is nearly all white and has had good schools nearly all the time since the Civil War, "pigs is pigs" and averages are averages ; there the policy of averaging all the farmers together is perfectly proper and significant. On the contrary, in the southern states, where a large proportion of the farmers are Negroes, where until a generation ago only the more thrifty and enterprising white farmers had adequate educational advantages, and where in consequence we still have a large non-reading white population—under such conditions, I repeat, the policy of averaging all farmers together is misleading.

With this understanding, however, let us face the very worst statistics that can be presented. It just happens that at the 1930 meeting of the American Country Life Association a speaker brought together in one grand indictment nearly all the traditional statistics of southern rural backwardness (except our percentages of tenancy

ranging from 28 in Virginia to 72 in Mississippi) in this impressive form :

"1. In ten Southeastern and Southern states, tobacco and cotton are the two major cash crops. These crops are grown in a large measure under what is known as the cropper and tenant system. Production credits are furnished by the local banks and by merchants. The prevailing interest rates on this character of credit are 15 to 40 per cent, and even at this high rate the bankers and merchants, after deducting uncollectible loans, as a class have lost money.

"2. The income per capita of ten Southern States in 1921 was \$369 and for the rest of the country \$877.

"3. In Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Georgia, and South Carolina, the percentage of the total population filing Federal income tax returns for the calendar year 1926 ranged from .16 for Virginia to .76 of one per cent for South Carolina. The average gross income per farm worker in ten Southern States for 1927 was \$609 ; for the rest of the country, \$1,611.

"4. The average daily wage for male farm laborers without board in the above mentioned six Southern States was \$1.67 and for the rest of the country \$3.25.

"5. The percentage of illiteracy in the nation as a whole is 2 per cent, in nine of the southern cotton and tobacco states (native whites) 6 per cent, and including Negroes 13 per cent. Probably the best index as to whether or not people can and do read is newspaper circulation. In the nation as a whole one out of every 3.6 rural inhabitants subscribes to newspapers. In nine southern cotton and tobacco states one out of every 12.7 and in South Carolina one out of every 37.1 rural inhabitants subscribes.

"6. Two more concise indices to the standard of living are the percentage of farm homes having rural electric and gas lights and telephones. Seven per cent of the rural homes in the nation as a whole have electric or gas lights and only 2.7 per cent have them in the nine southern cotton and tobacco states, while in the nine highest states 22.5 per cent have them. In the country as a whole 387 out of every 1,000 homes have telephones ; 149 out of every 1,000 in the nine southern cotton and tobacco states, 122 out of every 1,000 in North Carolina, 57 out of every 1,000 in South Carolina, and in the West-North-Central States 695 out of every 1,000 homes have telephones."

Of course with reference to paragraphs 2 and 3 we might note that the South is largely rural and that a rural population practically everywhere falls below the American average in income. With refer-

1930 CASH FARM INCOME TEN NORTHERN VS. TEN SOUTHERN STATES
(Data from U. S. Department of Agriculture)

TEN NORTHERN STATES	Rural Population (ooo omitted)	Total Farm Cash Income (In Millions)	Per Capita Rural Population	LIVESTOCK AND ALL LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS			ALL OTHER CROPS		
				Cash Income (In Millions)	Per Capita	Percentage of Total Income	Cash Income (In Millions)	Per Capita	Percentage of Total Income
Pa.	3,098	\$ 255	\$ 82	\$179	\$ 58	70.4	\$ 75	\$ 24	29.6
Ohio	2,139	262	123	198	93	75.5	64	30	24.5
Ind.	1,443	239	166	181	125	75.6	58	41	24.4
Ill.	1,995	413	207	277	139	67.2	135	68	32.8
Mich.	1,540	208	135	139	90	66.8	69	45	33.2
Wis.	1,385	319	231	271	196	85.1	47	35	14.9
Minn.	1,306	330	253	262	201	79.5	67	52	20.5
Iowa	1,492	543	365	478	321	88.0	65	44	12.0
Mo.	1,770	262	148	215	122	82.1	46	26	17.9
Kan.	1,151	303	263	200	174	66.0	102	89	33.4
Total.	17,319	\$3,138	\$181	\$2,404	\$139	77.0	\$734	\$ 42	23.0
Ten Southern States									
N. C.	2,360	\$190	\$ 81	\$ 24	\$ 10	12.6	\$166	\$ 71	87.4
S. C.	1,367	94	69	8	6	9.2	85	63	90.8
Ga.	2,013	157	78	24	12	15.7	132	66	84.3
Ala.	1,902	118	63	16	9	13.7	101	54	86.3
Miss.	1,671	118	71	19	12	16.3	98	59	83.7
Tenn.	1,720	111	65	45	27	40.7	66	38	59.3
La.	1,268	97	77	12	10	12.6	85	67	87.4
Ark.	1,472	86	59	20	14	23.8	65	45	76.2
Tex.	3,435	442	129	140	41	31.8	301	88	68.2
Okla.	1,574	146	94	70	45	47.8	76	49	52.2
Total.	18,782	\$1,563	\$ 83	\$382	\$ 20	24.0	\$1,180	\$ 63	76.0

ence to paragraph 4, it might be argued that an average "male farm laborer" in the South, usually a Negro working on a crop, is probably worth only half as much as a male farm laborer in the West who is a more intelligent white man handling improved machinery, livestock, dairy cows, poultry, etc., and that a really superior farm laborer in the South can get well toward the northern average. Paragraph 5 not only suggests the comment that illiteracy is fast disappearing but also proves our contention that in the rural South "averages are not averages" in the degree they are in the North, but that the intelligent reading white farmers constitute a class much above the general level, gradually bringing up that level toward their own standards. And in reading the indictment in paragraph 6, it might be pertinent to recall that telephones, lighting systems, etc., have generally spread out into rural areas from town and city centers and that the South has fewer of these than the North and West.

But this is largely a digression. Let us continue our policy of facing the worst facts that can be presented and see where they lead us. Let us take the ten richest agricultural states in the Union—states where farm wealth is greatest per country dweller or rural inhabitant—and contrast them with the ten southern states. Here are the 1930 figures showing farm wealth per rural inhabitant, and in this connection we add, in order to examine the possible relationship of values, the figures showing the percentage of total farm income that is produced from crops as compared with livestock and livestock products in each state and group of states.

The diagram herewith (which I am presenting through the courtesy of Mr. Earl S. Haines of the National Cottonseed Producers Association) makes all the clearer the lessons implied by these statistics.

There are other factors that must be considered in a study of these statistics. The ten northern states, it is true, have larger farms and richer soils than the ten southern states, and we have yet other handicaps. A comparison limited to *white farmers only* would of course be far more favorable to us. But unquestionably, after all explanations are made, our long-time dependence on plant production only remains as one of the big reasons why the South is poor. There is at last a general awakening to the fact that the greatest trouble with the southern farmer is that he has a "one-armed system of farming," whereas successful agriculture requires two arms.

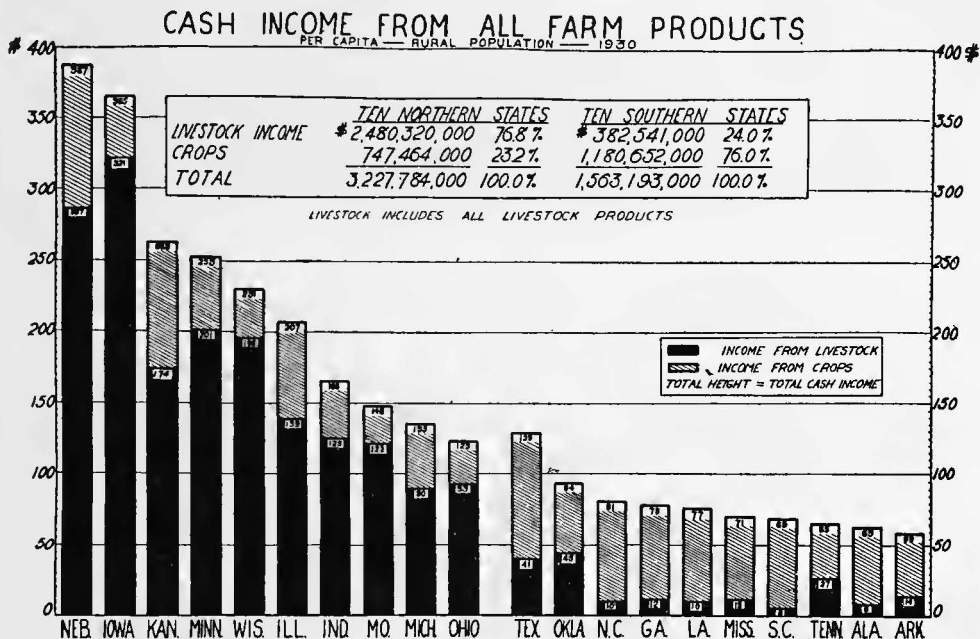
By this is meant that there are two great arms for producing agricultural wealth.

One is Plant Production—crops.

One is Animal Production—livestock, dairying, and poultry-raising.

And the southern farmer has made the mistake of depending almost exclusively on plant production.

This may seem only another way of saying what has already been said for two generations—namely, that “the one crop system” is the chief curse of southern agriculture. But as a matter of fact it is going considerably beyond that. The South’s present agricultural leadership realizes that no mere multiplication of crops, no matter how far it may go, no system of farming which depends on plant production exclusively, no matter how varied the number of plants, will give us agricultural prosperity.



Suppose the argument is made that southern soils are poor and this explains our low agricultural returns. One reason our soils are poor is because we are largely crop-farmers only. There is a divinely made cycle of soil fertility which we can ignore only at our peril:—

Soils feed plants;

Plants feed animals;

Animals feed soils.

Furthermore, one reason why our farms are so small—and often too small to provide modern living standards for the cultivator—is that on all too many farms only crops such as cotton and tobacco are produced, crops calling for intensive hand labor and not providing opportunities for increased profits through labor-saving machinery or by putting idle acres to work. Iowa and North Carolina

are almost of equal size, each fifty-odd thousand square miles, yet data collected some years ago showed that Iowa then had 28,000,000 acres of land in crops and North Carolina 8,000,000. All over the South this matter of idle lands is one of our big problems, one of our reasons why the farmer's tax burdens are so heavy (because the cultivated acres must support themselves and all the others), and there are two ways in which the uncultivated half of our area must be put to making profits for us :—

1. By scientific forestry methods.
2. By providing pasture and feed for livestock.

We need more livestock, too, in order to utilize our land and our labor better. All the economists agree that one of the great reasons why the southern farmer is poor is that with a one-crop system or indeed any system of producing crops only, the farm laborer is not able properly to utilize his time the year round. About fifteen years ago the Texas Experiment Station worked out some telltale data on this point and presented them in two charts, which I wish to reproduce at this juncture. They show that livestock does not give increased profits just because it is livestock. It pays bigger profits because it offers the cotton farmer and tobacco farmer an opportunity to put in more hours of labor and therefore earn more in the six months from November 1 to May 1.

These two diagrams show the distribution of labor-hours (1) on an all-cotton farm and (2) on a farm properly combining crops and livestock as reported by the Texas Experiment Station.

This Chart B farmer, besides his 32 acres of cotton, with the help of one extra man, handled 4 milk cows, 90 stock cattle, 75

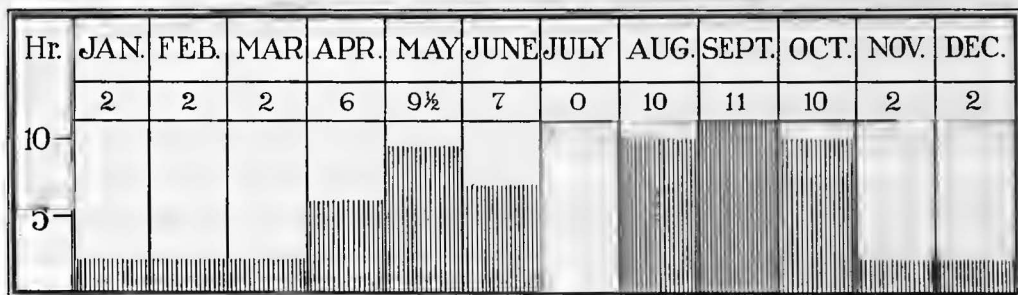


CHART A—COTTON ONLY; 0 TO 11 HOURS OF LABOR DAILY, 5 HOURS AVERAGE; \$165 INCOME

"This all cotton farmer," as the Texas bulletin explained, "was employed only 1,651 hours during the year, or an average of only a little more than 5 hours a day for 313 working days. Five months out of the year he worked only 2 hours a day; four months he worked overtime. That was not the fault of the farmer; it was the fault of the all-cotton system."

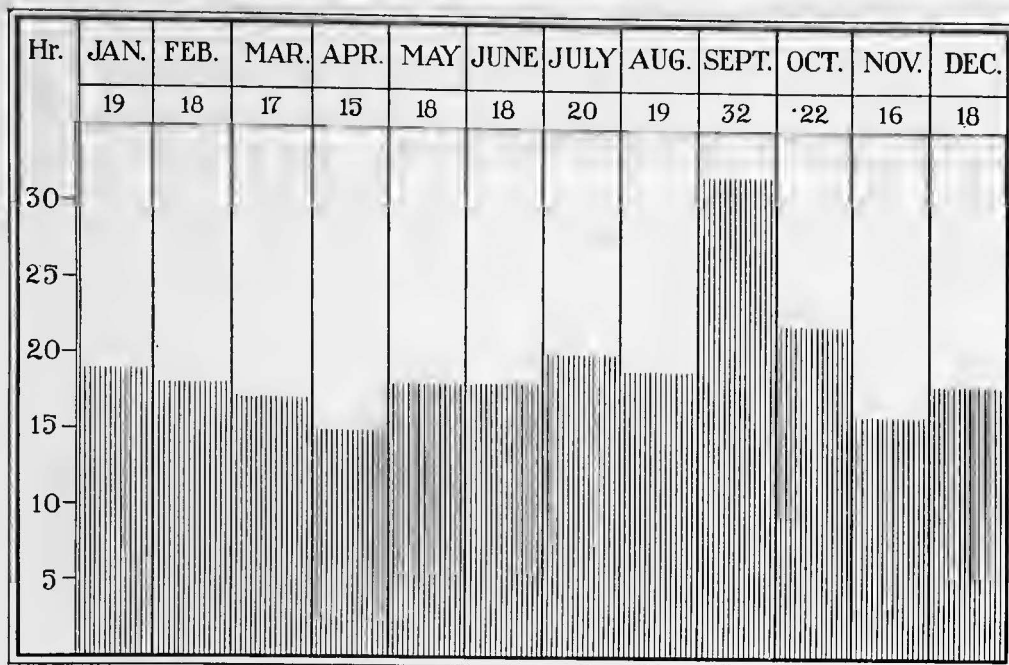


CHART B—166-ACRE DIVERSIFIED FARM, CROPS AND LIVESTOCK; 7 TO 10 HOURS OF LABOR DAILY FOR TWO MEN; \$1,359 INCOME

Says the Texas bulletin: "This farmer hired a laborer; both were busy all the year; they averaged 7 to 10 hours every month; there was no idle time. And after paying all expenses and paying the laborer \$450 (nearly three times as much as the all-cotton farmer received), this farmer had a profit of \$1,359 for the year's work."

hogs, and 70 hens, and made feed for them—28 acres oats, 65 acres corn, 21 acres corn silage, and 20 acres sorghum. The chart shows how evenly and profitably the labor was distributed throughout the year on this farm, the figures on the left indicating the combined number of hours per day made by the two men (with some extra labor hired in September for cotton picking).

Thus the opportunity to have labor earning something all the year round is one of the greatest advantages of livestock production. And not only does livestock increase the opportunity for labor on the southern farm, but it rewards labor more profitably per hour because a higher degree of intelligence is required and utilized.

Consider poultry as one specific form of animal production for which the South has obvious advantages. Dr. B. F. Kaupp, long with the North Carolina Experiment Station, reports that in six years' carefully planned experiments it was found that with the same feed and same strain of fowls, hens lay 20 per cent more eggs per year in North Carolina than in temperatures like those of northern

New York, Michigan, and Ohio. Yet Ohio alone in the 1920 census showed more poultry than Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina combined—and almost as many as the three states had in 1925. Nor can we dismiss this situation merely by saying that these northern states have a nearby market and we have not. Carolina certainly has an advantage over California in nearness to the immense New York market, yet California in 1928 shipped 589,000 cases of eggs to New York City, while Virginia, almost at the doors of New York, shipped only 102,000 cases, and North Carolina and South Carolina shipped so few that the United States Department of Agriculture *Yearbook* did not even mention either state in its official data on the subject.

But can the South grow pastures and feed? Twenty years ago perhaps we could not. But just because we may not have had sufficient knowledge and investigation of pastures to make a reasonable success with livestock twenty years ago is no reason why we may not hope to do so today. The constantly increasing acreage in relatively new pasture and feed crops—soybeans, lespedeza, Sudan grass, carpet grass, etc.—has greatly increased the opportunities for livestock. S. W. Greene, in charge of the Coastal Plains Experiment Station of Mississippi, has made this carefully considered statement: "Ten years ago there was much discouragement about the establishment of pastures in the Coastal Plains. Today there should be great optimism. This section is the greatest potential grazing ground left in this country for the expansion of the beef cattle industry. With the long growing season, the proximity to markets, and with plants of proved value at hand to establish pastures, this section seems destined to take an important place in the future history of beef cattle production in this country."

While admittedly, with our poorer soils and longer summers, a southern pasture in July cannot equal one in Iowa, yet our longer growing seasons offer some compensations. The last of February, for example, while Iowa pastures were covered with ice and snow and were due to be so for some additional weeks yet, the writer's herd of dairy cattle were already grazing Abruzzi rye, a luxuriant field of August-sowed crimson clover mixed with vetch, and even nipping contentedly the fast-reviving pasture grasses.

Furthermore, is it not strange that we seldom consider the fact that every time the southern cotton plant produces one pound of lint, it produces two pounds of one of the best of all animal feeds? Thus if we produce any year 15 million bales of cotton, we produce practically 15 billion pounds of cotton seed; and cottonseed meal is so valuable a dairy feed that for decades it has been shipped

across the states and even across the seas to enrich dairymen in other sections and other lands. The fact that through all the years the Almighty has been thus handing us back two pounds of animal feed with each pound of cotton (while we have refused to take His hint) should also have some recognition in considering our natural advantages for increased livestock production.

All in all, therefore, thoughtful agricultural leaders look to a proper balancing of plant production and animal production as *the fundamental reform needed in southern agricultural practice*. We already have an overproduction of cotton. Nor can we now increase our present production of tobacco. For years we have had an amazingly rapid increase in cigarette consumption that can not continue indefinitely. Formerly only one sex smoked cigarettes. Now there are two, but there is no third sex to exploit. The less intelligent farmer will continue to produce these money crops. The more intelligent farmer will make the new South "a land of flocks and herds, of big barns and lush pastures." And already in our 4-H clubs and in our "Future Farmers" classes in vocational agriculture we are training the leadership that will eventually give us a profitable "two armed system of farming."

V

SO MUCH FOR the fundamental changes needed with regard to farm production in the South. Many minor ones might be mentioned, but I prefer to concentrate on the cure of the only fatal malady—the only one which would be fatal if neglected—and the other reforms will go along with this one. Even if we limit our thinking to just the matter of getting increased profits from our "money crops" by better regulated production, we must face the fact that we cannot get anywhere merely by saying, "Cut your tobacco acreage," or "Cut your cotton acreage." We have got to attack the problem indirectly. We can only cut cotton and tobacco acreage by directing the same labor into other channels—by realizing upon our opportunities for making equal or greater profits in some other forms of agricultural production. And all over the South this means that we must turn increasingly to livestock, dairying, and poultry raising.

But improved farm production is only one phase of the farm problem, in the South or elsewhere. In his almost lifelong campaign for the improvement of Irish agriculture, the late Sir Horace Plunkett said that three things are needed for the betterment of country life :

I. Better Farming

2. Better Business

3. Better Living.

"These three," Sir Horace always insisted, "and the greatest of these is Better Business. For if we get better business methods on the farm, better farming and better living will inevitably come along with them."

Certainly "Better Business" must be one of the chief factors in southern farm progress. And it may be well just here to recall some outstanding problems of farm buying and selling and ask how we are progressing with reference to each one of them.

In the matter of buying, the southern farmer suffers perhaps principally from two things—(1) a failure to budget his income, and (2) a failure to discriminate between productive and consumptive purchases.

Nations, states, counties, corporations, big businesses, and little businesses have all learned the necessity for budgeting their prospective receipts and prospective expenses. But to the farmer, "budget" is still an unfamiliar term. The more progressive, of course, when they get their crop money in the fall, sit down and figure out the big items for which they must pay before another crop-selling season, such as clothing, shoes, groceries, fertilizers, feeds, implements and machinery, taxes, insurance, repairs, etc. But all too many farmers fail to look ahead. If there is something that appeals to them at the time they have the money in their pockets, they forget to figure out how far this money is already "mortgaged," as it were, for the purchase of absolute necessities that must be bought later. Poor Richard wanted a whistle and of course enjoyed it, but paid too dearly for it because the expenditure deprived him of the ability to buy other things he needed more than a whistle. So it is that a common business mistake in the rural South is a failure to think ahead and establish a sense of *relative* values. Persuasive agents crowd around the cotton markets and tobacco markets and too often the farmer for the moment seems to share the feeling of the Frenchman who said, "Give me the luxuries of life and I will dispense with the necessities." But alas! the necessities, thus lightly dismissed for the moment, later present their demands with all the promptness and inevitableness of death and taxes.

And like too many other people, the farmer does not distinguish adequately between productive and consumptive purchases. By "productive purchase" is meant a purchase which *produces* something with which to pay off the debt—as, for example, suitable seeds, fertilizers, implements, machinery, horsepower, etc. By a "consumptive purchase" is meant buying something which is *consumed*

and does not live on, produce on, and so extinguish the debt.

As our agricultural colleges, county farm and home agents, and other agencies develop their service to the farmer in the field of business—and they are doing this very rapidly—we expect to see increasing emphasis on these two necessities :

1. A more careful budgeting of farm income and farm outgo.
2. A constant effort to discriminate between productive and consumptive purchase.

About profitable marketing of crops, we may note that one of the chief reasons why the South imports so many products that might be grown from its own soils is that farmers have not been taught the methods of standardized grading, packing, and processing required by commercial houses. We can not expect to sell hay unless it is properly baled ; corn unless it is properly graded and in the size bag the trade requires ; cane syrup unless it is in uniform-sized containers and of uniform quality ; nor a shipment of sweet potatoes unless they are of one variety and grade. I was recently in a mountain county that can grow apples probably unsurpassed in flavor and excellence anywhere in the United States, and yet on the streets of the county-seat apples from Oregon—not one-fourth so well flavored as the native fruit—were being regularly sold to local customers.¹ Said Mr. Leonard Tufts of the famous Pinehurst hotels recently :

“The best eating apples that we can get are raised in the mountains of North Carolina and Virginia. The quality, however, is so uneven and so unsatisfactory due to poor grading that we don’t even attempt to get any now but buy Oregon apples.”

In the same statement Mr. Tufts added that southern poultry are so poorly graded that he has to bring roasters all the way from New York and Boston.

In processing products a conspicuous example of neglect is found in the barbarous method of ginning cotton. Recently on a report from ten bales of cotton from the co-operative marketing association of which I am a member, the lint of four bales was reported so badly ginned (because of carelessness or poor equipment at the gin) as to cause a loss of \$10 to \$15 a bale.

VI

THE GREATEST reform in farm business is the development of co-operative marketing associations. That farmers should establish and

¹ By one of the oddest coincidences of my life, just as I sat in my office in Raleigh reading the proof of this identical sentence, a negro came to the office door asking if I would not buy some of his box of “Skookum” apples—grown in Brewster, Washington!

support such associations for selling all important farm products is self-evident. In the following parallel I have tried to present the contrast between individual selling and co-operative marketing :

By Co-operative Marketing,
We—

- (1) Intelligently
- (2) Collectively,
- (3) Powerfully,
- (4) Merchandise Farm Products,
- (5) In Large Quantities,
- (6) With Proper Grading,
- (7) With Scientific Financing,
- (8) Selling through the Most Expert Selling Agents,
- (9) In a System Controlled by and for the Farmers,
- (10) All of its Profits Going Back to the Farmers.

Without Co-operative Marketing,
We—

- (1) Unintelligently,
- (2) Individually,
- (3) Helplessly,
- (4) Dump Farm Products,
- (5) In Piddling Quantities,
- (6) Without Proper Grading,
- (7) Without Adequate Financing,
- (8) The Individual Farmer Being Wholly Untrained as a Salesman,
- (9) In a System Controlled by and for the Speculators,
- (10) All of its Profits Going to the Buyers and Speculators.

It has been said that in all countries farmers never resort to co-operation until necessity drives them to it. The new development in superfarming, corporation farming, "mass production in agriculture," it now seems, will force small farmers into co-operation for their own self-preservation.

1. By co-operation farmers can *buy* supplies cheaply, just as these superfarmers are doing.

2. By co-operation farmers can also *sell* to just as good advantage.

3. Small farmers must go in together to buy combines, tractors, and other modern equipment for co-operative ownership and use, and thus *produce as cheaply* as the big farm unit.

Not only does co-operative marketing offer all the advantages that have been enumerated, but only through co-operative marketing can farmers secure proper recognition of superior grades of farm products. It is a common custom on southern cotton markets for buyers to take everything "hog round" on a middling basis in the early part of the season when cotton grades average well above middling and when the farmer is entitled to premiums accordingly, but to grade strictly in the latter part of the season when lint averages below middling. In other words, the tendency is to withhold

premiums which are justly due the producer but exact penalties.

In the case of tobacco, the present mile-a-minute system of auction selling converts into a sheer gamble the sale of the crop that the farmer and his family have labored both day and night to produce—perhaps the biggest and sheerest gamble that yet governs the sale of any great American commodity, agricultural or manufactured. Several years ago a tobacco farmer in Martin County, North Carolina, reported to me that in 1921 he managed to sell the same pile of tobacco on the auction floor ten times the same day with the following results :

First sale.....	28 cents	Sixth sale	35 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents
Second sale.....	31 cents	Seventh sale.....	28 cents
Third sale.....	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents	Eighth sale.....	21 cents
Fourth sale.....	37 cents	Ninth sale.....	25 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents
Fifth sale.....	34 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents	Tenth sale.....	36 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents

VII

ONE OF THE greatest curses of southern agriculture is the prevalent crop lien or crop mortgage system with the accompanying "time prices" usury. The farmer gives a mortgage on his crop, often even before it is planted, and the merchant charges all purchases made on this basis of credit at "time prices." Several years ago I made an investigation covering all the southern states from North Carolina to Texas inclusive. This showed that on purchases of corn, flour, hay, meat, oats, lard, and molasses, an average increase of about twenty per cent for time prices over cash prices is the general rule. The reported increase by states varied from 17 per cent in Georgia to 27 per cent in Mississippi. And paying a flat 20 per cent increase for "time prices" is equivalent to paying interest at about 40 per cent per annum. Many items in "time prices" accounts run eight months or more, of course, before the maturity of the account ; but about November 1, the average is probably less than six months.

Every state in the South should have a law limiting "time prices" charges to a maximum of 10 per cent over cash prices. No one can dispute the fact that "time prices" constitute a form of interest, a form of interest necessarily higher, of course, than interest on loans with standard securities, and yet the conclusion that this form of interest should be regulated by law is inescapable. In fact, there is more need for regulating this interest rate than for regulating the interest rate on ordinary money loans, and for a very obvious reason. If I as a business man wish to borrow money, and can not get it from one man, I can easily take my security and offer it to another man.

But if I am a crop lien farmer, my security is already pledged to one man and no matter how great the interest may be, I have no practicable way of escape to another source of credit.

VIII

IN ALL OUR consideration of southern farm problems, however, the reader will come back to the thought that the chief trouble is what has heretofore been called our "one crop system" but which, on closer examination, will be found to mean our "one-armed system" of farming for plant production only. Only by adding plant production to animal production can we find the way out. "Time prices" usury is an inevitable result of a "money crops" system of farming, whereby the farmer receives cash income only in the fall, or, say within a ninety-day period each year. We blame the tenant farmer for improvidence, but suppose our less prosperous doctors, lawyers, preachers, and teachers received all their year's income each September, October, and November. Many of them and their families would have it all spent by March and then be borrowing for six months against the next prospective fall income. A system of diversified farming, combining animal production and plant production, would give the farmer some income the year round and gradually free him from the bondage of "time prices." What Henry W. Grady said forty years ago still constitutes the best one-sentence prescription ever yet written for the relief of southern agriculture:—

"When every farmer in the South shall eat bread from his own fields and meat from his own pastures, and, disturbed by no creditor and enslaved by no debt, shall sit among his teeming gardens and orchards and vineyards and dairies and barnyards, pitching his crops in his own wisdom and growing them in independence, making cotton his clean surplus, and selling it in his own time and in his chosen market and not at a master's bidding—getting his pay in cash and not in a receipted mortgage that discharges his debt, but does not restore his freedom—then shall be breaking the fullness of our day."

Such a policy will also exterminate the diseases of malnutrition that now afflict us, some authorities claiming that the South now has more pellagra than all European nations combined.

Or let us consider the fearful loss of soil-fertility through erosion. Soil Chemist H. H. Bennett of the United States Department of Agriculture says that the soil carried away by the Mississippi River each year equals seven fully loaded two ton trucks passing every second of each day and night from year's end to year's end. Our mild winters—which we should make an *agricultural asset* by having

green fields of cover crops all winter long for soil-improvement and stock feeding—we have allowed to become an *agricultural liability*, because on bare lands our mild winters let fertility leach away. The cold winters of the North lock up fertility there; the spring thaws find the soil neither richer nor poorer than in the fall. In the South by neglect of the advantages offered by mild winters, our soils are poorer in the spring. By utilizing the mild winters we can not only maintain soil-fertility but grow something to increase it all winter long, and by adding summer pastures largely stop the fearful erosion so dramatically described by Mr. Bennett.

The campaign for “living at home” which has already produced such gratifying results in portions of the South can also be made doubly effective by tying it up with a crusade to “add animal production to plant production.” Farmers will not make an adequate supply of food, feed, and meat for home consumption unless they can be sure of having a sale for whatever surplus may be produced.

Furthermore, to make hay and corn at a profit, it is necessary to grow it on larger acreages and use more horsepower and more labor-saving machinery. Dr. Seaman A. Knapp put his finger on a fundamental weakness of southern agriculture when he said, twenty years ago:—

“Where the South Carolina farmer uses one mule and one man to plow, accomplishing less than an acre per day from three to four inches deep, the Iowa farmer uses at least three horses, and plows four acres per day six to eight inches deep.”

In parts of Texas and Oklahoma where “sledding” instead of hand-picking has been practiced as a method of harvesting, large-scale machine methods of cotton culture have been introduced. On the whole, however, we may say that in growing cotton and tobacco only a small acreage can be handled per person, and work-stock is chiefly needed for spring breaking and early summer cultivation; hence only a few horses can be economically kept the year round. On the other hand, as cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry are introduced, farmers will get more horsepower and machinery in order to produce the corn, hay, and other feed crops needed.

And we have plenty of land in which to grow them. In one year recently North Carolina was cultivating 7,000,000 acres and Iowa 21,000,000 acres. Yet North Carolina’s 7,000,000 acres produced \$434,000,000 in crop values and Iowa’s 21,000,000 acres produced only \$481,000,000. There is the point: we in the South have high-value-per-acre crops and we are as yet cultivating only a fraction of the acreage that is suitable to cultivation. We have twice the growing season of the leading western states and while they have

almost reached their maximum of acreage, our southern states can easily double or treble their crop acreage. Of the total land surface of Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, Kansas, and North Dakota, more than half is already growing harvested crops, while as yet the percentage of land in cultivation in various southern states is only as follows :

Virginia, 23 ; North Carolina, 21 ; South Carolina, 30 ;
Georgia, 33 ; Florida, 5 ; Alabama, 25 ; Mississippi, 22 ;
Arkansas, 20 ; Tennessee, 28 ; Texas, 15.

IX

IT IS PLAIN, therefore, that as the South develops industrially and as cities and towns grow and thereby enlarge the market for all farm products, vast new areas of farm lands will be brought into cultivation, and since the opportunity for such increase does not exist in the West, the already narrow margin between southern and western states in total crop values will disappear. Southern rather than western states will inevitably sooner or later take the lead in this respect.

For we not only have the area needed to insure such a result but we have a capable and ambitious people. I might well rest my case as to the future of southern agriculture on four basic facts—the first two relating to our adult population and the second two proving that farm young people in the South are the most progressive in America.

1. The Secretary of Agriculture recently pointed out that southern farm men and women are so eager for progress that our 15 southern states were then employing and utilizing more farm and home extension agents than all the other 33 states combined.

2. Not only are these farm and home agents employed but our rural population is responding to their leadership. For the Secretary added that southern farmers and homemakers adopted more than 2 ½ million improved practices in 1929, or more than half the total number of improved practices reported to the United States Department of Agriculture from all 48 states of the Union.

3. There are more farm boys and girls enrolled as 4-H club members in corn clubs, calf clubs, pig clubs, poultry clubs, canning clubs, etc., in the Southern states than in all other 33 states combined.

4. In another field of activity whose far-reaching importance has not yet been realized because it is relatively so new—I refer to the teaching of vocational agriculture and home economics in the rural high schools of America—the South has won similar distinction. For fifteen southern states have furnished more students of voca-

tional agriculture (including the enrollment of adults in evening classes) than all the other 33 states.

The most important thing in life, someone has said, is not where you are standing but where you are going and how rapidly you are getting there. Judged by this test, no one can be downcast over the outlook for rural Dixie. To the four points just mentioned I might add that a very thoughtful and discriminating worker with farm women who travels all over the country declares that among southern farm women there is an instantaneous response to new ideas, an alacrity to embrace improved methods, far ahead of that in evidence in other sections.

I can not surrender to hopelessness even when talking of our large tenant population or of increasing tenancy or of a supposedly shiftless "poor white" population. With a sound system of farming plus our many natural advantages, increasing tenancy should give way to increasing home ownership. And our poorer white tenant farmers are yet a people of infinite potentialities. From them sprang Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, to mention only two outstanding figures, and with constantly improving educational conditions, health conditions, and modern highways, the "poor whites" as a distinct class will soon cease to constitute a "problem." It is significant that in a recent study of self-help students at a southern university it developed that the tenant farm homes of the state had furnished 220 of these aspiring young men while all the factory workers' homes in this largely industrialized state had sent only 2.

And our Negroes, while not treated separately to any great extent in this article, are making a remarkable and inspiring record, as other chapters in this volume will fully attest.

Another fact about southern farm progress should be made clear. Our southern colleges, experiment stations, and other central agencies of agricultural investigation are not only efficient and progressive, but they find daily contact with the individual farmers and farm women through those captains of agricultural progress who are most directly on the firing line—the farm and home agents and the agricultural and home economics teachers. The rural South is of course an area of widely varying soils, climate, topography, and resources. Texas is vastly unlike Virginia, and Kentucky is equally much unlike Louisiana, and in this chapter I have had to concern myself only with some general principles applicable to the whole area. On the other hand, these farm and home agents and agricultural teachers understand and proclaim ten thousand local adaptations of general agricultural programs that I cannot even summarize in an article of this length—as in fact many large general

issues cannot be. Consider, for example, the one matter of forestry, to which just a sentence so far has been given. Farmers are only beginning to think of the forest as a *crop*. Yet just because it takes twenty years to get a tree-plant to marketable maturity makes it none the less a crop than a cotton plant requiring twenty weeks for maturity. In most of the South there is more land in the forest crop than in any other crop and its scientific management will give tenfold greater profits from this source of agricultural wealth than in the past. We have about 30 million acres in cotton against 200 millions in woodland!

X

WE CONCLUDE with a confident outlook to the future. Handicapped in the past by slavery, war, reconstruction, and illiteracy, the rural South has nevertheless made progress. Freed from all these, it will go far toward realizing the goal set for it nearly twenty-five years ago by Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, founder of farm demonstration work, when he said :

“I estimate that there is a possible 800 per cent increase in the productive power of the farm laborer in the average Southern State and I distribute the gain as follows :—

300 per cent to the use of more and better mules and farm machinery ;

200 per cent to the production of more and better stock ;

150 per cent to a rotation of crops and better tillage ;

50 per cent to better drainage ;

50 per cent to seed of higher vitality, thoroughbred and carefully selected, and

50 per cent to the abundant use of legumes and the use of more economic plants for feeding stock.”

And with “Better Business” added to “Better Farming,” no one need fear there will not also be “Better Living” all over rural Dixie. The tendency as a whole, in my opinion, will favor the development, not of commercialized farming of the type described in the opening of this chapter, but of small farmers of the general type described by the twelve young southerners who recently defended the South’s agrarian tradition in that thought-provoking volume, *I’ll Take My Stand*. This is the type represented by my old uncle but adapted to modern knowledge and opportunities. For he himself said to me in his last years, “Somehow it doesn’t seem quite right that I did not have in my young manhood the benefit of the agricultural knowledge and guidance which now helps every intelligent farmer so much.”

The South of tomorrow will develop a proper balance between plant production and animal production, between crops and livestock. It will thus profitably utilize more of its land, more of the time of its workers, and more of their intelligence. It will take better care of its soil fertility. It will utilize, partly for pastures and feed production and partly for scientific forestry, its vast areas of now virtually unutilized land. It will learn standardization of products and co-operation in marketing. It will train hosts of young people in club work and in vocational agriculture. It will develop better credit systems. It will learn to encourage thrift. It will find ways to reduce tenancy and stimulate home-ownership.

And yet its finest product will be not increased wealth but a human product—the all round good citizen of the type of Uncle Stephen¹ Moore.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

BY HARRIET L. HERRING

THE SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL WORKER has long suffered from a divided personality. He has been at once class conscious and individualistic with the weakness of each characteristic and the strength of neither. This psychological disease grew out of his ancient heritage and his early industrial experience. Recent events and his reaction to them suggest that at last he is recovering from his long sickness. Indeed, he has been doing more than react; he has shown a decided tendency to take a hand in precipitating events. If he should increase in group consciousness, singleness of purpose, and initiative, his new united personality may influence the whole course of the industrial revolution in the South. Moreover, this recovery, this awakening, has come just in time for the worker to use, instead of being hopelessly confused by, the opportunities offered labor in the national reorganization under the "New Deal."

We need to know only a little of the history of the South to realize that there was a large class of white people who were, for all purposes of higher citizenship, or even democracy itself, outside the southern system. It is true that these were not all "poor whites" in the recent careless use of the phrase to describe practically everybody not in the plantation system. This term, we must believe, was applied rather sparingly in the old South because its connotation, especially in the form "pore white trash" usually used in the spoken language, was so devastating. Dr. Den Hollander in another chapter has shown that the people truly described by the term were relatively few. Above them were almost imperceptible gradations in economic, social, and cultural status. Some were craftsmen: weavers, fullers, dyers and tailors; wheelwrights, coopers, carpenters, and cabinet makers; masons, plasterers and blacksmiths; millers, cordwainers, saddle and harness makers; and the ever present ingenious, if clumsy, jack of all trades. These were literally all over the South in spite of all we hear about the self-sufficiency of the plantation. Many

of these were combination craftsman and farmer, owning and tilling their limited acres themselves with the aid of their families. Not uncommon even in the midst of the staple growing areas, they were more numerous in the piney woods where the less productive soil made the land unattractive to planters and the price in the reach of the small man. They, of course, constituted more and more nearly the bulk of the population as we approach the mountain sections. To this type in particular children were an asset very early in life, for in the struggle to wring a living from the small farm there were innumerable jobs for all sized hands. Some were even slave owners, having two or three Negroes to aid the family and working alongside them.

Indubitable proof that there were plenty of farmers with small farms is presented by the Census of 1850 when the plantation system was at its height. The eight southern states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee returned 545,073 "farmers" against 25,511 "planters," whatever this technical distinction was. It gives for those states a total of 40,910,410 acres of improved lands in farms or an average of only 72 acres per farm, and only Virginia averaged as much as 100 acres. With a total of 132,789,538 acres of land in farms including improved and unimproved, those eight states had an average of only 232 acres of land per farm. Even South Carolina, which returned most planters (8,407) had 32,863 farmers, while North Carolina claimed only 63 planters to 81,898 farmers and Tennessee claimed no planters and 118,941 farmers. Of course, the local definitions may have had something to do with this difference in classification, but with no more improved land in farms there must have been many very small holdings.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that in all areas where they were in contact with the slave system each type—and most of the individuals in each type—had one aspiration in common with the planter class. This was the insatiable hunger for land, more land, more cotton, or whatever crop could be turned into money to buy more land and slaves. This was natural, for land and slaves were not only the chief form of investment but also the key to wealth and social position, to the professions, to political power, to all the goods which the ambitious yearned for. This acceptance of the planter standard as an ideal to be struggled for, this admission that the acquisition of land and slaves was the *sine qua non* of "getting on," gave the planter-professional class a dominance that mere economic, educational, and social advantage would not have given alone. The "little" man looked on the "big" man as a pattern which he had

some hopes of copying if he could add to his acres and acquire slaves. This end was achieved often enough to keep the ambitious striving and the less energetic quiescent.

There were a few breaks in the unanimity of this acceptance of the pattern of the ruling group. One was the very considerable amount of union sentiment present in several of the southern states, notably North Carolina and Tennessee, during the Civil War. Another found expression in the common saying that the struggle itself was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight."

But when political leadership was restored, after reconstruction, the old class was as completely dominant as ever. Perhaps more so, for the economic substitute for slavery, the tenant system, gave it just as much control of land and credit as it had had in the old days, and the new system was by no means limited to Negroes. The poor man came to the planter or landed professional or the new supply merchant for the means to make a living, for guidance in managing his rented land, and for aid in emergencies, very much as did the ex-slave. It might be a sullen acceptance instead of the careless suppliance of the Negro, but the economic basis was much the same. All this was measurably less true of the individuals in the mountain areas where the slave system with its social and political accompaniments was not strong. But this fact was more than overbalanced by the physical, social, and political isolation of that population from the main currents of life in the coastal and piedmont sections of the several states.

We have only to make a brief sally into the countryside today and become acquainted with the contemporaries of the present generation of industrial workers and their relation to their more prosperous and influential neighbors to see the very same forces in operation. The latter are members of the school board though the former supply the bulk of the students. They are the leaders and chief support of the church, and it is at their homes that the circuit riding preacher stays the night or the resident one is entertained for Sunday dinner. If there is sickness or need in a poor family, the wife of the prominent citizen goes on an errand of mercy to her neighbor. Other contacts between the families, especially the women of the families, are limited to gatherings at school or church. Now this social grading based on economic status is common everywhere. In the South it has more force because it was based on so many more factors than economic possession alone, and because it is of longer standing. Families have lived next each other for generations on this basis.

We need make only a brief study of the history of southern industry to learn that industrial statesmen saw this type of small

owner or landless farmer as a class to be saved from a narrow and ignorant existence, and the entrepreneur saw it as a group to be exploited for handsome profits. The effort to build a textile industry in the 1840's and later from the 1870's onward produced a vast literature of propaganda and argument, orations, pamphlets, articles, editorials without number. All the advocates of mills got around sooner or later to the potential industrial workers to be gathered from tenant farm and mountain cove. They portrayed them as a people with a standard of living so low that a most modest wage would attract them; as accustomed to community advantages so scanty that the supplying of the simplest church and a single teacher, four months' school would be a patriotic and Christian philanthropy.

All this has bred into the rank of society from which the bulk of industrial workers came a sense of class consciousness; but it was not a strengthening sense of oneness with each other. In the first place it was a negative sort of class consciousness—of being outside. They were "those people" in the old days and counted chiefly when voters or potential workers were to be rounded up. They are "those people" today in countryside or industrial suburb. And they know it, as is shown by their frequent defensive reiteration that "we are just as good as they are." They have an inferiority complex.

The second reason this class consciousness is a weakening instead of a strengthening factor is that relics of the old gradations make for disunion. The poor who used to be rich cling tenaciously to their past and to the knowledge of their connection with a better class of society. The freeholding mountaineer may live as hard as "piney woods tackey" or the coastal "poor white trash," but he feels superior to them. The little land owner feels above the tenant though his land may be so poor and his equipment so incomplete that the tenant is economically better off. The tenant feels a secret scorn for the cropper who must, though a white man, take daily direction from another man. The town worker feels no common cause with the country worker because surface differences in clothes or methods of wage payment blind him to the fact that fundamentally their relation to the economic system is very similar.

The rise of industry perpetuated and in some respects emphasized the old traits. The textile industry is particularly responsible. The building of mills came, by the 1870's onward, to symbolize recovery and new life. Men burst into apostrophe and poetry at the hum of the spindle and its significance for the South. They eulogized the builders as patterns of patriotic endeavor. They hailed as a virtue the giving of employment and community advantages to a disin-

herited people. They said industry would help to solve what had begun to be vaguely recognized as an economic and social problem. Beyond this the worker, potential and actual, was pretty well ignored or positively looked down upon. Strangely enough this was the attitude not only of the more favored classes but of their own fellows who were left behind. To move to the cotton mill was a step down from any situation. Now something of this attitude toward the workers has characterized the building of a textile industry in each new area of its ascendancy, but never before has the industry itself stood so high. Thus we have the amazing paradox of an industry exalted as few have ever been while the workers were despised as even cotton mill workers have scarcely been elsewhere. To this very day intelligent, socially-minded citizens will tell you seriously that the people of the mill village on the edge of town are different—a “sorry” type of folks, shiftless and nomadic, unambitious for themselves and their children, preferring isolation to mingling in the life of the community.

Well, perhaps they have seemed often to show such characteristics. If so, it is largely because during these 30 or 40 years the set-up of the industry has cultivated the old tendencies. They were poor and ignorant, and wages of the mills were not high enough to allow for any great raising of their standard of living. The children who went to work as early as, first, economic law made their employment profitable and, later, as statute law made it permissible had little chance for advanced schooling. Long hours at fairly strenuous physical work left little time and energy for the cultivation of the arts and graces of living. A sort of relief from the monotony of the mill was to be found as relief from the monotony of the farm had been, namely, removal to another so nearly like the first that it took the close familiarity of daily work to see the difference. Most of all, the industry perpetuated the worker's sense and his appearance of being different by placing him apart. His village was literally outside the life of the town. With a village store, church and school, and later on a baseball team, a movie, and a recreation center, he had no incentive to make a place for himself in the town. Perhaps with his long-standing sense of being apart, he would not have done so anyway. That is partly the way these institutions were justified. The town had no need to make a place for him or to come in too close contact with him. It was hardly aware of him and his fellows except as necessary adjuncts to the mill of which all were proud, and as his village made it possible to boast of a larger population “if you include all the surrounding mill villages.”

Other industries in the South did not perpetuate the sense of isolation so much as cotton mills and later, from its very nature, mining.

But practically all industries emphasized the sense of difference within the industrial ranks. Hosiery workers, in the main somewhat more skilled, better paid, and at cleaner work, living in their own or privately rented houses scattered about the town, felt superior to the lintheads clustered on the edge of town in mill houses. Furniture workers felt superior to both and, of course, to the sawmill hands who roughly prepared the material they processed. The more skilled trades in this industry were well paid; more men were able to support a family without the work of their wives. When a wife or daughter did work it was not in a furniture factory and so the family wage system was not so apparent as when all answered the call of the same whistle. Cigarette workers felt above not only the Negroes in the preparatory process of their own factory but also the textile workers in the same town, and they did not always distinguish between hosiery and cotton mill operatives. Steel workers felt superior to the miners who provided their raw material and the latter to the coal miners. Of course, these attitudes depended somewhat upon what industries were in close contact with each other, but it is safe to say that the workers in every industry felt above cotton mill workers and coal miners whether they were near or far. The only group left for these to feel superior to was the Negro, for anybody knew that any white man was superior to all Negroes.

There are, of course, many and complex reasons for the social status of these different industries which grew out of their history, the nature of the work, the amount of skill, the pay, even the source of the workers. In some towns a hosiery mill was set up two generations ago, used only the women and girls already resident in the community, and has always been most respectable. Cigarette and garment factories grew up at a time when personnel administration had become the fashion, and having no traditions to bind them, they adopted it with a resultant better selection of workers. But who can say he has truly discovered the subtle reasons why one industry ranks higher than another? These factors lie too deep in history, economic structure, physical set-up, policies and personality of employers, background and character of employees. Suffice it to say that there are differences everywhere. Some of the universal ones appear in the South; others are peculiar to it. The employer is aware of them; the general public shares them; and the worker feels them most of all. In these feelings and the foundations out of which they grew is to be found one of the great reasons why there has been no successful labor movement among southern industrial workers.

There has been, then, almost too much class consciousness among

these workers. It has been either negative or divisive, making them fall into groups that are psychologically ill-prepared to co-operate. What of the other side of the worker's divided personality, his individualism? It can probably be accepted as an axiom that the southern worker had every tendency toward individualism before he entered industry. Anglo-Saxon with a heavy intermixture of Irish and Scotch, the predominant strains were from nations where individualism has been very strong. His rural life for several generations certainly did nothing to diminish it. And again his experience in industry emphasized his natural bent. From the late 1870's until recent years industry has been expanding all over the South. Of course, there have been periods when the growth was slackened for some one or even all industry, but in the main there have been fifty years in which an ambitious and capable man could advance almost as fast as his experience justified. His own company was often growing rapidly enough to promote him and make room for younger men. There are today in the South, especially in the cotton mills and hosiery factories, thousands of men who have come up the ranks from sweeper boys to foremen or superintendents, or even general manager and chief owner. If there was no room for him in his own organization, there was a new plant in the next town which needed foremen experienced in managing men and machinery. As most industry is organized there are as many ranks as in an army—indeed, more, for even among the privates there are shades of difference because of type of work, pay, or possibility for advancement.

The individual rose by his own merits and his own application to his job. He learned the technical side of his job with difficulty, for it was common for each man to consider his knowledge as his stock in trade, a possession not to be passed on readily and freely. The new man learned by the trial and error method, or he watched his superior, or he actually paid a more experienced man to teach him. In more recent and literate days he studied, not in the night school but in the solitude of the correspondence course. This in itself was a test of application and of individual perseverance.

And so the strong worker rose in pay, in industrial rank, and in social position among his own group of workers, and finally in the community as a whole, all by his individual efforts. He naturally believed that any man who "had the goods" and was willing to work could do likewise. He wanted no organization that would limit the amount of work he was allowed to do, or slow up his progress by priority rules and set terms of service. He might help a promising man or a friend, but he certainly had no desire to be

held down by the sheer weight of numbers in the ranks, no dream of becoming in any way the champion for them as a group. Indeed his very job as representative of management often meant that he must be the opposite.

As a result, the weaker members of the rank and file were left without their natural leaders. Their only way of protesting against wages or working conditions was the individual protest of moving. But they also moved as a protest against the monotony and as an expression of personal wanderlust. Thus the sanctity of symbols was lost and the employer could interpret his labor turnover, not as a criticism of his own policies, but as a revelation of the worker's instability. The worker of this type could seldom meet an emergency alone. There were no social agencies to which he could apply, and he had no credit at other institutions. He promptly went to his employer for aid, whether it be for money to buy a cow, to supply milk for an ailing baby or a coffin for a dead wife. He even sometimes went for advice on personal and family affairs. Thus in his case as well as that of the strong worker, the relation with the employer tended toward the personal, individual basis.

For all these complex reasons the great and ever-increasing body of workers in the South never felt any sense of facing together a group of employers. They never felt any sense of common cause with each other, or any sense of unity each within himself. The employer both consciously and unconsciously emphasized this individualism and these groupings. Like the rest of the South he also was an individualist; like all employers he wanted to deal with his workers on an individualistic basis. Like the rest of the South he was class conscious; like any man proud of his own organization and his own industry he wanted to feel that his were not as other workers. The furniture manufacturer pointed to his home-owning skilled workers who were sending their children to high school and even to college, who were active in church and even in local politics, and said they were not like that "cotton mill crowd." The hosiery manufacturer declared that he had a superior sort of girls, often high school graduates, daughters of mechanics and other skilled men, who were only working for extra money to spend and until they should marry. All this superiority to the cotton mill would be amusing if it were not so unreasonable. There is, for example, a certain cigarette factory which bases its claim of having workers superior to those of the cotton mills in the next town on the fact that they are mainly people from the surrounding country, who come in every day in their modest cars or else have recently moved into the town from those farms. And yet the personnel records of those cotton

mills show that seventy-five per cent of the employees were born in the same area from which the cigarette factory drew its employees. Informal inquiry established the fact that the workers in the cigarette factory had many blood relations in the cotton mills and that some of them had themselves worked in the mill. And yet in the face of conditions like these the distinctions continue. When the public had occasion to distinguish industrial groups at all it accepted the ratings of industry itself.

II

I HAVE PURPOSELY used the past tense in describing these attitudes of class consciousness, of group division, and of individualism on the part of worker, employer, and public. I have done this, not because these attitudes do not still exist, but because the signs of the times are pointing toward certain modifications in these attitudes. The national experiment in the reorganization of industry, the National Industrial Recovery Act, whether it succeeds or fails, is bound to quicken the pace of these changes.

Some of these changes are in the mental equipment of the individual workers of the South. Since 1910 illiteracy has been practically halved in each southern industrial state, while if we regard either the urban areas or the young people from ten to twenty years it has been halved again. For the last ten or twelve years the influx of country people into the industrial towns has been small. This has long been the source of illiterates, especially in cotton mill villages. There were schools for the workers who have lived all their lives in towns and villages; but the terms were short, and the pupils were likely to abandon them at an early age. But for twenty years the term has been increasing and the age for going to work slowly rising. In 1919 the passage of the first of the national child labor acts made fourteen years the minimum. While these acts were being tested in the courts the several states gradually raised their own limits to that general level. The long depression in textiles—the chief southern industry able to use children—kept down temptation to violate or change the law. At the same time school attendance laws have been gradually tightened up. Education became fashionable and the worker made as great effort to send his child to high school as a citizen of the middle class made to send his to college. In 1922 ten per cent of the employees of a large group of cotton mills had been in high school; by 1932 this had increased to nineteen per cent.

As a result of all these gradual trends the workers up to at least thirty years of age have a better education than they had before.

They are prepared to accept information that comes other than through word of mouth or the experience of the daily task. They read books when they can get them, and through employer welfare work or the more recent community and county library movement they are able to get some. These are mainly fiction, it is true, and contain little that is advanced in either social or economic ideas. But at least they contain ideas new and to some extent stimulating. The movie and the radio scatter a few more. The newspapers are perhaps more stimulating. Such papers as the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, the *Raleigh News and Observer*, the *Charleston News and Courier*, the *Macon Telegraph*, and other smaller newspapers have in recent years taken, some spasmodically, some consistently, quite liberal stands on the economic problems of the day and the locality. This type of stimulation reaches a large portion of the industrial workers of the South. Again, there is the propaganda of organizers. The spontaneous protest of southern labor beginning in 1929 stirred the organized labor movements of the country to talk to and circularize the southern worker. It was amazing how quickly those workers began to use labor's phraseology as to the results of scientific management and mass production, how quickly they learned to jeer at the term industrial democracy. Finally, there is the stimulation of national events which for the first time obviously and promptly affect their everyday life. It is amazing how keenly workers in the ranks analyzed the industrial codes and hit upon their fundamental weaknesses from the point of view of labor. The southern worker learns more quickly and has more sources of knowledge than he had when in the height of his old class consciousness he felt inferior, and when in the midst of his group consciousness he was isolated within his own industry.

Again the industrial worker has had a new way of living these last fifteen years. When the rural sandhill or piedmont tenant or the mountain farmer first entered industry the change in his living was largely social and psychological rather than physical. He now lived within earshot of neighbors on all sides instead of barely in sight of a single one. He worked all day with people with whom he could snatch a bit of conversation instead of the solitary labor of the field. When work was over he could and did gather with them at the drugstore or the lodge, and his women folks and children at some sort of club or recreational group. He was on a money economy and saw more cash in a month than he had in a year on the farm.

In some other respects his life was not so different. The self-sufficient mountain family may have raised a large part of its food,

but the man who had grown staple crops knew what it was to depend on the store for meat and bread. The mountain farmer now lived in a frame house instead of a log one, but it was flimsy instead of sturdy. The tenant farmer, already used to the flimsy frame house, saw the chief difference in the paint on the outside. It was a little more tightly built, but with fuel to buy instead of to gather freely this difference was not so great. There was not much difference in size. Houses for industrial workers, whether built by the industry or private landlords, more commonly had two or three rooms just as did the rural houses from which they came. Electric lights were a well-nigh universal equipment in the place of the old oil lamps but other household conveniences were not much beyond the rural standard: an outside privy for sanitation, a pump or water hydrant to serve several houses or at best a spigot on each back porch. Only the better paid workers could afford houses with more elaborate sanitation, and only those living in the larger towns could get them even if they could afford them.

Then came the boom years from 1917 onward. The industrial landlord improved his village out of big profits; the private landlord had to improve his in order to rent them. Bathrooms were tacked on to old houses and built into the new. Plastered walls were replacing the old ceiling often unpainted or at best only rarely painted. Houses were bigger, so that the typical house became three or four rooms instead of two or three. Installment sellers convinced the workers that they wanted their houses fitted up with phonographs, parlor suites, and player pianos and presently with radios. They needed such conveniences as electric irons and electric fans, run by cheap current from the company, a new intense-heating oil stove, a new refrigerator, and some bottles of pop to go in it. Gradually everybody went on wheels and so even the worker who lived a few minutes' walk from his work bought a car the more to enjoy his half day and Sunday off and to look about for a better job. The store that supplied him with food was able, because of increasing rapidity of distribution of such products, to tempt him continually with fruits and vegetables, while the community nurse and school teacher were all busy educating him to the need of this sort of food. He learned quickly to ask for the best cuts of meat, even if his wife did not always learn to cook them to the best advantage. A meat market in a cotton mill village, for example, found it could sell only hind quarters of beef. His wife had canned goods and baker's bread for the table, his daughters had the silk stockings, the ready-made clothes, and the cosmetics to make them fairly faithful copies of the daughters from the exclusive suburb. All the family had

frequent movie tickets and a nickel or a dime to spend for a dope or a hot dog.

All of which is simply saying that the southern industrial worker had a pretty good sample of the little comforts, luxuries, and pleasures which the wealthy were enjoying. Such things quickly become a part of the standard of living, become necessities to any people, even if, as at Elizabethton, a girl must buy her two dollar silk stockings on a weekly installment basis that kept her paying after the stockings were worn out. These were the things or the current equivalent of what he and his father and his grandfather had only vaguely known of, or knowing, had assumed were for the "big bugs." To the southern industrial worker they were more than mere silk stockings and automobiles and movies. They were more than a mere new way of living—they were a physical proof of a new life.

In the third place, the southern industrial worker has had some new economic experiences these last few years and, perhaps more important, has been aware of their significance and consequently of his part in a larger economic scheme of things. The national trend toward labor-saving machinery, which gained such momentum because of the scarcity of labor and high wages, kept on because of keen competition. The industries of the South shared in both phases of the movement and especially the latter. In coal mining and in the handling of material in iron and steel manufacture, the machine changed the job for many and abolished it for others. Even in highway construction, an industry new to the South, the machine replacement of many men was only partly concealed by the fact that the work was expanding so fast. In the cigarette factory a group of thirty girls would be laid off until a new unit of machinery was installed and then four or five would be rehired to operate it. In the textile industry the automatic spooler replaced a large number of middle-aged, slightly skilled women who were not easily absorbed in other work.

More important was the speeding up of all forms of machinery and the increased attention to planning and routing and to management in general. The scientific management idea reached the South late, but reached it with a bang in the middle twenties. A rather badly garbled form appeared in the textile industry in what the workers called "the stretch out." The old fairly leisurely cotton mill jobs were now like the swift factory system of other regions and industries, while the long southern hours made for more physical strain. The close checking and supervision necessary to installing and maintaining the system were new and irritating to the mill worker. The process displaced or demoted many operatives,

and everyone felt uneasy lest his time come soon. To make things worse the output glutted the market and made reduced working schedules the rule instead of the measure for an emergency. Perhaps most galling of all was the fact that all this took place in a period of general deflation. The stock argument of dividing the profits of efficiency, with which the scientific management principle is usually justified, was completely discredited. It did little good to point out that wages might have been lower but for this decrease in cost when a man was working harder, turning out more goods, and doing it all under the spur of the stop watch and in the fear that he would not long be allowed to do even this—and all for less money.

Presently the docile, even passive, southern workers began to protest. For the most part they made a blind thrust at conditions they felt keenly if they did not understand clearly. But they learned some valuable lessons from these early uprisings. They learned the power of group action. We must not let the failures of the spectacular strikes at Gastonia and Marion and the gallant fight and inevitable loss at Danville blind us to the fact that in 1929 the workers in dozens of mills won their strikes against the stretch out. Workers who did not strike saw the results in more caution on the part of their own employer or actual abandonment of the stretch out. For not every employer is as obstinate as W. B. Cole at Rockingham or as unreasonable and fussy as Rignal Baldwin at Marion or as sure of his good deeds as H. R. Fitzgerald at Danville.

The workers felt vaguely that they needed guidance, and at Elizabethton, Marion, and Danville they sent to the obvious place for help, namely, their state federations of labor. The ineptness of that assistance was recognized by members of the labor movement, by the local public, and by the workers themselves. The workers decided that the American Federation of Labor was either not interested in the lowly southern textile worker or was unable to help. They found that they must depend upon themselves. That is a valuable piece of knowledge for a group who for thirty years and more have been the object of spasmodic organizing campaigns which approach in fervor a religious revival and hardly surpass it in permanence of effect. They found that they must have local leaders who understand local conditions and people and who will have a personal as well as a professional and theoretical stake in the outcome. To be sure, they do not have many such leaders as yet, but these will come. As industry in the South matures there is not the place at the top for the able and energetic young men who used to be so rapidly promoted to management. They will be left in the

ranks to find expression in working with and for their fellows. It is significant that in the strikes of the last three years the leaders have been young men. Southern industry has never furnished much opportunity for advancement to women workers. It is significant also that these better educated, aggressive young women have found self-expression in these new group activities.

They learned—or found they had—a good deal of courage. For it takes courage to strike when you can be promptly dumped out of house and home as the cotton mill worker can, or refused credit for food as any industrial worker is when public opinion is generally against the strike, when there is no strong organization with a well-filled treasury behind the movement. The strikes of 1929-30 had more than a touch of adventure in their tent colonies and encounters with troops—breaks in the monotony to be talked of long after and in some respects at least quite worth the hardships. There was courage to the point of recklessness in those of the spring and summer of 1933 lest they nip in the bud the beginnings of recovery which textile and furniture workers saw in renewed activity in their factories but which was unaccompanied by improvement in their own conditions. There was the courage of despair in the strikes of relief workers during the winter of 1932-33. Then there were the little strikes when the codes first went into effect, proof of impatience, perhaps, and of too little understanding of the codes, but proof also of alertness and of courage.

They have learned the power of public opinion. There was at first, we are told, no little sympathy in Gastonia for the strikers who were protesting against a mill policy of cutting wages and “stretching out” workers, because that same policy included high salaries paid at the sacrifice of dividends to local shareholders. It was the bogey of communism, free love, and outside agitators that extinguished sympathy. In another town the strikers had public sympathy because the social agencies had to help the mill village families with all emergencies while the style of living of the owner seemed unaffected by decreased income. In South Carolina even the legislature recognized the cause of the workers and appointed a committee which investigated conditions and censured the methods of the mill managements. In the summer of 1932 a group of workers in North Carolina quickly ended their strike when public opinion, led by a friendly newspaper, pointed out that their demands were unreasonable and their position untenable. In 1933 the local labor organization in High Point tried to repeat the triumphant strike of 1932, but found to its dismay that under vastly different circumstances—internecine labor strife, pending NIRA

codes and so on— public opinion which had been strongly for it twelve months before was now against it, that the local newspaper which had rendered vital aid then was now distinctly cold. The strike petered out in a week or so.

The workers have learned that the southern public is almost as suspicious of outside leadership as the industrialist himself. And so time after time, especially after the experience of Gastonia and Marion, we find them refusing the intervention of organizers, even to the point of physically, and somewhat violently, removing such interlopers. They have learned that public opinion demands that an employer talk to his own workers. Even so obstinate employers as those at Rockingham finally had to capitulate and do this much at the insistence of the governor of North Carolina.

Finally, they are learning that all sorts of workers have a common cause. In several strikes in the South in recent years the farmers have brought in produce and have declared they would continue to help a group with whom they felt some economic kinship. The organizing campaign of the American Federation of Labor in 1929 and 1930 helped to educate groups along this line, and there were several instances of state and city federations collecting free will offerings from all sorts of workers and sending truck loads of food and clothing to what used to be considered an alien group. Perhaps the climax of this came in the flare-up at High Point in the summer of 1932 when the strike starting in a hosiery mill spread to cotton mills, furniture factories, and every sort of industry in that community and even the neighboring towns. Some insist that this was no evidence of voluntary action—that the mob of unemployed who closed down the industries had no sympathy from the furniture workers and others whose plants were stopped. But all admit that the success of the hosiery strike in High Point in 1932 encouraged the furniture workers of the next town to strike a few weeks later. The leader of the hosiery strike was invited to go to Thomasville to aid them if he could, and also to go to Rockingham, a hundred miles away, to aid cotton mill strikers. The strikes of relief workers already referred to were startling examples of this, when workers of all kinds, from Negro laborers to skilled building trades workers joined in protesting the wages and conditions of labor in made work.

There are slight suggestions of one or two more aspects which may become significant. Thus far, they are so faint that it may be an exaggeration even to mention them in a serious analysis of the situation. But if they increase they may quickly become important.

One is the possibility of recognition of industrial workers as a factor in politics. Cotton mill owners and companies have long been

accused, with some foundation, of voting their workers, so there is already a bloc vote that might conceivably get from under the owner's control. Their quick if evanescent response to a magnetic speaker, whether he be preacher or union organizer, shows the opportunity for the political spellbinder to marshal large bodies of voters long enough to pass election day. There is not a great deal of chance of this in North Carolina, for example, where industrial units are small and are owned at home, where the stockholders and owners take so prominent a part in the life of the towns and of the state. Politicians who catered to the group as such would alienate more powerful friends in other ranks of society. But it is highly possible in South Carolina, for example, where the ownership of the chief industry, textiles, has been for a decade and more passing into the control of northern corporations and selling agencies. Many felt that Cole Blease made a start in this direction by appealing to the cotton mill vote. In the High Point strike of July, 1932, there was an undercurrent of feeling that local politicians had been a factor in coalescing the group of young unemployed who took things into their own hands and led the mass action in closing down all industrial plants.

Related to this has been the extreme radical movement which started with the communistic leaders at Gastonia in 1929. Most people thought this whole idea was completely stamped out by the collapse of the strike, the trial, and sentencing of the leaders, and their forfeiting bond rather than serve their sentences. But it was not stamped out; indeed, it seems to have thrived, at least underground, on the intense opposition in the Charlotte-Gastonia area. The communists claim a paid membership of six thousand; a conservative estimate placed it in 1932 at three thousand. They have sent agitators and literature to every place where a strike breaks out and to every place where discontent comes close enough to the surface for them to hear of it.

It has not always been the professed radicals who have made some very radical observations in the last few years. Thus, some observers believe that the straw that broke the camel's back and caused the strike in Henderson in 1928 was precipitated by a particularly large and, according to the workers' standards anyhow, magnificent party which the owner's wife gave simultaneously with the wage cut against which they protested. In High Point the striking hosiery workers invaded the grounds of the employer who had precipitated the strike with a big wage cut, and in his absence went in swimming in his private pool. At another town the workers heard during a strike that only the white meat of the chicken appeared on

the table of their employer. For the first time there were many remarks upon the contrast of wealth of the owner and poverty of the worker. The towns are too small in the South for much distance between the exclusive west end subdivision and the east side industrial village.

At this writing it is too early to try to estimate the permanent effect of the National Industrial Recovery Act on the southern worker. The codes have already given shorter hours and better wages and no more insecurity of tenure to the individual, no more short time to the group than the combination of *laissez faire* and the stretch out. The gains have been substantial enough to create faith on the part of the workers that the codes mean what they say. And so they report violations to officers they did not know existed a few years ago; they listen to the organizer again after having become pretty disgusted with him in 1929-30. This is not because he is a better orator than his predecessor, but because at last organization seems likely to have some chance to succeed, to have some real use to them. If the NIRA stays in effect only long enough to get southern workers—and southern employers—accustomed to the mechanics of organization and the psychology of representation their future and that of southern industry will be fundamentally changed.

There, then, are the evidences upon which I base my opinion that the southern industrial worker is waking up, is gaining somewhat in self confidence and in group assurance. Industry grew up in the South when this man and his father were mentally asleep, when they hardly realized the extent of their economic and social disinheritance and when such self consciousness and class consciousness was a weakening trait of character. It is inevitable that if this foundation changes, the industrial order built upon it must change as well. It can not continue to pay the lowest wage in the country and to concentrate in industries that exist by low wages. It can not continue to entice industries to use its cheap and docile labor, for industries that want those traits are already wary of the South. Its employers even now are not trying so hard to thwart the workers of their own class who seek social legislation; they may yet join with them in some measures. The industrialization of the South may not go on so rapidly but, it is hoped, it will be more sound socially.

THE COAL MINER

BY BRUCE CRAWFORD

A FEW YEARS AGO, even when the coal industry enjoyed its share of that inflation called prosperity and the miner's lot was in some cases relieved by the ownership of an automobile or a silk shirt, a professional literary critic advised a fledgling story writer not to waste time on the coal miner. "His life is practically devoid of romance," said the critic; "he is a gnome-like creature, doomed to drabness and futility." And the young writer, seeking the happy-end materials of life, passed up the coal digger as so much human slate.

Slate is dumped over the hill, along with discarded machinery and crippled mules. But does the miner ultimately "go over the dump," after heaving, ant-fashion, mountainous piles of coal to the top of the earth? What of his life during his average of fifteen years as a coal heaver? What are his working and living conditions, his cultural satisfactions however crude, his political and civil rights? And what is his future as a miner; what the future of his children?

With negligible exceptions, the conditions under which the southern miner lives, works and rears his children are, in their anti-social aspects, the same throughout the coal areas of Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Alabama, and Arkansas. Circumstances are more favorable in the few so-called captive mines. These are owned by railroads and manufacturers, themselves the sole consumers of the output. In towns like those owned by Henry Ford, United States Steel, and the International Harvester, most of the houses for the workers are substantially built, painted, and equipped with sanitation. But in most towns of this kind the worker's freedom is quite limited. He is compelled to trade at the commissary where prices are higher than at outside stores. He is denied the right to organize. He is virtually in custody of the company officer deputized by the county sheriff. Even so, this miner is a good animal. But at the average mine, engaged in savage competition

for orders since 1929, the lot of the miner and his family has been unspeakable poverty: a hovel for shelter, poorest clothing, an incredible diet, no sanitation, indifferent medical attention, emaciation, untimely death.

No industry is more hazardous than coal mining. Mine owners have promoted Safety First and First Aid to reduce an appalling list of accidents and fatalities. Except at large plants this activity has languished as the vicissitudes of the industry multiplied. Smaller mines, struggling to keep going, neglect safety precautions. Carelessly hung electric wires and neglected slate roof are causes of many deaths which in better times would have been prevented. Dampness and poor ventilation result in pulmonary maladies. Tuberculosis, or "miner's asthma," is caused partly by daily inhalation of coal dust. Explosions from dust and gas occur more frequently in a depression. When the owners themselves, through carelessness or mistaken economy, are responsible for a disaster, the bureau of mines does not always place the blame where it belongs. The miner is the first and permanent victim of hard times in the coal industry.

Working hours vary, as do working days. Now and then the miner goes into the pit, loads enough cars to make from \$2 to \$4, and comes out in the early afternoon. If he works three days a week he manages to get by. Technology and deflation shortened his working week. But too often he will go into the mine and stay all day without having any cars shunted to him by the motorman for loading, or maybe he will receive two or three cars. For loading a car he gets anywhere from 35 to 50 cents. He must clean up slate and dirt without pay, no matter how much of it, or how late in the day it keeps him.

Recent statistics for the industry in both North and South show a wage of 80 cents to a dollar a day, with still fewer working days a month. In addition there are large numbers of entirely idle men living on union relief, "doubling up" with relatives, or starving. Others have quit the mines altogether, and are subsisting in primitive fashion on hillside farms. Many companies give all their men a few days' work rather than a few men full-time work. This policy, often advocated in relief programs, is not free from serious disadvantage to the miner. It enables the owners to keep the miner's wages from going away from the commissary, since no miner working two or three days a week draws any cash above his commissary needs to spend elsewhere. A full-time employee might draw some cash and spend it at outside stores.

Before the miner can draw on his wages he first must have made enough to cover "deductions" for rent, coal, light, smithing, doctor,

hospital, insurance, school, burial, and at some mines, church. These cuts, or "deducts" as the miner calls them, at many mines remain the same regardless of the number of days a month the miner works. A typical statement at the end of the month lists cuts as follows: rent and light \$8, doctor \$1, hospital \$1, burial fund \$1, smithing \$1, coal \$3. Not every company deducts for all these items. Some omit all of them for short periods to keep their labor at hand until the mines can run at capacity. But in a time of depression the miner does well to earn \$30 a month. Deductions make heavy inroads, leaving fifteen to twenty dollars for trade at the commissary.

The miner's home in the average camp is anything but "home, sweet home." The houses are, for the most part, crudely constructed shacks, closely set in rows along hillsides or creek bottoms. The worst are without plaster, running water, toilets, or sanitation of any kind. Cracks in the walls are covered with newspapers plastered on with flour paste to keep out the winter winds. Water is carried from springs in roadsides or creek banks. The privy is built over a creek, or on the slope near the back door. The cow, when the miner is so fortunate as to own one, is stabled under the floor if the house is one of those perched on stilts upon the hillside. Sanitation is practically non-existent.

In the better regulated collieries there are many double houses with running water, bathrooms, electric lights, and some pretension to order and æsthetics. A two-story double house will front a yard divided by a paling fence that extends across the porch. Miners who have succeeded in becoming tippie or stable bosses, foremen, or loading contractors, usually occupy these more comfortably equipped houses. More or less permanently situated, they take some pride in vegetable gardens, lawns, and shrubbery. But even in the best of camps, far up a hollow or behind a mountain of dumped slate, may be found a row of shacks forming a picture of neglect and degradation: leaky roofs, porches with planks missing, bare yards with bodily wastes in evidence, and perhaps a wet weather spring on a slope below all this.

When times are prosperous and labor is scarce, the worker may live on his own property, no matter how far distant. But when labor is plentiful, the miner is given the choice of renting a company house or surrendering his job. Many miners in Kentucky and Virginia had moved out to hillside patches where they expected to supplement their short time in the mines with work in their gardens. This was a good arrangement until the company supplanted them with men willing to move into company houses.

In eras of prosperity the miner lived well. True, his wages were

consumed by high prices, but he managed to have plenty of food and clothing as well as luxuries like porch swings and phonographs. While he may not have exhibited any of the frugality and thrift of which people of much self-esteem prate, he did his part to prolong prosperity by keeping the money he made in circulation. For that matter, he was induced by every allurements to spend his wages. That was what payrolls were for. What the company store during boom days did not unload on him by means of a system of credit calculated to keep him in debt and on the job, he was ballyhooed into buying from merchants in nearby independent towns that grew up and prospered on the mine payrolls. But in normal times, and particularly in a period of depression, the miner bears more than his share of the economic burden. Like the mule under the rawhide lash, he must take orders and pull his load; unlike the mule, he is expected to do a day's work, the provender be what it may. Unless he belongs to a union he is afraid to peep a protest and his grievances rankle unheard. If not satisfied with a diet of pinto beans, fat meat and "bulldog" gravy, and rags for his children, he is reminded that he should have saved some money when times were flush.

Food is indeed a problem, over the period of a lifetime. Compelled to pay extortionate commissary prices, he can not put much on his table with only two or three days' work a week. Cornbread made with water, while it may sometimes be esteemed as part of a repast, is certainly neither wholesome nor toothsome when taken as a steady diet. Potatoes may be found prepared two ways, fried and mashed, for the same meal, with little else. Pumpkins, which farmers raise for their livestock but which they share with the miner, are served two or three different ways for a single meal. Not always is there milk, even canned milk, for the children. Any cows the miners may own go dry from lack of fodder. In the impoverished camps of Kentucky, milk is regarded as medicine. In the growing months the wives and children forage for "greens." For weeks this green stuff, eaten with fat meat and cornbread, constitutes the family diet. Whole communities therefore suffer epidemics of flux. Pellagra is common. Susceptibility to tuberculosis and other diseases is greatly increased by malnutrition. Such conditions are more prevalent where the mines work only part time, where workers lose their jobs because they join a union, or where they go on strike. During a strike the miner and his family must subsist on rations from the union and stuff begged from soft-hearted hucksters who are permitted on the public highways but not in the feudal area of the company.

Except in good times the miner is coerced into accepting for his labor, not government money, but a highly inflated form of private currency known as company scrip. While waiting for pay day, when he might expect to draw some cash, he must have food and clothing for himself and family. With no money in the house, his wife must draw scrip, which is good in trade at the commissary. By pay day he generally has drawn all his earnings. If his month's statement shows that he made \$35, in reality he made only about \$25, inasmuch as company prices range from 25 to 100 per cent higher than chain store prices. Many companies make more profit from their commissaries than from the sale of coal. Some operate mines in order to have renters and store customers. The miner in straits often sells his scrip for cash at a discount of 25 per cent or more to a speculator who turns the scrip back to the company at a discount that nets him a good profit. Moreover, barber shops and theatres operated by the company or by concessions from the company usually have two prices, a low one for cash and a high one for scrip. Because the miner must draw against his wages between pay days and because he would risk his job if he traded at outside stores, he must accept this outrageously inflated company money. It necessarily means a beastly living standard.

There are, however, companies whose store prices are lower than prices prevailing outside. This may be true when a company has several operations in one region and a store for each operation. A wholesale house is established, not only to supply these stores but to sell to merchants generally. Because of an efficient merchandising system, the company is able to offer low prices to its employees. This is the case with one company in southwestern Virginia. But usually where the commissary prices are lower than prices elsewhere, wages also are lower. No matter how low the miner's wage, if he can buy goods for less at the company store than anywhere else he will patronize his employers and accept the wage scale.

The company doctor is often an issue of some bitterness. No list of complaints of the workers, when they organize, omits the "company doctor injustice." The doctor, though supported by the miners, is employed by the company. Unlike the physician of independent practice, the company doctor seldom feels any responsibility for his patients. Miners complain that often he takes his time when responding to a call; that sometimes he either ignores the call or forgets to come; that when he does come he shows not even a professional, much less a humanitarian, interest in the patient. Moreover, in case of accident or death resulting in line of duty, the doctor is likely to relieve the company of responsibility by misrepresenting the actual

cause. A Virginia undertaker was looking into the lungs of a Negro miner, 50 years old, whose death the company doctor attributed to "heart failure." The lining of the lungs was coated with coal dust. "This poor Negro was found dead at his working place in the mine," said the undertaker. "The doctor and his assistants lay it to heart trouble. But look at these lungs—twenty years of coal dust! If this man isn't a victim of his job, and his wife isn't entitled to compensation, I don't know what justice is."

Hospital and burial funds, of course necessary, at many places accumulate beyond actual needs. This accumulation is justified on the ground that it constitutes an emergency surplus for epidemics and disasters. In the larger camps hospitalization is in competent hands; in fact, is superior to that afforded in many of the cities. The hospital is the complement of the program of safety first and first aid sponsored by the larger corporations.

Closely related to the hospital and burial funds is what the miners call "the compensation insurance racket." Many companies collect large funds for such insurance, but it is one of the miner's grievances that he dare not accept settlement in cash lest he lose his job. At some mines it is customary for the worker to "leave it with the company" and make no effort to collect anything whatever. In many an instance, however, the injured man receives extra credits at the commissary, the full amount of the compensation, whether \$30 or \$3,000, being distributed over months or years. The extent of a man's injury, and hence the amount of his compensation, often-times is determined by the company doctor, or by independent physicians who receive virtual retainers in many forms. Therefore, while a state commission may hear contested cases, it is sometimes difficult to find a physician who is in a position to give disinterested testimony. It is common knowledge that honest doctors in general practice refuse overtures of regular pay from insurance companies. All of which reveals how the cards are stacked against the miner, in the matter of compensation no less than in other questions involving simple human rights.

II

WHAT "CULTURAL" opportunities relieve the miner of the drabness of his lot, the boredom of his spare time? What are his diversions, his sports, his recreations? What are the influences that might lift him from the status of the mole and promise his children a better place in society?

First, every mining town of any size has its own school, customarily supported in part by the company out of its own treasury or

by cuts from the miners' wages. In order to have adequate equipment and teachers as good as those in other towns, the company is willing to supplement the county's appropriations. In some camps the school buildings are brick, with modern plant equipment, playgrounds, and athletic fields. When times are good and work is plentiful, all children of school age may be found in the class room. When work is slack, children of the most destitute families are likely to stay out because they have insufficient clothing. Many go through the winter without underwear or shoes. Lack of food does not necessarily keep them from school, since in the better managed towns they are provided with milk by local relief or the county school board. Schooling in the smaller camps is neglected and many children, because of extreme poverty, do not attend at all.

Every mining community has its church or churches. The "church house" may be a company donation, or an impoverished place of worship in an abandoned dwelling. If the building is furnished by the company, it is generally used by all denominations except Catholics and "Holy Rollers." Where the mining population consists of many foreign born, there will be a Catholic church. The Holy Rollers are the poorest in worldly goods. They find their only opportunity for fellowship and mass communion at the church meeting, whether in the home of a brother or under a spreading tree. Because of their poverty they do not attend gatherings of other kinds.

If the pastor is not directly or indirectly subsidized by the company, or does not himself work in the mines, he is supported by free will offerings from the miners and boarded by them if he happens to be an itinerant preacher. In their rags they come together to hear him "preach the Word." They sing praises to the God that has spared them unimaginable tribulations. They wail prayers for deliverance from their poverty and its mysterious diseases and terrors. Usually the preacher, called to the ministry because of a deep, Sinaic voice, is able to transport them from squalor to realms of beauty and rest. Many a coal digger can work a whole week, or endure a week of enforced idleness, after being filled with the spirit of a church meeting. The scrip clerk may scowl and bark at the housewife, or the company policeman ask her whether she has quit trading at the A. & P., but there will be a welcome for her and rejoicing when she goes to glory.

The mining town is not without its secret order, or "lodge." Those able to pay dues belong to such orders as the Red Men and the Odd Fellows. The lodge affords them poetic release, what with its musically worded ritual, its garish lithographs of Jesus and the lambs, or Moses leading the Children of Israel out of bondage, and

its magnificently colored costumes and banners. Aside from the mysticism—incantations and rhythmical repetition of occult phrases—there is the child-play of marching and war-whooping like Indians or impersonating shining characters in history, in which latter they are no more children than the economically more fortunate adults of supposed culture.

Whatever cultural influence the movies may have on American life, that influence is doubtless at its worst in the mining town. Here the cheapest pictures are shown every night in the week. The films are abysmal westerns for the most part, depicting primitive emotions, gun-play, robbery, murder, daring crimes of all kinds, and a world of sensational unreality—except for the gun-play. This seems unavoidably to occur in their lives when the workers join unions to exercise some measure of self-determination and a class struggle ensues. The moving picture may be an escape after a day of toil underground, but its influence on the miner and his children as social creatures is unquestionably pervertive.

What is true of the movies is true of such literature as reaches the miner, especially at a time of labor unrest. His reading matter consists of newspapers that pass company censorship, along with innocuous religious and home journals, and low-grade feature sheets with their sensational banalities. In the camps of the larger corporations, the miner receives a publication edited by a company staff. It features prize babies, improved premises, record-breaking coal loaders, star baseball playing motormen, school classes, and perhaps a miners' band. The publication enables the company to build up a "community spirit" that not only develops more efficient employees but tends to insure the owners against class agitation.

Mining towns of any size have their athletics, sometimes football, but as a rule baseball. The superintendent will sponsor a team and stir up rivalry with other coal towns. If the rivalry becomes desperate, expert players are imported at high salaries from professional clubs. In the end the camp team may or may not be a miners' aggregation. The sport often degenerates into company rivalry.

III

WHAT OF THE miner's political and civil rights? In the last few years much emphasis has been placed on these rights, chiefly because of the class struggle in the industry. The bitterest wars in the South have been in Kentucky and West Virginia. Unionized coal diggers, setting forth demands for rights guaranteed by the constitution, found themselves snared by the "Yellow Dog" contract. This is a contract which the worker signs when he accepts employment. The

agreement binds him not to join a labor union or to take part in any agitation against the company. These organized protests usually set forth a long list of grievances and demands. Among the demands are abolition of the yellow dog contract, a check-weighman of their own choosing, a doctor subject to their will, the right to trade where they wish, reinstatement of men cashiered for joining the union, the right to assemble peacefully and to choose leaders in any industrial controversy. Among other grievances are search and seizure without warrant, arrests on trumped-up charges, unlawful evictions from company houses, the blacklist, and a general conspiracy of operators and a misinformed and unorganized public to defeat their cause.

It might be noted here that in many a coal town a "company union" is organized, with a membership composed of both miners and office men. The workers belong rather apathetically to such a union, feeling that it is dominated by the company through the office men on its roster.

When the miner strikes against what he regards as oppressive conditions, he invites the hostility of all business firms, agencies, and individuals depending in the final counting on his labor. First, of course, he comes to grips with his employers and their own union, the Coal Operators Association. He next offends all who look to the coal company for business—railroads, power companies, machinery manufacturers, wholesale houses, insurance companies, banks, and the press. Even the small town merchants, at first sympathetic with the miner because he must trade largely with the commissary, eventually come to deplore the strike because of pressure from influential coal barons. "Better half a loaf than no loaf at all," the merchants are told. Solicitors taking orders for magazine subscriptions and goods not on sale at the commissary are also opposed to strikes. They too, as they go about the country, join the chorus of denunciation of the worker who sees fit to quit in protest. But if the owners themselves see fit to close down, for one reason or another, and thus ruin the coal field as a trade territory, that is their own business.

Others joining the chorus of denunciation are the chambers of commerce, the service clubs and, in some instances, the Red Cross. In Kentucky the Red Cross denied aid to miners because a strike is not "an act of God." The law enforcement agencies are always against the strikers, since most officers in a mining region are paid by the companies and given a badge by the sheriff. The politician, sensitive to the fact that the company can deliver the miner vote, knows which side to take.

Soon after a strike is called the miner sees other workers, jobless

and more destitute than himself, imported to run the mines. This is the crowning infamy. His own class is pitted against him. "The scabs!" he mutters. Forthwith he attempts to keep them from taking the jobs of his fellow strikers—first by picketing and orderly persuasion, finally by less gentle methods. But troops are soon on the scene—what? his government?—to protect the imported men and to insure continued operation of the mines. This is the last straw. If he sees red, he may also go red. If his old union deserts him now, when he is about to become a permanent responsibility, he may lend ear to the exhilarating doctrine of Communism and join the National Miners Union. If he does that, he is never the same again.

IV

THE FOREGOING is representative of every struggle that has brought the miner's constitutional rights seriously into question. With unimportant variations it has been the story of southern West Virginia, of Tennessee, of Alabama, of Arkansas, of Kentucky.

Doubtless the Kentucky situation has been the most outstanding example of industrial despotism and official depravity in the history of coal mining in the South. The issues in the main have been the same in every other conflict between operators and miners. But the struggle of Kentucky miners won the spotlight of national publicity and attracted even world-wide attention.

Because the Kentucky struggle has assumed the proportions and all the aspects of a genuine class war, and because it has been typical in its fundamental implications, the Kentucky situation will be given particular emphasis here, by way of summarizing the plight and the prospect of the southern coal miner.

Here in Kentucky is a tribe of native Americans, whose ancestors fought in the Revolutionary War, today being exploited and impoverished. Their extinction is not an impossibility. Corralled, starved, harassed, killed, they are a doomed race—unless there is a thoroughgoing shake-up and socialization of the industry.

Their forefathers revolted against domination by outside capital, English money invested here to reap profits on materials and men. That was the *first* American revolution.

And their forefathers owned the vast acres of Kentucky's mountains and valleys. They were an independent lot, now famed in sagas. But they knew little or nothing of the rich deposits of coal underlying their lands. In time came agents of outside capital from New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago to wheedle the land with its coal away from these unsuspecting hill people. The consideration was not unusually little more than a mule and a musket.

The coal was exploited and so were the native people. They were huddled together in feudal mining towns and compelled to go under the very hills they once owned to root out the coal that had been taken from them. If they refused to mine this coal under conditions imposed by the new owners, they were driven away or left to make their living as best they could in the now ravished hills.

To the open hearings conducted in the fall of 1931 by the Dreiser investigating committee, of which the author was a member, came typical victims of the coal field impoverishment and terror. They were natives bewildered by industrialism, yet somehow articulate in their distress. Their eyes stood out like the eyes of hunted animals, and their voices were shrill, but they told their story simply, clearly, unforgettably. And it was always the same story—an intensification of all the ills they had suffered before they attempted to better their lot: discharge for joining the union or for trading at outside stores; evictions on short notice; homes raided for Communist literature or union cards; abusive treatment of women and children by deputy sheriffs; men jailed on fake charges, or shot down in swift raids by company guards; disappointment in relief agencies, whose officials were either coal operators or their friends; betrayal by the United Mine Workers union, which had been collecting dues for years; children undernourished and without clothing to attend school; arrest for having "unlawful" literature that had been admitted to the U. S. mails; blacklisted, hounded, starved, terrorized, with "carloads of law" stirring up the dust of the highways and descending upon soup kitchens, churches, lodges, and homes, with license to destroy and kill.

At a union meeting attended by the committee, a gnarled, gaunt miner, of perhaps fifty, made an eloquent speech, straight from the bosom. Here was a picture no modernistic artist could exaggerate. The speaker was a bent animal springing furtively to and fro on the platform of the school house, his grey face tense with hatred, his voice asthmatic but determined, his eye emboldened by this opportunity to unbosom his feelings to the world. He looked like a caged animal (he had served a prison sentence, he said, for violating a "corrupt labor law"). He pulled his absurdly short coat around his ribs, holding it together with one hand while gesturing menacingly with the other. There was desperateness in his wasted limbs, there were fangs in his mouth and claws in his hands, and there was revolution in his heart. He, like many of his kind, had nothing more to lose.

Another speaker, a woman with her little boy of about five years toddling about her, made a stirring talk, which was really a song.

She had the fire of Patrick Henry. "What have we to lose?" she cried, addressing her own people. "They have done everything to us already. We should not be afraid to tell the truth here before these writers and let the whole world know what we are suffering." She came over this with singing refrain, her voice ringing with a natural eloquence that brought tears to many.

These people, speaking out of their deep need, are more articulate with their limited vocabulary than professional speakers. They are not concerned with mere impressiveness. They throw exhibitionism to the winds. Their speeches ring true. And no visitor can hear them and fail to be moved by their deep sincerity. Even the stenographer employed by coal companies to take down revolutionary utterances must have wept inwardly at these recitals of stark need and continual frustration.

V

AND CAN THE miner reasonably expect more of the coal operator under the present chaotic régime, with its fierce competition, displacement of men by machines, and other maladies which are peculiar to our capitalistic society? Little, if anything. Even where there is a genuine desire to improve the miner's lot, the operator is frustrated by the contradictions of a competitive profit system. The modernized machine has been geared to an antiquated social outfit, with the result that everything is going haywire. The miner is one of the first to suffer on account of the dislocations. In Kentucky, as in the coal fields elsewhere in the South, the operator, faced with the threat of Communism and still believing in an old magic, is trying to rehabilitate the miner. Unable to give him more work, the operator is today helping him to live by means of "subsistence" gardens, in co-operation with the State College of Agriculture. Those permanently discharged from the mines are being "rehabilitated" on patches of land, or allowed to go wherever there is a possibility that surplus labor might be absorbed. But at best the rehabilitation is a step backward, a lowering of the living standard of better times.

The owner, too, is desperate. But he is not starving. Like a bug in a carcass, the operator may live out of his insolvent business as long as there is anything left. When all is gone, he will have attached himself elsewhere. His personal problem, the question of bread and clothing, is nothing to compare with the miner's problem.

The mine worker has an entirely different prospect. He may be likened to the soil—soil that has been exploited, crop after crop, until it becomes thin and poor. Just as soil will not continue to produce without replenishment, so these overworked and underfed

miners are getting too poor to put forth. Nothing is being put back into the human soil. Worked out, they will be discarded and left to disappear with worn out machinery and broken down mules. Their places will be taken by other gnome-like workers, who will in turn be worked out, the process continuing until the resources of the hills also will be exhausted and the coal regions abandoned—all for what?

APPALACHIAN AMERICA

BY J. WESLEY HATCHER

THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS are a vast land-locked empire. The western boundary starts at the point on the western border of Pennsylvania at which the Ohio River breaks through, and follows the Ohio River to Maysville, Kentucky; it follows a south-westerly line from this point to Tullahoma, Tennessee, Decatur, Alabama, and ends at lines running northwest and southwest drawn through Birmingham, Alabama. On the north the boundary follows the Pennsylvania boundary from the Ohio line to the eastern boundary of Frederick County, Maryland, and following the same general south-westerly direction as that of the western boundary, it cuts through Lynchburg, Virginia, through Tennessee to Spartanburg, South Carolina. There a fairly sharp turn is made to the west, narrowing the width, to a point cutting through Cartersville, Georgia, and ending at the southern boundary of Coosa County, Alabama. This is a distance of 650 miles, airline, and an average width of 170 miles, a total of 111,000 square miles, an area approximately the size of New York and New England, or of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. It includes all of the state of West Virginia, four western counties of Maryland, the Blue Ridge Valley, and Allegheny counties of Virginia, the east end of Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, four northwestern counties of South Carolina, northern Georgia, and northeastern Alabama.

In relief the region consists of a great central depression and a separate mountain area on either side. More than one-half of the entire territory is included within the Allegheny-Cumberland Belt on the southwest, a little more than a fourth in the Blue Ridge Belt on the northeast and a little less than a fourth in the greater Appalachian Valley. Each division extends the entire length of the area. The Blue Ridge Belt on the east is from ten to sixteen miles wide in Virginia and Maryland and reaches a maximum width of seventy miles in North Carolina and a maximum height of 6,711

feet in Mt. Mitchell in the same state. It is lost in the piedmont plateau in Georgia. On the northwest, with its bold escarpment, is the Allegheny-Cumberland Belt, which is, throughout its entire extent, a plateau belt. Its eastern escarpment rises to commanding heights along the West Virginia-Virginia boundary, and in the Big Black Mountains of Virginia and Kentucky. In Tennessee it is much lower. In Alabama the eastern part is deeply cut by long narrow valleys, separated by isolated plateaus. The western portions consist of the western boundary of West Virginia, the broken "knob" country of eastern Kentucky, and the clearly defined line of escarpment of Tennessee and Alabama.

Between these higher belts, the Blue Ridge on the northeast and the Allegheny-Cumberland on the southwest, extends the other portion of this great upland region, the Greater Valley. In Maryland it is an extension of the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania; in Virginia a series of valleys. But in general configuration the Valley is continuous. It is often referred to as the Shenandoah, but is better known as the Valley of Virginia. On the western side it is cut up by a series of ridges known as the Allegheny Ridges. Toward the south the ridge portion becomes less prominent and the valley character more marked, but in Tennessee there are still prominent ridges. In Georgia and Alabama the Valley broadens and descends in altitude, the ridges and enclosing mountains lose their character, and the whole belt is swallowed up by the plateau and coastal plain to the southward.

This simple sketch will within itself scarcely give a suggestion as to the actual conditions which are responsible for the difficulty of access to the region and from one portion of it to the other. A closer-range view may help us to a fuller understanding. We are told that if one should follow an air line running west from Richmond, Virginia, to the Blue Grass of Kentucky he would have a most arduous task.¹ The going would be easy to the Blue Ridge, then the task would suddenly become difficult having in the next 14 miles eight transverse ridges to climb, and no one of them less than 2,000 feet. Then easy going again for 13 miles across the valley. Here an unusual formation begins. Crossing the Little House and Big House mountains one ascends 2,200 feet, descends 1,400 feet, climbs again 1,600 feet, and goes down 2,000 feet on the far side. Beyond this are steep and narrow ridges thrown across the way, paralleling each other like waves of the sea. In the next 40 miles, ten distinct mountain chains must be clambered up and down. There are few leads rising gradually to the crests. Each of these thrusts itself into the

¹ Horace Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders*, pp. 20-21.

purple haze one to two thousand feet above and is covered with a tangle of undergrowth. The hollows between are but deep troughs. The next thirty miles present strange topography. Instead of a succession of ridges folded over, one after the other, it is a confused jumble of small mountains, with the dividing troughs running in all directions of the compass. And in the final 200 miles from the Greenbrier River to the Kentucky River the ridges are irregular and the streams sprangle out in every direction. This picture with varying emphasis, applied to the entire length and breadth of the region, will give a fuller understanding of the real character of the region and account for the impenetrable isolation of the people from the time of settlement until recent years. It is not so much altitude as relief which is responsible for this isolation.

During the period of early settlement the region abounded in such resources as offered the conditions for a full and satisfying life. The lower valleys along the creeks and rivers were fairly broad and had a rich, abundant soil. The forests covering the mountains and filling the valleys abounded in wild fruits, nuts, game of all sorts, and the finest of timbers for building construction and fences.

As might be expected in a vast territorial expanse such as this, there are wide variations in soil character and depth. Generally speaking, the soil is the result of the weathering of the rock on the spot. The quality at a given point depends upon the character of the outcropping rock. Of course the outcropping igneous rocks and conglomerates give a much poorer foundation for soil than does the limestone in other sections or at other altitudes in the same section.² The wealth of plant food and depth of soil of the stream valleys accumulate largely at the expense of the heights above. Erosion carries the soil and humus from uplands, and the overflow of the streams deposits the wealth upon the flats of the rivers. The fertility of these portions is replenished year after year, with but little concern or effort on the part of the farmer.

On the other hand, the soil conditions of the hillsides and mountains are quite different. While the soil is relatively thin, it was originally covered by a heavy coating of humus, which gives a high fertility when first cleared of the forest and placed under cultivation. But the life of this soil is short. Its character makes it very susceptible to leaching and erosion. By the second spring much has gone out of it and the decline is appallingly rapid. By the fourth year it has been so impoverished that the returns do not justify the expenditure of the energy necessary to produce a crop. True to the American lack of foresight, the early settlers gave no attention to soil conser-

² Wilbur G. Burroughs, *Geography of the Kentucky Knobs*.

vation or to the effort to postpone the day of marginal production. When the soil was exhausted it was abandoned, and if there was another available mountainside, the trees were encircled and left standing in ghastly death while the underbrush was grubbed, piled, and burned. The fire from the underbrush would sweep over the entire mountainside, consuming the humus and robbing the soil. But this was the easiest and customary way. What else could be done? And why bother to change?

In addition to soil fertility and depth, the slope of the mountainside is important in a consideration of the agricultural prospects. Depending upon the character of the soil, the slope may vary from 10 to 20 degrees without suffering from washing.³ Much land under cultivation today far exceeds either of these figures in slope. A corn-field thrown against the skyline many hundred feet above the valley below, its slope standing at an angle of 45 degrees, is not an unknown or even an unusual sight. And in extreme cases, and not a few of them, slopes with an angle of 50 and even 75 degrees are planted in corn. Mr. Kephart tells us of a woman who told him she had many times hoed corn on her knees and propped the corn-hills with rocks to prevent their falling down the mountain.

A survey made under government direction in the early part of this century showed a total acreage of non-agricultural land of 23,310,000 acres, or 36,422 of the 111,609 square miles of our territory, leaving 75,187 square miles which are agricultural. If the Greater Appalachian Valley be deducted, leaving only the uplands of the ranges on either side, there are in the two belts 31,804,400 acres having agricultural possibilities. Mr. Campbell accepts 100 acres as the necessary acreage for a family's support. The 1930 census shows this to be approximately the average size. This would give a total of 318,044 farms in the two highland belts. But the total number of farms in the two belts is approximately 100,000 more than this. This of course can only mean that there are 100,000 farms in those sections with such soil character, slope, and altitude that they are unfit for agricultural purposes. And here lies the field so fertile in story for the author who would make his appeal to the popular imagination, from which have come the characters and cabins supposed to be "typically mountain." Here are the conditions which, translated into terms of life, tell a story of unbelievable tragedy.

But even with the pressure of population and the consequent blighting of human potentialities, the judgment of those who have made careful survey of the soil and population on a scientific basis,

³ L. C. Glenn, "Denudation and Erosion of the Southern Appalachian Region and the Monongahela River," pp. 11-12.

from a practical rather than an academic angle, is that the situation is far from hopeless. The government, in a report of a survey, indicates the possibilities of the good life for the mountain people in their own environment. "Terracing, contour plowing and ditching, crop rotation, sodding to pasture or meadow, as well as the crops best adapted to the region, especially those most helpful in holding soil on steep slopes, should be studied, and to be of practical value, this study must consider all these things as they are directly related to the specific and sometimes peculiar climatic rainfall, soil, slope, labor, and other natural and economic conditions in the region. Much could be learned from Europe, where for hundreds of years man has slowly won to agriculture area after area of steeper and steeper slope, as population has pressed hard upon subsistence. Methods employed in Europe should not be exactly followed because of differences in climate, crop, soil, labor, and other factors, but warned by their failures, and profiting by their achievements, we can adapt their successful methods to our own peculiar conditions. . . . The agricultural lands of the Appalachian Mountains are generally fertile, and if wisely handled will support safely and permanently a much greater population than now inhabits the region." ⁴ Writing of the Cumberland Plateau Section, Dr. Glenn says, "The soil, though thin, will grow fruits; part will produce field crops of corn and other grain, especially along the flood-plained streams and on certain shaley or clayey belts, while much of it is suitable for sheep raising. The agricultural problem is not a hopeless one—indeed I do not feel it is even a serious one. . . . There are areas of poor soil, it is true, but such is far from being the rule. The problem as to whether that country will produce food for its inhabitants may be answered affirmatively. The problem, to my mind, is the fight against the isolation nature has imposed upon those people."

With the development of hard-surfaced roads, markets are becoming accessible and the way opened for improvement in economic conditions. The crop best suited to a given locality must be discovered through analysis and experimentation. The soils along the streams are well adapted to various grains. Apples and peaches have been cultivated with marked success in various sections. Generally the soil and climatic conditions are well adapted to berries of all sorts, grapes, and all small fruits. The chief hindrance is the late frost which comes in an occasional spring.

Every condition is favorable to poultry raising. One crying need

⁴ Report of Secretary of Agriculture on Southern Appalachian and White Mountain Sheds.

is the stimulation of interest and instruction as to poultry handling and care. Five years ago, within a year after the completion of the hard-surfaced road from Knoxville, in one of the most northern counties of Tennessee, with the old methods of allowing poultry to gather its food wherever it might be found, roost in the apple trees at night without reference to season or weather, and generally shift for itself, an average of 32,000 head of poultry per month were being shipped from the county seat. In this same county strawberry culture is being rapidly developed.

The Appalachian mountains offer ideal conditions for goat culture, which is perhaps the solution to the problem of adequate food supply in butter-fat, milk, and meat, at least for the areas less favorable to grain production and cattle. The first investment and the upkeep are relatively small, and returns upon the investment exceptionally large. But little has been done by way of cultivating this interest. Were it possible to persuade the family shunted back to the worst conditions of the mountains to substitute goats for hounds, conditions would be favorable to both goat and sheep raising. Everywhere it seems the hound is unalterably tied up with the interests of the less fortunate elements of society. A few years ago in one of the sections of best soil and agricultural conditions in eastern Kentucky, a candidate was elected to the state legislature on the promise that he would have the state tax on dogs reduced from two dollars to one dollar per head. He received the vote of every man in the poorer agricultural sections of the district.

But perhaps under the circumstances the hound has real value for the poorer mountaineer. It offers a way of escape from the dreary, drab routine of poverty and gives a sense of worth to the individual and a basis for comradeship. No one becomes more enthusiastic in his praise of the achievements of his filly in the Downs Derby than does the mountaineer of the speed and achievements of his hound in the chase. He might, however, be persuaded to give up the hound if his attention were directed to milk and butter-fat and meat for the family and the addition of young to the herd each year, and if general improvement in economic status could be shown to be within his grasp. Soil is so poor, methods of handling it so unsatisfactory, returns so meager, and habituation to these conditions so complete, that there is little in the worst of these locations to stimulate effort beyond that which is required for mere existence. Consequently, if improvement comes, it must come as a result of leadership from the outside.

So far as the timber and mineral wealth are concerned there is but little to be said. Originally the Appalachian section was one of

the four great hardwood areas of the United States. Great forests of oaks, hickories, maples, chestnuts, and tulip poplars abounded on the lower levels near the mountain base. On the levels above them were the forests of giant hemlocks, chestnut oaks, beeches, and birches, while above these were spruce and balsam. But with the characteristic American slaughter of natural resources in the interest of immediate profits, the area has been stripped. Since the owners of the land were unacquainted with the actual values in these resources, with *laissez faire* determining policies and attitudes of the government, and with the dogma of the survival of the fittest supporting and justifying the policies and methods of the capitalist, exploitation, without restraint, has carried on its devastation. Timber and mineral rights have been purchased for a song. One dollar an acre, and even as low as thirty-five cents, was not an unusual price.

Generally speaking, neither taxes nor royalties have been expected or received. As has been true in the East and the West, the North and the South, wherever capitalistic imperialism has gone, the retarded groups have been robbed of their potential wealth and left in helplessness. In spite of the vast potential wealth in the natural resources of the Appalachian mountains, the people are now largely without funds for roads, schools, or any other public improvements. Individuals are growing poorer each day. The policies and laws of neither state nor national government gave protection to the interests of the owners of the land. They have been reduced to the status of day laborers in the mines and mills of those who robbed them. Public sentiment and government gave their fullest sympathy to the ruthless exploitations and little understood the economic and social consequences which have followed in the wake of their slaughter. The people of the section have been more hopelessly at the mercy of their destroyers than have those of Mexico, China, and other portions of the world. China might stage a Boxer's uprising and organize a general revolt against economic, cultural, and political domination, and dump tradesman, financier, missionary, and educator into the Pacific by one fell stroke. Mexico might rewrite her constitution and at least make it a little less easy for American and European investors to rifle her estate. Even Nicaragua might find some good Samaritan who would file protest against unceasing plunder.

But what can the exploited of Appalachian America or any other section of our own land do? They are as helpless as was the child in the hands of predatory parents a generation ago. Interference of government would be paternalistic, and consequently un-American. We are organized to protect one class while others are devoured.

We can offer help to the less fortunate only in the form of charity. The economic development and the present condition of the highlands of the South are entirely consistent with our national history and philosophy.

Present indications are that the future holds but little that offers better conditions to this people. Various chambers of commerce of municipalities and states in their bids for the settling of industries in the South have offered as an inducement cheap power and cheap labor. In recent years, when attempts were made by labor to realize conditions of decency and health in the rayon and cotton mills, public sentiment and the instrumentalities of government and church have given their uncompromising support to the heel which crushed the helpless victim. And so it was not enough to take timber, mineral, and land, but the sacred precincts of personality must be invaded and the very souls of our untutored fellow-countrymen wrought into bank accounts in order to satisfy the insatiable greed of American materialism.

And now since Appalachian America is bled white, it would seem that the solution to the economic and social problems of the people is not to be found in coercing them into the slums and bread lines of our industrial centers, as has been advocated by some of our social philosophers, but rather in the adjustment of the educational program and methods to the task of developing the remaining resources in a manner that will give the richest and fullest life possible. It may be that even here there is a potential wealth and beauty and happiness of which the nation has not dreamed.

II

AS IS TRUE throughout the field of human relationships and activities, there are varying levels of economic and cultural conditions, of intelligence and morality among the people of the mountains. On the basis of these differences, separated by cleavages which are deep and wide, there are distinct classes. They maintain different standards of living, speak different languages, accept different scales of values, and maintain different modes of conduct. Distances between the classes are fixed and maintained by well-established custom and definite attitudes. They live and move in different circles. Antipathy rather than sympathy characterizes the relationships among them. Any violation of these social distances is resented. These facts are fundamental in the entire social fabric of this section. To neglect them is grossly misleading.

Despite the emphasis of various authors—and especially that of John C. Campbell in *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland*—upon

the fact of the existence of various social classes in the mountains, it seems to have made little or no impression upon the public. Certain salient characteristics, usually those of the most repressed class, have been selected, generalized, and presented as those of the typical mountaineer. This appraisal has been accepted, emotional response has been made to it, and as no differences are seen among Negroes or people of another culture by this public, so there are none among the mountain people. All people of the mountains are to it the same.

There are however at least three distinct classes. As in other sections of the country, there seems to be a close connection between genetic characteristics of the people and soil conditions. In the competitive shuffle the more vigorous and alert managed to get possession of the vantage points, while the less highly endowed were shunted off to the less desirable locations.

The first of these classes is to be found in the valleys of the creeks and rivers, where the soil is richest, exposure to the sun is fullest, vegetation rich, water supply abundant and sweet, and lines of communication relatively easy and many. Geographic factors quickly get expression in economic and social conditions. The house is large and commodious. If built of logs, they are carefully hewn, well-fitted and well-chinked. The chimneys are of the carefully-chiseled native rock, laid with such precision and skill that long after the house itself has fallen away through decay or has been destroyed by fire, the chimney stands a mute, towering sentinel, keeping watch over the ground made sacred by the experiences of the generations which tarried for a time at its hearth.

In some cases the house is double, the chimney standing in the middle and offering its spacious fireplace and hearth to the commodious room on either side. Other houses built to accommodate accumulating generations are rambling and have a chimney at each end. Each addition is carried to such height as to accommodate sleeping quarters on the floor above. The hearth is broad and inviting. The puncheon floor is kept snowy white by frequent scourings with home-made soap and sand. Windows are few and small. Sometimes a friendly porch, inviting to leisure and rest, runs the length of one side.

Or again the house may not be log at all, but a two-story, splendidly built colonial white frame, with broad hallway running through the center, an open stairway, and spacious rooms on both sides above and below. At right angles with this portion is the projection to the rear, forming a T or an L, accommodating the kitchen and dining room below and additional bedrooms above. Usually on one side of this portion a porch runs the full length, while across

the front of the other portion is a veranda. The ceilings are high, the rooms spacious, and the fireplace and broad hearth offer their comfort for relaxation and easy chat. And here too the floors, usually without covering, are as snowy white as those in the neighboring log house.

In each the furnishings are few and simple. Beds are always in great numbers. Without exception there is at least one bed in each of the living rooms downstairs, more often two, and sometimes, when the family is large, friends many, and the reputation for special hospitality has gone abroad, four beds are found in each of the living rooms. If by chance there is but one bed in a room on the first floor, that is usually "mother's room." And what beds these are! Their great ticks of goose and duck feathers mount up until there is need of a step ladder for the ascent. For him who enjoys them it is like dropping into paradise to snuggle among these feathers. Pillows match the ticks. Quilts, blankets, comforters, and coverlets are galore.

And here is real art. The wool in the blankets was taken by your host from the backs of the sheep grazing on yonder hillside. It was washed, carded, spun, and woven by the hands of your good hostess or by her mother. The quilts, dainty in color and design and stitch, were wrought by the same hands, and perhaps by those of the daughter under the skill of the mother's guidance. And the coverlets, with their matchless and unfading colors, in patterns of the Pine Bloom, Lover's Knot, and all the rest, are the creations of the same heart and hand as the quilts and blankets. That is, some of them are. Others are heirlooms and have woven into their designs the dreams and energy of the grand dame whose ashes have rested on the mountain side above for two generations, and perchance three. These art creations are the symbols of life. They are sanctified through their baptism in love and devotion and loyalty, and the memories which cling to them as a sweet fragrance.

And there are the kitchen and the dining room. The furnishings are simple and few, but they are adequate as instruments in the deft hands of those who reign. The artistry is as complete here as in the living room. On the kitchen stove the bulging iron teakettle simmers and sings away over the glowing coals of hickory and oak. To the right is the quiet fireplace, with its pot hooks and andirons all eloquent with the memories of yesterday.

The long hospitable table is stretched its full length in the dining room. It has no damask linen, Venetian glass, or chased silver, but there are choice pieces of iron-stone china in blue and white, bearing the trademark of an English potter of more than a hundred years

ago. There is the great spreading platter checked and discolored by age and service, and a cream pitcher done in gold and vari-colored flowers, each held as a precious treasure coming from the distant homeland of the fathers. Here is value which neither gold nor silver nor a more sophisticated art could give.

The table in its furnishings is simple, neat and clean. The food is in abundance, well prepared, and varied. There is stewed or fried chicken, or it may be roast turkey, fried ham, fried eggs, mashed Irish potatoes, candied sweet potatoes, beans, corn bread, biscuit, butter, preserves, jellies, honey, pickles, sweet and butter milk, coffee, yellow layer cake, white layer cake, each cake six inches high, loaf cake, stacked apple pie, fried apple pie. There seems to be no end to the supply. And this is no tin-can paper-bag dinner, rushed down ready-prepared from grocery, bakery, and delicatessen by truck at the last minute, and hurriedly thrown together.

To understand the sources from which these bounties have sprung it is necessary to follow the housewife into those portions of her kingdom which lie beyond the kitchen and dining room, dye-and-loom room, into the barn yard, poultry yard, and garden. The cows and chickens are her charge. The garden is her joy. It is a large level section of fertile soil enclosed by a writhed picket fence. The men of the family find time to plow and prepare the soil for planting, but after that it is in the care of the women. Rhubarb and winter onions come with the earliest warmth of spring. Lima beans, Irish and sweet potatoes, radishes, lettuce, cabbage, carrots, parsnips, salad peas, sweet squashes, and pumpkins find their place in due season. Clinging close to the fence on one side are the gooseberry bushes. Along the fence on the opposite side under the sheltering branches of the apple trees are the bee gums. Along the paths in luxuriant growth are the blossoms our grandmothers knew and loved—phlox, sweet william, forget-me-not, zinnia, verbena, marigold, petunia, hollyhock, and pinks. The æsthetic has not been swallowed up by utility. Cabbages and roses grow side by side.

Over the fence in the dooryard are red honeysuckle, the lavender lilac, clove bush, smoke bush, snowball, old man, irises, peonies, and various lilies. Here the tangle of grass is unacquainted with the lawn mower, but the very profusion, lack of order, and wildness of it all give it a touch of romance and beauty entirely unknown to the closely shaven, systematically laid out lawn of the city.

About the house various other buildings are grouped ; but a short distance away on the other side of the road is the barn. The barn, built of broad, rough unseasoned boards nailed on vertically, offers all too little protection and comfort to the stock. But in and about

it are gathered the corn, fodder, straw, and wild hay in ample supply for the winter. A short distance from the house is the orchard, with pears and peaches and quite a variety of apples. Since the art and value of pruning have never been learned, the trees are untrimmed and the quality of the fruit is not high. Here too in the heights of the apple trees is the chief place of refuge for the family fowls. The chickens, turkeys, and guinea fowls in the day time huddle together away from the winter's snow and blast in the barn and under sheds.

In the orchard, just through the gate from the kitchen door, is the woodpile, where the various members of the family chop the winter's supply for the kitchen stove and fireplace. Hard by is the pile of coal, which has been dug from the creek bed or the coal bank on the same farm. Following the windings of the stream and pushing their way up the encroaching mountain sides are the fields from which the farmer gathers his harvests. On the heights above are the stretches of wild grass upon which the cattle and sheep feed, and above is the timber from which comes the family's supply of wood for household use and such lumber as may be needed about the place.

And here is the personality which such conditions might be expected to produce. It is not that presented by Fox, Furman, Faulkner, or any of the others. It seldom gets into print or into the picture presented upon the public platform, but nevertheless it is more clearly and definitely a vital and basic fact in the life of the mountains than is the picture with which we are all too well acquainted.

There is Grandmother Elliot of Fishin' Creek. She is tall, straight, and graceful in every line. Her shoulders are not stooped; her head is erect, well-poised, and firm. Her limbs are long and lithe. Despite the toil of the years and the scanty chance for self-care, her hands are not gnarled or bent and her fingers are slender and straight. Never did she go into the barnyard or field for work, and not many times into the garden without her sun-bonnet and the half-mitts which came to her elbows. Her face bears the marks of care, anxiety, and deep sorrow, and yet every line is softened by a confidence in life which gives it serenity and beauty. Despite the weight of responsibility and endless toil, she has been no drudge.

The head of the house is of a corresponding type. His tall, slender figure, six feet and more, his quick and agile step, his snowy hair and beard, give him the appearance of the veritable patriarch that he is. His eye is quiet and patient; his voice is mellow. He is lord of the estate and is so regarded. He reads the press as he has opportunity and has decided opinions on questions of politics, religion,

and morality. This type offers considerable contrast to the man in the early part of this century who is reported not yet to have learned that the Civil War was over or that Lincoln was dead. No doubt there are such in the mountains, but the pre-Revolutionary gentleman with the intelligence and breeding of the manor is there also.

The living conditions and life of the second class do not differ widely from those of the first, and many most admirable characters are found here. They are pushed up the streams where the valleys are narrower, the hills and mountains are higher and steeper, the soil is poorer and thinner; consequently the variety and yield of vegetation are greatly reduced. As a result, the returns from the investment of capital and labor are less, and the conditions of living are much poorer. Houses are smaller and less comfortable. Stock and poultry are fewer. Garden produce and fruits are less plentiful. Clothing and comforts generally are more scanty. There is less food and what there is is not so good or so well prepared. The labor by which the families live is more slavish.

But despite these restrictions, there is a margin beyond bare necessity, which gives a degree of independence, security, and comfort; thrift and industry prevail; moral integrity is maintained, and there is a certain interest in the school and church and political affairs of the neighborhood. But the conditions and interests of life are, as a whole, on a lower plane than those of the first class. Within this group are those bordering the conditions of the group on each side of it.

It is the third group which has been held in the spot light and is supposed by the American people to present the typical mountaineer. It holds the center of the picture in *The Code of the Mountains* by Charles Neville Buck, in the writings of John Fox, Junior, in *Sanctuary*, *As I Lay Dying*, and various short stories by William Faulkner, and in press reports, magazine articles, and platform addresses. There is no difficulty in finding the type described. In almost any section Newt Spooner and Minerva Rowllins and their like may be found. To the one who is acquainted with mountain people and conditions, stories of degeneracy present nothing new or startling. He has seen it and knows it all first hand. The family and their attitudes and relations portrayed by Faulkner in *As I Lay Dying* are as true to a type found through the mountains as it is possible for pen to describe. Types of personality, manner of speech, relationship between husband and wife, attitudes of neighbors, customs prevailing in sickness and death, treatment of children by the father, quick remarriage, and all the rest, can easily be duplicated many

times in any section. But these are representative of a class and not of the mountain people at large.

This is the group which has been shunted to the starvation points, where slopes are steepest, soil is poorest and thinnest, exposure to sun least favorable, water supply worst, easy accessibility impossible. Here there is no incentive to labor, no margin for thrift, no basis for confidence or hope, no stimulation to aspire to higher standards or to respect the customs and values of outside society. No wonder feral men are here bred. Both physical and psychical isolation have done their worst. Incentive to anything better is lacking.

It is here that the log house of one room, with one or no window, without fireplace or stove, and with clay floor is to be found. It is here that the bed is of poles, corn husks, dry leaves from the forest, and rags for a covering. It is here that the handleless skillet serves as cooking utensil, hand basin, tub for family wash, vessel for toilet purposes, and dish for whatever may be offered as food. It is here that there is neither milk nor butter, little or no vegetable garden or poultry. A corn patch among the "deadened trees" on the mountain side, perhaps a few Kentucky Wonder beans among the corn and a straggling patch of onions and turnips are the extent of food resources. There may be a razorback hog wandering through the forest, feeding on mast, and in some cases a cow and a few chickens may be found.

It is here that snuff and tobacco constitute the staple of life. It is here that children are spawned and die like flies. Here is the source from which the feudist gets his mercenary. Here is where common law marriage prevails, illegitimacy is common, and incest is not infrequent. It is here that the woman is the convenience of the man. She is a beast of burden. She totes the water for house use from the branch in the valley far below. She drags the timber in from the forest, chops the wood with which the food is cooked and the family warmed. She cuts the timber from the hillside, grubs the stumps and undergrowth, and plants and cultivates and harvests the corn which keeps her and the man to whom she is a slave and their brood from absolute starvation. She is illiterate. She is ignorant of every method of making food either palatable or wholesome in its preparation. She is dirty and unkempt. She is ill-nourished and scrawny. She is stooped from the toil of the years since her early childhood, and wasted from much child bearing and from the excessive sex demands of an undisciplined, unoccupied and sensual man. Her clothing is scant and vile and often in rags. She is aged and broken before she is thirty: to the casual observer she is fifty or more. She makes no complaint. She has known nothing better.

Yes, here men and women and children are feral. And their tribe increases.

This rough sketch is that of the extreme conditions to be found in this third class. As in the others, so in this group there are wide variations of economic and cultural conditions, but yet there are such similarities as to cause members of the class and others to think of them as belonging together. Taken all together, these outlines make an interesting portrait of this third class, but scarcely a photograph of "the mountaineer." No more is the Bowery a true picture of New York City than is the single-room, clay-floor, windowless log cabin a true picture of Appalachian America.

III

TO RAISE THE question as to the factors responsible for these classes among the people of the mountains is but to raise the question which might and should be raised regarding the classes of every section of the nation. Doubtless here, as everywhere, many factors have made their contribution, and the process has been one of long and tedious selection.

The time element is not to be neglected. The earlier settlers who sought locations in which to establish themselves and develop homesteads secured the vantage points. Whether it is the Howards on White Oak, the Francises or Johnsons on Carr Creek, the Perrys or Blairs on Licking, the Leslies on Big Sandy or some other of the thousands of families which are the bone and sinew of the social order in the length and breadth of this vast region, the records show blanket titles, covering vast tracts, issued to the forebears of this generation on a date near the borderline between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first Johnson to settle on the stream now known as Carr Creek, in Knott County, Kentucky, came from North Carolina in 1800. In his quest for fertile land he had followed a relative, Tom Carr, who came in 1792, settled on the stream which took his name, and was later killed by the Indians. On this creek Tom, the forebear of the Johnsons, found fertile land in abundance, and here he and his wife and one son lived seven years in a house made from the bark of trees, before building a more substantial structure. There was no other family nearer than ten miles. Soon the forebears of the Francis family came also from North Carolina, and settled on the same creek. These families intermarried. Tom Johnson and his family lived here as squatters, but the land records show a blanket title issued to his third son, George Washington Johnson, for a tract on this creek of 2,500 acres. To the original Francis the records show that a blanket title was issued for 1,000 acres.

George Washington Johnson remained on this land and became the founder of the Johnson estate and through his marriage to Sarah Francis he became the founder of the Johnson-Francis clan. His two brothers pushed on into the west, one settling in Indiana, and the other, eventually, in Kansas. To the union of George Washington Johnson and Sarah Francis were born nine children, five sons and four daughters. It was through Fieldon, the sixth of the children, that the line was continued. He lived on the original homestead, where his house of logs stands on the site, and has in it some of the logs of that of his father. He was married to Emmaline Dotson, whose family had come from Virginia. To them were born ten children. The total number of living offspring of the ten children of Fieldon Johnson is thirteen. None of these families is exceptionally large. In fact, they are rather small as pioneer families. But in order to accommodate the needs of the increasing number, as the children of these four generations have come to maturity and married and established their own homes, the process of division and sub-division of land has gone on. At the time of his death, August 15, 1932, at the age of eighty-eight, Fieldon Johnson owned 236 acres of the 2,500 acres to which his father held the title, and only about 600 acres of the entire tract constitute the portion of the original holdings now owned by the family. The further division to accommodate the thirteen living grandchildren suggests its own story. And this story is not different from the story of our agricultural lands and the families of Ohio, Indiana, or any other section of the country. Division and sub-division have been the order. Poverty or the conquest of new worlds has been the alternative of the later generations. To the average individual of the mountains there has been no other world to conquer. Poverty has been his lot.

And not only has the division of land, with increasing population been responsible for small holdings, the use of land unfit for agricultural purposes, and growing poverty; there were the late comers who arrived after the best land was occupied. As land was exhausted in the lowlands of the South and those less able to cope with the situation were forced out, they migrated to various sections of the country. Large numbers came into the mountains, where they were crowded to the poorer locations. Soil exhaustion, land division, irrational destruction of game and other resources quickly did their work. Poverty and its social consequences increased and deepened year by year, generation after generation.

But let it again be emphasized that the differences between the culture of the people of the mountains and of other sections of the country are due not to poverty, to lack of energy, to degeneracy,

or to innate inferiority, but to a general lag due to isolation. And as this isolation has conserved pre-Revolutionary methods in agriculture, household activities, standards of living, status of women, character of family organization and life, so has it preserved the prevailing beliefs and public institutions of the same period. In this sketch attention will be given only to those of the blood-feuds, religion, and education.

IV

NO OTHER CHARACTERISTIC of the Southern Highlands has so deeply impressed the public at large as the blood-feud. It is about this institution that much of the romance gathers. But in the actual blood-feud of the mountains there is no romance. No dreamy, imaginative state of mind, indulging in fine sentiments and fictitious tales, is to be found here. The mountain spirit is fiery, combative, cunning, and vindictive. Suave treachery, double-teaming, way-laying, blind shooting, heartlessness, and genuine brutality characterize much of it. The meaning of fair play and of forgiveness to an enemy is beyond comprehension. Men unarmed and unwarned are shot down without compunction. Quarter is neither given nor expected. The man who refuses to shoot from behind or from ambush is regarded as either a fool or a coward. He who would seek open combat or appeal to the courts is sure of defeat. It is a fierce and unrelenting warfare for extermination. There is no place for compromise.

Since it is loyalty expressing itself in defense of family honor, this spirit makes no fine discriminations on the basis of sex or age. The women do not shrink from the suffering and sacrifice involved, but rather excite and cheer their husbands to desperate deeds. Through sheer vanity or desire for excitement they stir up trouble. They would hate a man who took insult or injury without revenge. Deliberately and relentlessly they cultivate in the child that creeps upon the floor a spirit of hate and reprisal toward the enemy of the family. Many of them are as cruel as the Amazon of old. Twelve sons would be none too many to give for revenge.

Strangely enough, despite the rôle borne by woman, the code provides that women, children, and property are exempt from harm. Outrageously cruel exceptions have occurred, but generally the carrying of a helpless child in the arms assures the feudist freedom from attack. Women with food and messages for their men folk in ambush pass through the enemy's line without fear. Through it all runs a deep and peculiar sense of honor, the standards of which are fixed and well understood.

Time brings no healing. Extermination, the removal of one party to another community, agreement to a truce, the rare complete change of attitude resulting from the education of the young, or conversion to the religious concept of neighborliness, alone have the power to bring cessation or termination. In 1844, not fifty miles from where the writer now sits, a physician in a county seat suspected a brother-in-law of being unduly intimate with his wife, and killed him. This was the beginning of the Baker-White feud of Clay County, Kentucky. Later developments involved the Garrards, who gave their support to the Bakers, and the Howards became aligned with the Whites. In 1898 fuel was added to the smouldering fire and the flame broke out anew. As a result of further provocation, Jim Howard, son of the clan chief, sought out Judge Baker, county judge, and compelled the unarmed old man to fall upon his knees, shot him twenty-five times, deliberately missing vital points and bringing him to his end by inches. Howard was tried and convicted of murder, but it is said he was offered a pardon if he would assassinate Governor Goebel. He is charged with having done so. The feud went raging on like wild fire until 1901, when the two clans fought a pitched battle in front of the courthouse in Manchester. At its conclusion a formal truce was signed which held until 1932. Circumstances then arose which stirred the old animosities anew, and the feud was revived and has continued with unabated ferocity. Sharpshooters, ambushed in the courthouse at Manchester, shot and killed Commonwealth's Attorney Frank H. Baker and John Brock, who ran to give aid to Baker. During the fusillade, which lasted more than four hours, five others were wounded. The Bakers made no counter attack and they are now sacrificing property interests and leaving the community with the hope of saving their lives and ending the conflict. But even then sleepless watchfulness must prevail. The enemy never sleeps. Attack is likely to occur at any time in any place.

Were we not acquainted with the irrationalities of man in his relationships with his fellows, many of the tales lying back of these atrocious conflicts would be unbelievable. The patch on the seat of a young lad's trousers, disputes regarding the ownership of razor-back hogs, boundary line disputes, political strife, trouble in drunken sprees, disputes over card games, the challenged love for a woman, the manufacture and sale of illicit whiskey, and the miscarriage of justice are among the chief interests for which the blood of thousands has been spilled.

But these feuds are not the expression of either mental or moral degeneracy and neither are they the expression of cowardice. Tradi-

tion and isolation are responsible for them. It is but retardation of development of methods of adjusting social conflict. As a family or two settled in a valley, great distances and all but impassable mountain ranges separated them from other families. In their isolation the recognition of common interests and interdependence developed in the local families a solidarity which was further cemented and sealed by the intermarriage of children as they came to maturity. These bonds tied them into one common bundle of interest. Rivalry and strife might arise among them, but if injury was suffered by any member of this expanded family at the hands of one from the outside, it would immediately become a family or clan affair. It was imperative that family interest and honor be protected. There was no governmental machinery which could reach the case. There were no police and courts within easy distance, and difficulties in travel made it impossible for legal agencies to meet the demands of the situation. Circumstances demanded quick action.

Tradition was at hand to suggest a possible answer to the question as to what should be done. Many of the people had sprung from a Scotch ancestry which had borne the brunt of conflict in their native Highlands. With conditions of isolation and conflict prevailing in Scotland, family solidarity and loyalty were the chief means by which values could be conserved and protected. Police protection and courts were lacking. Out of these circumstances grew the blood-feud. The pattern and its supporting code slowly took form, became fixed and definitely incorporated in the culture. The mores and even the moral code became interwoven with the whole scheme. Sentiments were organized around it and individual consciences were developed accordingly.

There was further confirmation of the system in the Revolutionary war tradition in which their souls were steeped. The major portion of the people came into the mountains after the close of the war. Under the circumstances the blood-feud in Appalachian America quite inevitably and logically grew out of the traditions of the settlers and prevailed as the order-maintaining institution. Simplicity of life and organization and sparseness of population gave large latitude to individual behavior, so long as it did not infringe upon the rights of another group, but when it did, payment was usually swift and certain.

Even after courts were established and the police force organized, willingness to intrust interests to them has developed but slowly. Tradition carried from Europe furnished a poor basis upon which to build confidence in either. The colonial system offered but little more to insure justice. The history of courts and police in the United

States during the last century and a half has done little to inspire either confidence or respect. The experience with the courts and officers of the mountains has offered even less to strengthen confidence in them. Not infrequently in anticipation of approaching trouble one group or the other will manage to get control of the principal county offices and make fair trial and justice impossible. In the flare-up of the Baker-White feud in Clay County, Kentucky, in 1898, the judge, the county clerk, the sheriff, and the jailer belonged to the White faction. A member of the Baker clan killed a brother of the sheriff and fled to the mountains rather than surrender to a court ruled by his avowed enemies. This is not an unusual situation. With local traditions and experiences as a background and the pioneer's unavoidable attitude of distrust toward institutions and dependence upon his own ingenuity and resources, the mountain man has been inclined to keep his own counsel and impose his own penalties for the violation of his code.

While it is true that the blood-feud has been more frequent and perhaps more devastating on the upper reaches of the Kentucky and Licking rivers, it has been in no sense restricted to these sections. It has been universal in the mountains. Even yet no community is free or safe. As the judge in Clay County remarked recently in addressing an audience, the average individual does not consider himself clothed until he has his .32 caliber pistol upon his person. Upon the least provocation the pistol is brought into action. Memories are long ; conflicts of the past lie smouldering in every neighborhood. Acquaintance with conditions underlying the calm surface of any mountain community quickly discovers currents and counter-currents which permit no more than a superficial solidarity and jeopardize the life and strength of every interest and institution. No class escapes this conflict. Such would be impossible. Everything which is capable of producing conflict has done its work. Antipathy and animosity are woven into the warp and woof of the entire social fabric. They are a definite part of the heritage of the individual. To disregard them or to refuse to be enslaved by them would be considered by the family of any individual the expression of the deepest ingratitude and disloyalty. In the apparent unrestrained freedom there is the most unrelenting slavery. The mountain man has not learned that only through intelligent, sympathetic co-operation in the promotion of the highest community interests is there freedom or self-realization for the individual. Or, if he has learned this, he is so bound by the conditions set up and maintained by those who have not, that there is little opportunity for him to carry on, at least to a successful completion, any plan or activity which

involves the highest expression of community welfare. And ultimately in the realm of psychical and social relationships, even as in that of the physical, violated law imposes its own penalty, although the victims are unaware of the origins of the forces which smite them.

Just why, in the light of our national war history, the gang wars of New York and Chicago, and the general cheapness of human life, the public should stand so aghast at our mountain feuds is a little hard to understand. And even in the court procedure of states and cities which consider themselves civilized and modern, there are to be found conditions which parallel those of the mountains. To all who know both, this is a most depressing fact. Perhaps some day we may turn our judicial procedure into one of diagnosis in the interest of adjustment through understanding, in the interest of human well-being rather than revenge.

V

NO SKETCH OF the mountains could approach adequacy without including religion. As is true with all other aspects of the culture, it bears deep imprints of pre-Revolutionary belief and thought. The people are of Scotch, Scotch-Irish, and Roundhead English descent, with a group of Germans here and there with whom the German edition of Presbyterianism—the Reformed Church—prevailed, and with an occasional sprinkling of French Huguenots, who were Calvinists in doctrine. It might be expected that the prevailing denominational affiliation would be Presbyterian. And Hanna tells us in his history of the Scotch-Irish in America that by the end of the eighteenth century not less than 138 congregations of Presbyterians had been established in the mountains.⁵

As the greater portion of the mountain section was under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and consequently under the authority of the Established Church of England, heavy handicaps were laid upon Dissenters. In the struggle which ensued against the Establishment, in the interest of religious liberty, the Presbyterians were foremost, and their democratic ideas and fortitude gained the confidence and respect of the entire colony, while their strong defense on the frontier during the French and Indian War gave them increasing favor with the Colonial Council.⁶ Indications at that time were that the historical trends would realize full fruition and Presbyterianism would prevail. But their insistence upon an educated ministry resulted in a cultural aristocracy which brought a definite

⁵ William Taylor Thom, *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Virginia*.

⁶ H. J. Eckenrode, *The Liberation of the State and Church in Virginia*.

cleavage between them and the common people. It was the Baptists and Methodists who struck the final blow which gave religious liberty to the colonists. This fact, along with their peculiar interpretations of Christianity, quickly gained for them a sympathetic response from the people of the mountains, and numerical transcendancy.

While the Baptists were Calvinistic and stressed election, their emphasis upon the right of every man, however poor or unlettered he might be, to think for himself and lead others, made a tremendous appeal. But the implication of this doctrine seemed to threaten the institutions of the colony and consequently called forth a bitter persecution of the Baptist ministers by the tidewater aristocracy. As is always true, the denomination thrived on persecution, and we are told by Thom that within a decade one out of every ten of the free inhabitants of Virginia sympathized with the Baptists.

It was the combination of democratic ideas and the ingenious circuit system which gave transcendancy to the Methodists over the Presbyterians. In doctrine the Methodists were Arminian, stressing salvation for all and placing the responsibility upon the individual. This emphasis upon individual worth made a strong appeal to the mountaineer in his isolation and dependence upon himself, and gave certain doctrinal advantages to the Methodists over both the Presbyterians and the Baptists. Joined with this was the advantage given by the organization effected by Bishop Asbury. For thirty years he annually completed the itinerary from Maine to Georgia, Kentucky, and Ohio, and back to New York. Giving himself without stint to the congregations and ministers, he achieved a deep sense of unity in the entirety of this great episcopal see.

As a result of these various factors—despite the immeasurable service rendered by the Presbyterians during the colonial period, despite their establishment of educational institutions which were then and are to this day outstanding, and despite their most excellent services along educational lines in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century—the Baptists and Methodists made rapid and continuous gains, while the Presbyterians have been and are a disappearing group in the mountains.

The 1930 census shows that the relative proportions in the total church membership are as follows : Baptists, 40 per cent ; Methodists, 31.2 per cent ; Presbyterians, 6 per cent, and all other religious bodies, 22.8 per cent. "Approximately one-third of the people of the region are recorded as members of some church. Of this third 90 per cent are Protestant and the major portion of the remaining 10 per cent are Roman Catholic in affiliation. The people of Appalachian America are almost without exception Protestants. Those of

other affiliations are those of recent arrival who have come for economic purposes.”⁷

Since the emphasis is primarily upon correctness of belief, the religion of the mountain people is unalterably tied up with their denominational affiliations. To be a Christian is to be orthodox according to the tenets of the denomination. The magic key which releases the door of the kingdom is the sectarian shibboleth. This does not mean that religious interests are treated lightly. In fact, the supreme values of life are those of religion. But the way is opened for strange and irreconcilable paradoxes to find accommodation in the same mind and system without any consciousness of inconsistency. As is true in other parts of the world, preaching and practice are two different and widely separated categories. Mr. Campbell tells of a leading feudist who went to a neighbor to purchase whiskey. Being told there was none and believing it to be a refusal instead of a lack of supply, he shot the man, mortally wounding him. The murderer then bent over his victim and said, “I am right sorry I had to kill you.” Turning to the bystanders, he asked some one to offer prayer for the dying man. No one volunteered, and declaring “It ain’t right to let this man’s soul go naked into the presence of his Maker without prayer,” he knelt by the side of the dying man and offered prayer in his behalf.⁸

Literature and history teem with records of such inconsistencies among the peoples of the earth. Industry today robs and starves the men, women, and children of the helpless wage-earning masses with the sanction of religion. Apparently there is no more consciousness of inconsistency here than in the thinking of the mountain feudist. Rationalization takes care of any qualm of conscience that may arise. And here as in other matters the mountain man finds common ground with the rest of humanity.

As true Protestants the mountaineers have but small place in their worship for ritual. It is thoroughly hated as cold formalism. Preaching is the overshadowing interest. The Old and New Testament Scriptures as the infallible book constitute the source of all authority. However much the meaning may be distorted and destroyed as a sentence or phrase is dragged out of its context, there is full satisfaction if chapter and verse can be given supporting the quotation. Literalism prevails. Inspiration is mechanical. All is worked out in nicety of detail and adjustment. Everything clicks according to arrangement made “before the foundations of the earth were laid.” Not to believe all droughts, epidemics, wars, and disasters of every sort befalling the group or individual to be the

⁷ Campbell, *op. cit.*

⁸ Campbell, *op. cit.*

direct expression of the wrath of deity is the rankest of heresy. Last spring the doctors in the clinic of the local county health organization found a number of cases of women infected with syphilis. A frank statement of the case was made by the examining physician and treatment advised and a prescription offered. A number refused to accept treatment as it would "interfere with the Lord's will." Judged on the basis of what seems to characterize much of the teachings in the lowlands of the North as well as the South, even this may not be inconsistent with Protestantism. Fatalism is perhaps a little rawer in its expressions in the mountains than in other sections.

Since exegesis convinces the mountain people that immersion is the scripturally required form of baptism, with few exceptions and without reference to denominational affiliations they are immersionists. In the baptisms of students in the Union Church of Berea College, where the student is given his uninfluenced choice of form, the desire for immersion is almost universal. If there are two hundred confessions of faith in the course of a year, not more than twenty-five or even fewer desire sprinkling. The subject is never discussed from the local pulpit or in the classroom. It is the choice of the individual as a result of teaching in his home and his own local church. As a result of the same type of exegesis there are not a few who practice congregational foot washing, still others who seek "the gift of tongues" and manifold other expressions of literalism.

As a result of the emphasis placed by both Baptists and Methodists upon the moral regeneration of the individual through the mystical operation of the Spirit, emotionalism has a large place in the entire scheme of things. Emotional experience is the evidence of regeneration. Failure in this brings the bitterest disappointment and the gravest anxiety to the individual and his friends. Regardless of individual worth and integrity, to die out of the church is to die out of grace, while membership in the church is the unquestioned ground for confidence and consolation. But even in this there seems to be little or nothing peculiar to the mountain belief and practice.

Not a corporate part of religious belief and practice but growing out of the same general philosophy of the universe, there is a great body of belief which injects elements of fear into every day relationships. Here stories may be heard of witches "souring the milk," "causing the cow to go dry," creating countless maggots in the cream, killing the hogs, causing strange and unaccountable experiences to occur to members of the family and neighbors. The device of the silver bullet shot through the image of the witch and thus killing the spirit in the person through whom it works still prevails.

Or when these spirits are free from human embodiment and are wandering loose about the country, they may be corralled in the mill pond or some other convenient trap or even shot with a rifle. The effective method of getting rid of cut worms in corn is to go on four consecutive mornings to a corner of the corn field and as the sun rises above the mountain top, discharge a shotgun leveled toward the diagonal corner. A sharp-edged instrument under the bed, whether axe, hoe, or plowshare, relieves the severity of travail pains in childbirth. Such beliefs as these might be multiplied many fold. Of course, the more sophisticated in the mountains and on the outside laugh to scorn all such ideas, but the wife of a university professor in one of the more important institutions on the north side of the Ohio River is dead sure that the family suffered an automobile tire blowout because a black cat ran across the road as they set out on their journey; and a group of upper-classmen in a fraternity of the same institution refused to be seated at a banquet table at which there were to be thirteen. So perhaps such notions as these are part of our cultural tradition, and their existence within or without the mountains is a matter of kind rather than of degree and of refinement.

The machinery of religion gets small recognition in the religion of the mountain people. One group of the Baptists is uncompromisingly opposed to the Sunday School and young people's organizations. With all denominations, even though they approve the Sunday School as an effective teaching auxiliary of the church, the organization is maintained with difficulty. Usually the house in which they meet is uncomfortable, the roads are all but impassable after the rainy season begins, and there is a great dearth of those who are prepared or willing to assume responsibility in teaching and in official positions. As a result, the activities of the Sunday School are usually carried on only during the summer months.

Even the organization of the church itself is very loose and uncertain. Records of members are not kept, money is not collected. Preaching is by the itinerant preacher, who comes once or twice in six months or a year. There are no continuous, systematic activities carried on. An occasional revival meeting, the annual Baptist Association, the annual meeting of the Disciples, and the funeral meetings are among the chief activities and interests. The people come from great distances, sometimes ten, twenty-five, and even fifty miles, to attend these gatherings. They come not by automobile but on horse and mule, in road wagon and buggy, and on foot. The singing by the selected group in the "amen corner" and sometimes of the congregation, and the sermons by the various visiting

ministers are the chief reasons for the meetings, but the social aspects are important. String beans, mutton, boiled pork, fried chicken, cold sweet potatoes, corn bread, pickles, and stacked apple pies seem to be in inexhaustible supply when the people gather in the grove for dinner. As long as there is possible room in the beds or on the floor, all who will come are extended a cordial welcome for the night in the homes of those within reach of the place of the meetings. The following morning there is an abundant breakfast of fried apples, fried eggs, fried chicken, butter, jellies, hot corn bread, biscuits, and coffee for all. Old acquaintances have been renewed, the monotony of the routine of the family and neighborhood has been relieved, faith, hope, and courage have been stimulated, and all return home refreshed and strengthened. These are happy and important occasions.

For various reasons it is very difficult to develop such conditions as would permit strong organization and systematic activity on the part of the church. This is true even in many county seats, and especially so in the open country. The lack of roads and of conveniences in travel is always a vital factor. There is a general conviction against the payment of a salary to a minister. Those who receive such payment are regarded as hirelings, though farm produce and foodstuffs may be given. An elderly man who had a fairly good education for his day and especially for the mountains, who was an excellent reader, a good preacher, and of such moral integrity, kindness, and generosity of heart that he had the profound confidence and respect of all, told the writer that in forty years' preaching for the various congregations in his county, the closest he came to receiving a salary was a gift of one suit of clothes, and it was necessary for him to pay the final five dollars due on the suit. Fortunately he owned a good fertile valley farm, was an intelligent farmer, and lived well. But it is practically impossible for the young man of such education as would qualify him for effective leadership to live. He must get his support from the outside or have independent resources or business or professional activities which support him and his family, or through discouragement or sheer want he is forced to leave the country. And then the mountain man is a thoroughgoing individualist. No organization, political or religious, makes much appeal to him. He dislikes and distrusts it. He refuses to be regimented. To the person who wins his confidence he will give his unfailing loyalty, even though it involves sacrifice and suffering. He will give himself with unfailing devotion and loyalty to an impersonal ideal, but he refuses to accept the restraint necessary for adjustment to close organization.

VI

THE PEOPLE OF the Southern Appalachians have no tradition of mass education and are so isolated from movements in the world outside as to have little to stimulate interest in education. The entire school situation was on a very low level when, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the mountains were invaded by those who had an interest in the people themselves. Generally speaking, even the class enjoying the fuller economic and cultural advantages saw but little value in education beyond its mere rudiments. School interests were subordinated to all others. It was only when the interests of the farm did not demand the presence of the child or youth that he was released and given the privileges of the school. Attendance was irregular, buildings were poor, equipment entirely lacking, and preparation of the teacher for his work very inadequate. The less fortunate classes were not only indifferent but strongly opposed to the school. They saw no value in it. They needed the children at home. They themselves had received no education, and what was good enough for them was good enough for their children. Those who knew the rural conditions of the various sections of the country, even in the very closing years of the last century, will recognize attitudes and conditions here characterizing the rural sections of the nation. Before 1900 the rural school of the United States was in a relatively low state of development. Interest in education was far from universal.

When at last the whole matter of school development and educational interests was forced upon the mountain people, they appraised these interests in the terms of values and activities with which they were acquainted. Economic advantage was the one justification they could see in spending time and money for education. If it could enable them to produce better corn or a better breed of hogs, it seemed to justify itself. Otherwise it was without value. It was worse than useless to send a girl to school. She would only marry and the cost of her education would be sheer waste. Change in public sentiment has been a tedious process. With many the school finds but slight favor even yet, and it receives but grudging support of any sort.

Perhaps even yet we shall be obliged to recognize that the appraisals and attitudes of the mountain man have more insight and practical wisdom in them than we have thought. If education is to be defined in the terms of adjustment in the interest of human well-being, the mountaineer is correct in his insistence that it shall enable him to have better corn and hogs. If it is not to put into his

hands practical tools through which he can improve and enrich the conditions of life, what value has it?

There are now thousands of publicly supported graded schools, hundreds of high schools, receiving their support from the same source, and about 175 privately supported schools of various types and grades. In the mountains as a whole there have been great improvements in the school situation during the past quarter of a century. In sections in which modern roads have been built, there are many consolidated schools, with modern, well equipped buildings and well trained teaching staffs. There are also hundreds of well built and well equipped single room buildings in which young people, who have gone into the normals, colleges, and universities and have returned to their home communities or to some other mountain community are rendering immeasurable services. State laws extending the length of the school term, providing funds, raising standards in curricula and in requirements in preparation of the teachers have been enacted. There is a steady trend toward the practical. These improvements promise much, but the struggle for better education has only begun.

In thousands of communities not even yet have the schools so gained the confidence and respect of a large portion of the people as to attain even an approach to decency, to say nothing of adequacy. The building is often a single, rectangular room. It may be of log or perchance its degenerate successor, the box house of broad, rough and unseasoned boards, which in drying leave yawning cracks in floor and wall. There are no outbuildings. Water is carried from a distant well or near-by branch. The benches upon which the children sit were made by the men of the neighborhood. Desks are lacking. The room is heated by one small, jacketless stove in the middle of the room. The teacher, often poorly prepared, is without a desk. The blackboard, if there is a suggestion of one, is a patch of black paint on the wall. If there is crayon or eraser it is supplied by the teacher. Charts, maps, and globes are unknown. Text books are few. A school of forty pupils with a sum total of five text books is not unknown. Attendance is irregular. Results offer but little to stimulate public interest and approval.

The teacher of the average school is entirely unprepared to promote or carry out any program for better living in the mountains. He knows only how to follow the outline set up for him by the state. He has neither understanding nor interest in the problem or the possibilities of solution. In large measure he is not conscious of the community. His world is within the walls of the school house. He is teaching reading, writing and arithmetic. How these might be

made to glow with new meaning and life if they were seen as channels through which they were to approach the good life in their immediate environment! Much is said about the unwillingness of the people of the mountains to co-operate, but they co-operate when situations arise which offer the incentive. The John C. Campbell Folk School at Brasstown, North Carolina, located in the very heart of the mountains, gets the co-operation of the people. Little evangelizing is done. Demonstration of the value of crop rotation, of soil building and conservation, of adaptation of crops to soils and available markets, of well-bred and properly fed and housed stock and poultry, of co-operative butter production and marketing, of credit and loan association in which available funds of the community are pooled and loaned on reasonable terms is the method. They have their community center for social contact, evenings with books and magazines, and their community play and recreation. They have their club for women, with its social, creative, and cultural interests. The entire arrangement, from the philosophy undergirding it and determining the character and spirit of all down to the most casual contact and insignificant detail is a joyous, creative approach to life. Nowhere has the writer seen any other such effort. Here is the cue for future educational work in the mountains.

THE TRADITION OF "POOR WHITES"

BY A. N. J. DEN HOLLANDER

THE CONCEPTION of the ante-bellum South current especially among non-southerners presents us with a dual picture of the white society of that romantic region. On the one hand is the southern planter, an aristocratic "colonel" in a soft felt hat with a mint julep in his hand and a darkey hovering deferentially in the background. On the other hand is the "poor-white," a densely ignorant, morally degraded, lawless being, despised alike by planter and slave. He lives in a dilapidated log cabin and ekes out a wretched existence by the half-hearted cultivation of a few corn rows, by hunting squirrels in the pine woods, and by fishing for catfish around the cypress stumps of sluggish streams. There is something wrong with him, something inferior, possibly, in his blood. He eats clay; he goes barefoot and has the "ground itch"; his lips, beard, and chin are yellow with tobacco juice; and he often has a little "blind tiger" on hand to drink or to sell.

Indeed, some such planters and some such "poor-whites" were present in the ante-bellum South, but neither made up the bulk of the population. White farmers, who held only a few slaves if any at all, made up an independent yeoman group of primary importance numerically. In the popular conception this group has too often been either overlooked altogether or, what practically amounts to the same thing, confused with the "poor-whites." American historians and other writers of high repute could be cited as evidence that not only the uncritically minded conceived of all the non-slaveholding whites of the old South as a large class of men conforming to the "poor-white" pattern and constituting a distinct social menace.

But any picture of the South as it was in ante-bellum days must portray not the two classes of aristocratic slave holders and shiftless "poor-whites," but a more complex civilization in which (1) the slaveholders themselves were made up of, first, a small group of wealthy planters owning slaves in large numbers—roughly the gen-

try—and second, a much larger middle class of smaller planters, substantial farmers, professional men, and tradesmen ; and in which (2) the classes below the slaveholding level were not simply “poor-white,” but were first, and in greater numbers, yeomen farmers, artisans, and mechanics, and second, and in much smaller numbers, the true “poor-whites” : indigent, shiftless, and generally inferior.

The non-slaveholding white people, both those we will call the yeomanry and the ill-famed “poor-whites,” in the South of ante-bellum days, will be treated briefly in part I of this paper ; the origin of the conception that the non-slaveholding white people of the ante-bellum South were all of the shiftless “poor-white” class will be treated in part II ; and, finally, in part III, after considering certain attitudes which have been held toward changes presumed to have taken place in the position of the whites of humble means subsequent to the Civil War, we will offer an evaluation of these attitudes.

I

THE NUMBER of planters in the ante-bellum South was really small. If a holding of twenty slaves of all ages entitled one to be called a planter, the members of the planter class comprised little more than three per cent of the white population of the slave states, one and one-third per cent in the border states, and four and three-fifths per cent in the cotton states. In 1860 only 2,291 planters held a hundred or more slaves each. More than seventy-three per cent of the slaveholders held fewer than ten slaves. Few farms contained more than five hundred acres. In the whole South such farms comprised not quite three per cent of all the farms containing more than three acres of improved land ; not quite two per cent in the border states and not quite three and a half per cent in the cotton states. On the other hand, non-slaveholders constituted more than three-fourths of the southern white population : four-fifths in the border states and more than two-thirds in the cotton states.

As has been already said, it is a false assumption that the majority of this three-fourths of the white population conformed to the popular picture of the “poor-white.” In recent decades historians of southern antecedents have repeatedly stressed the fact that the old South was not so aristocratic as it is often supposed to have been, that social divisions were not sharp, and that the great majority of the people were essentially not unlike those in other parts of the Union and certainly were not hopelessly inferior. Yet little has been done to give an accurate account of the humbler folk, to analyze and evaluate the conditions which surrounded them and influenced

their lives. The obstacles to giving such an account cannot be gainsaid. These people were poorly educated, if literate at all, and lived isolated, simple lives ; the records they left are few and of small historical value. To the upper classes they were not nearly so important as the slaves, about whom much can be learned from the writings of their masters, who considered their less fortunate neighbors, with the exception only of the overseers, of too little consequence for more than brief mention. Economically, socially, and politically the lower classes were of less importance in the life of the section than in the northern states. To a larger extent than is desirable, therefore, casual remarks and observations of travellers have to be utilized in reconstructing this particular phase of the old South. These sources neither exist in abundance nor can they be used without great caution.

Generally, of those who lived on the farms and did not own slaves—or owned only a few—three types may be discerned.

(1). In the Appalachian mountains, excepting the broader valleys where more prosperous people dwelled, lived the mountaineers, descendants of pioneers who did not complete their westward march. The pioneers had settled in the valleys ; their kin and others who came later occupied the areas more difficult of access, spread into the higher valleys and the narrow coves, there to live in great isolation in the “land of do-without” —a term indicative of destitution indeed. There is no reason to believe that these people were in any sense of low quality or in any way originally different from those who crossed the mountains and settled the Mississippi basin. In particular there seems no ground for the assumption that the Appalachians have been predominantly peopled with such by-products of the developing plantation belts as recently liberated servants or small farmers who were pushed aside in the competition for land. The mountainous *milieu* was principally responsible for the peculiar mode of life which prevailed in the highlands and still prevails with little change in the less accessible parts of the region.

(2). Outside the mountains yeomen farmers made up the majority of the rural white population. Some owned a few slaves and worked alongside them in the fields. Others obtained help from a single Negro. But most of them earned their living exclusively by the toil of their own hands and those of the members of the family. These farmers, though most numerous outside the staple-producing areas, could be found almost anywhere ; they were not absent from the black belts. In the upper piedmont, in eastern Tennessee and Mississippi, and along the western and northern borders of the slave states, they were by far the dominant type. In the pine barrens

thrifty and sturdy farmers numbered many thousands. They did not make up, of course, a perfectly homogeneous group. Differences in the fertility of the soil, ease of transportation, length of settlement, personal qualities, luck, health, and wealth were reflected in their modes of living. To many a "good liver" the farm gave a comfortable existence and a few luxuries, but at the other end of the scale were a larger number of country dwellers whose well-being was at a lower level than can be called plain. Generally the yeoman farmer and his sons had to work from sun-up to sun-down at a great variety of tasks, and the toils of his wife and daughters are reflected in the homely adage that "woman's work is never done." These people had little to do with money, produced most of what they consumed, usually owned land, stock, and implements, had as a class no debts, were little influenced by fluctuations in staple prices, and were socially as well as economically independent. In general they lived on a level that was foreign to luxury and destitution alike. As a group they must be called poor, because their per capita property represented little value, but according to standards existing in the region they were not very bad off. The comparable classes in the free states, however, lived undoubtedly on a superior level. Many travellers, both European and American, commented on the crude log cabins, homespun garments, coarse and monotonous food, and the general lack of comfort among the farmers, as well as the small planters, in the slave states, and among the former dire poverty could be found without seeking. The available data point to a great variety of traits.

"Sometimes, when we least expected it," comments Captain Basil Hall in his *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828*, "we lighted upon a different style of things. For example, on the evening of the memorable day on which we crossed the Yam Grandy, we reached a solitary house from which both the master and the mistress were absent ; but three pretty little girls, the eldest not more than twelve years of age, set to work instantly, in the most business-like manner, to prepare supper for us. One of them brought a glass of milk, warm from the cow, for the child, another set about cooking, and the third arranged the table ; while every thing about the establishment was neat, clean, and well ordered.

"Almost all these forest houses in the interior of the State of Georgia consist of two divisions, separated by a wide, open passage, which extends from the front to the back of the building. They are generally made of logs, covered with a very steep roof, I suppose to carry off the heavy rains. The apartments, at the ends of these dwellings, are entered from the open passage which divides the house in two,

the floor of which is raised generally two or three feet from the ground. This opening being generally ten or twelve feet wide, answers in that mild climate the purpose of a verandah, or sitting-room during the day. . . .

“When our good host came home, he explained to me, that when he first began farming in the woods, he had lived in the small log-house which I saw in the back court adjoining the kitchen. In the course of time, as more land was cleared, and his means were thereby increased, he had been enabled to build the new house which we were in, close to the roadside. I asked him how he came to have no windows in it. ‘Oh,’ said he, ‘we never make the windows in the first instance, but build up the walls with the logs, and then cut out the windows. Now, I have not yet money enough to enable me to go into that matter; but I hope, in the course of the year, to put in a couple of glazed windows. After which, I shall go on gradually till I make it all comfortable.’”

Such a man was undoubtedly poor—too poor for glazed windows. But there is nothing of the “poor-white” about the determination to “go on gradually till I make it all comfortable.”

Ellen Call Long, in *Florida Breezes; or, Florida, New and Old*, has left us some vivid pictures of the plain country people of northern Florida as they appeared to a traveller from Boston. Near Tallahassee this sojourner found “. . . the residence of Mr. Smith, which consisted of two log rooms on stilts, connected by an open passage, upon the floor of which reposed a white man, who used a reversed hide-bottomed chair as a pillow. Peeping from a door was a slouching white woman who wore a dirty sun-bonnet, who, upon our halting before the gate, called ‘Alik! Alik Smith! I keep on a telling on you to git up. Git up, Alik Smith! thar’s folks a callin’ on you at de gate.’

“Finally, the intelligence of Mr. Smith was aroused, and yawning and stretching, he came out to greet us:

“‘An I declar, it’s you Mister McLean, to be sure. I hearn as how you had gone down below.’ ‘My friend’ was sufficient introduction to make Mr. Smith as much at his ease with me as if he had known me all his life.

“‘Light gentlemen; hitch your creturs; that d—d lazy scoundrel is nary time about when he’s wanted; but there’s the rascal now. Hocules [Hercules], see how you give feed to them horses.’

“As we got under the roof of the building, (for it could scarcely be called entering a house,) he called aloud to the woman no longer seen, ‘Ole Sweet, push up the pot, for the gentlem’n will be agying haungry’; and with the diffuse manner of a grand Chamberlain,

he offered us seats, which he called *cheers*, adding, 'Make on yourself at home, gentlemín.'

"Then he placed part of his own body on a chair, while his legs were extended up and down and over, resting on a rough railing that partially empaled the passage, when a quid of tobacco completed his ease, and he was ready for the enjoyment of society.

" 'Well, gentlemín, what's the news? We are bin a looking for a mail down these hyah parts for sum time. When Joe Brown goes to the settlement, he will get drunk ; so the mail lies like drunk, too.'

" 'We hearn down hyah as how the General, Call, is agying to march. I reckon'd as how it was true, for he ain't one of them to stand back like ; and I just know if de millish stand up to him, we ain't gwine to want any reglars to keep injins away from the settle-mints.'

"This and much more like conversation, or rather monologue, filled the time, interspersed with the most astounding (to me) ejection of ambia, both as to quantity and dexterity in its riddance ; but the strength and self-reliance of the man very greatly attracted me.

" 'Hoculas, you d—d lazy scoundrel!'

" 'Sah,' answered the black, accepting the character and call with an equanimity that puzzled.

" 'Fotch a pail of fresh water, you rascal,' which being brought, the master turned to us with the same grand Chamberlain air, 'Gentlemín, won't you be after a wash? Thar's the tin, and thar's the wiper,'—which we found in a basin and a circular arrangement of toweling that turned on a roller—the length and breadth of which afforded satisfactory change. While we were thus employed, he turned his battery upon Mistress Smith. 'Ole woman, if you don't be up with the cooking, we'll be after helping you. Whar's Vittals and Cloze?'

"From a sort of shed in the yard there came a cracked sound. 'I ain't afeard on your a helpin on me, Alik Smith, and as fur as "Vittals and Cloze" I dun sent her to Sister Betsy Hales, to see as how she could borrow a small pasle of "short sweetning," an' she ain't no turn'd up yit.' I ventured to inquire what this strange-named feminine could be.

" 'Waall, stranger, you must know as how niggers is mighty high, and they is gitting higher. It took my level best with five crops on this poor piney woods land, to git done paying for Hoculas—and sure and sartain I can't buy agin right off—so you seed'd, to sorter help the 'ole woman, I gin vittals (victuals) and cloze (clothing) to a little nigger gal, and her mistress takes it for hire, cause she

ain't got no use for her nohow, and she helps the ole woman right smartly—for she is mighty piert.'

" 'How mysterious are thy ways, fair Florida,' I thought to myself. Finally, the strange cognominal returned, and in a neat homespun frock evidently donned for the occasion, covered a pine table with a clean cloth, and with all the necessary adjuncts of a dining table, which, though of the most primitive order, were sufficient. At last 'Mistress Smith' appeared—this time in a fresh sun-bonnet, and addressing herself to the 'lord of the manor,' she said, 'Alik Smith, dinner, she is ready,' and immediately seated herself at the table, maintaining the most profound reticence until the master, closing his eyes, said, 'Lord Jesus help us!' Then madam played the hostess.

" 'Manners is compliments, gentlemin ; help yourselves ; that's the fry, and here's the stew, and thar's flour bread, and here's the hoe (cake). And, stranger, will you tuk long sweetnin or short in your'n?' 'Gin me my nat'ral "ole sweet," said the husband. Anxious to respond to the wife's courtesy, I handed a dish toward her ; she startled my sense of fun, which was hard to control, as she replied in the most self-possessed manner, 'I wouldn't chooze any, if its all the same to you. Prehaps, Mister, you'll hev som of them corn dodgers along of the greens?'

"The meal was well cooked and clean, and we were hurrying, and we did full justice ; and perhaps with more than usual readiness, felt with the husband as he said on rising from the table, 'The good Lord make us thankful.'

" 'Gentlemin, I ain't a doin of it to skear, but it's on the rise of two clock, jedging by the sun, and my advize is fur you to be gitting along—for you mought and you moughtn't run agin Ingins betwixt here and Tallahass, fur they's bin a swarmin since them white livered scoundrels killed "Snake Root" on the Oclocknony tother day.'

" 'Hoculas!' (as loud as he could pitch his voice,) 'you rascal you, bring out them beasts and hitch up.' And then in a semi-apologetic tone, as we opened purses, he said : 'Wall, gentlemen, fifty cents for feeding of the creturs, and that'll pay back the corn, but don't be of insultin my ole woman, fur she'll gin a dinner just to be a seeing somebody.' "

Most tactfully put, for if the guests had insisted on paying for their meals Alik Smith, too, might have been insulted.

Crudeness of speech and manners was certainly no indication of meanness of mind any more than it was always an indication of real poverty or even lack of local prestige. The farmers were uneducated ; many could not read, more could not writc ; they took a

man's drink whenever there was fit occasion, which was often ; they settled their arguments by physical means if they deemed it necessary ; they did not work as hard or plan as consistently as their northern colleagues ; they were somewhat careless in varying degrees ; all were rustic and informal, many were uncouth ; urban genteels devised nicknames for them ; but as a class they were honest, proud, and independent, had confidence in life, had desires and usually ambition, and in a measure were substantial. In their own eyes and those of others in the South they were respectable citizens. It cannot be assumed that the differences between these farmers and those in the North indicate the lack of any essential qualities by the former. Their physical and moral stamina were such as to stand a severe test in the Civil War. Nor were the attainments of the planters other than those which can be brought about by the inheritance or fortunate winning of property and the consequent advantages of education, refinement, the ownership of property, and the exercise of leadership. Their blood was the same as that of the farmers out of whose ranks all but few had emerged not so long ago. Many of those in the old South who rose to public positions of distinction were of humble origin indeed. The differences in style and culture between the rank and file of the planters—the majority of whom were not refined, cultured, elegant, or genteel—and the yeomanry have, furthermore, been exaggerated.

The complex causes of the general condition of the yeomanry cannot be given more than brief consideration here. The same influences which held the whole South on a low level of economic development were also hostile to the prosperity of the non-slaveholding whites. The small farmers did not give as much attention as the planters to the production of staple crops for export. But the ideal toward which they strove was that of the planter. There was no other opportunity for profitable investment of capital, and, consequently with the exhaustion of fertility in the east, profits were re-invested in slaves and owners migrated westward in search of more fertile lands. To a certain extent, the presence of the Negro slave undoubtedly had placed a stigma on labor. A self-respecting owner might work in the fields beside his slave, or he might work with a hired slave ; but generally, the white man drew the line at hiring himself out to work either in field or factory alongside the Negro. Thus, pre-occupation with the staple crop system, the existence of large areas of fertile lands waiting to be exploited, and the slave system, all combined prevented the development of an integrated agricultural and industrial economy. When capital migrated westward to new and fertile soils, the older regions were left with

exhausted soils and without resources for immediate development. These abandoned regions then became stagnant and retained traits of the frontier which have persisted even to the present day.

The plantations developed in the regions suited for them, where soil and topography were favorable, but more especially where transportation was easy. They were in touch with the outside world. Some of the small farmers who, among others, had opened up such districts developed into planters; some of them sold out to engrossing neighbors and left, trekking westward or moving to regions like the upper piedmont, there to join those living already in a region where pressure was not brought to bear upon small holders; others, again, might drift to sterile stretches or to the pine barrens, there to sink to the "poor-white" level; and others, refusing to sell, remained as small farmers. At the end of the ante-bellum period this segregation of groups was fairly well completed. White labor played a minor rôle in the production of the staples; of the cotton crop it produced not more than fifteen per cent.

Although a number of farmers were in a position to raise crops for the market, as a whole they farmed to feed and clothe themselves with their own produce. When one considers the circumstances under which they found themselves, their small comfort has little that is mysterious. Living on isolated farmsteads, with means of communication rudimentary, public schools scarce and inadequate, in a purely rural environment far from markets, without a surplus to sell, working with a crude technique often on soils which were either not very productive or rapidly eroding and soon exhausted, with little opportunity to rise in the social scale, they necessarily resembled more a poor frontier people than a class of thriving New England farmers. In considering their social position it has to be remembered that the chances for the yeoman and his children in an exclusively rural commonwealth, where large scale agricultural operations prevail, have never and nowhere been very good. For the rest, in making comparisons between the social mobility of the North and the South, sight should not be lost of the fact that in an almost completely rural civilization social capillarity always tends to be less than in an urbanized commercialized area where important steps toward industrialization have already been made. In contemplating the ante-bellum South one must resist the temptation to place slavery persistently in the center and see it as the direct cause of everything. Although Negro slavery and the plantation system were so intimately tied up with each other that it is of little practical value to make an ideological distinction as to the prime importance of either one of them, it may yet clarify thought

to remember that the former was only incidental to the latter. It is not improbable that the general condition of the small farmers would have been materially the same had other sources of controllable labor been available for the large scale production of staples. Negro slavery, however, had some concomitants which made it militate still more against people of small means. Chief of these must have been the constant draining away of capital from developing regions by the continual capitalization of labor. Slavery was a clog in the process of every district where it had established itself, and limited in different ways the opportunities for the whites of little or no capital.

(3). The poorest of these farmers gradually merged into the bottom rank of southern rural white people, the listless and squalid dwellers to be found in many widely scattered localities, but chiefly in the sandy ridges of the plantation districts, the pine barrens of the coastal plains, of Florida, and of central and eastern Mississippi, and the sand hills along the fall line. Variouslly denominated as "sand hillers," "clay eaters," "crackers," and so on, they lived in shiftless poverty on what the half-hearted cultivation of a few acres, hunting, and fishing could offer in the way of subsistence, while occasional stealthy bartering with slaves and stealing of cattle and hogs made them a nuisance to planters. Not all of them were squatters or tenants, but the possession of some barren tract made small difference. Travellers described their sickly and slovenly appearance, habitual drinking, tobacco chewing, utter ignorance, strange dialect, inert behavior, and such strange proclivities as clay-sucking, resin-chewing, and snuff-dipping—though the latter custom was not limited to the women of this class. The figure of Ransey Riffle, in Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes*, may be called a fair example of the species. Ellen Call Long, already quoted, describes a family of such "poor-whites."

" . . . we approached the spot, where sat a wretched woman, with a snuff brush in her mouth, while her yoke fellow sprawled full length on the dilapidated porch, happy for the time in sleep. Five or six emaciated children, rolling in the sand, and a sow with half starved pigs, were the only living objects in view. We asked for fire to light cigars, whereupon the woman in that quivering voice natural to destitution, awakened the man at her feet, who finally was sufficiently aroused to answer.

" 'Wall! thar now, mister ; our chunk is gin out, and we is got to send to neighbor Guines for another chunk, I reckon.'

" 'What do you live on here?'

" 'Wall, (yawning and stretching,) fish is plenty, and when the

'simmons is ripe, 'possums is fine ; but it seems like thar was a spell on my fishing pole, lately like. To be sure the ground is rank poor, so no use of a digging it ; but stranger, them thar pigs will make a right smart pasle of meat on to Christmas ; They is good breed, for in this kentry it's root hog or die.'

"Ignorance and idleness create the same results everywhere, and yet these people in their squalor are better off here, than the same class are in the cities ; here they have sunshine, fresh air, water and wood, at least freely."

How numerous these people were cannot be ascertained in any definite way. Certainly they did not comprise the majority, or even a considerable part, of the non-slaveholding whites. In definite areas, however, they were too consistently present to warrant the statement that their number was negligible.

These people were not an exclusive product of ante-bellum development. At all times similar specimens could be found in the southern backwoods. The human material of every society is of divergent merits. That the southern populace contained an element with small capacities and ambition is not more surprising than that northern prisons and poor-houses were not empty. The difference in social environment accounts for the proportionately fewer inmates of southern penal and charitable institutions, and other differences between the sections can readily explain how this lower fringe in these parts assumed its peculiar form. On the southern frontier, as well as on other borders, there was an element satisfied with the minimum obtained without constant exertion. In the lower latitudes, to live in such a manner is easier than in a severer climate, but circumstances peculiar to the South conspired in producing its particular type of rural "poor-white." The system of self-contained, slave-worked plantations, the sparsity of towns and manufactures, and the loosely organized economic life of this section limited the chances of steady employment for those who had only their labor to offer. It must have made a start in life difficult for many who under other conditions might have played a minor rôle in organized production. This restriction of industrial opportunities may have contributed to the shiftlessness for which the "poor-whites" were known. The explanation of their characteristics, however, has chiefly to be sought in their undermined health. The descriptions of their outward appearance and uncommon predilections leave no doubt that as a class they were sufferers from chronic malaria and were in very many cases heavily infested with hookworm. The soil pollution around their cabins on loose sandy soils in the warm shade of southern piney woods made a dangerous *milieu* for those who walked

barefoot. Hookworm was not diagnosed in these parts before the turn of the century ; otherwise epsom salts and thymol might have done much towards the eradication of this disease. Now the "poor-whites" stood out in the eyes of contemporaries as examples of the persistent force of "ancestral degeneracy," as an illustration that Anglo-Saxon exploitation of this sub-tropical country was possible only through the management of tropical labor by a ruling white caste, or they were referred to as a standing reproach against slavery which, it was said, had the inevitable tendency not only to establish an aristocracy among the members of the ruling race by elevating a minority to wealth and culture, but also to push down the major portion to a depth of groveling baseness.

II

WE HAVE SEEN that in the ante-bellum South the non-slaveholders were not all of the "poor-white" class. The term "poor-white" has been, however, and still is, responsible for much poorly directed thinking about the South. The limits of the class of people to whom the ante-bellum South applied the term are not clearly laid down. In discriminating southern speech, it was not used to include all white persons who were poor. It was a term of contempt for the indolent hunter-fisher-farmers just described, certain other small farmers, the rude and ignorant cattle rangers of the piney woods, a small number of factory hands, teamsters, and boatmen, and a group of improvident, inefficient and unstable white laborers and poor loafers, but not for all white workmen, artisans, handicraftsmen, and mechanics of small means who, of less importance than in the North, were not absent. The "poor-whites" were those who were both poor and conspicuously lacking in the common social virtues and especially fell short of the standard in certain economic qualities. Laziness, carelessness, unreliability, lack of foresight and ambition, habitual failure and general incompetency characterized them. The term, though used in the South, was not by far so commonly used and certainly not so sweepingly applied as one might suppose on reading comments of northern or European origin.

There is a wide difference between the recognition of certain groups among the white population whose shortcomings on occasion might be signalized by this expression, and the inclusive stigmatization of the many millions of southern people who did not own slaves by the indiscriminate indication of the same undesirable characteristics. Yet this was already more or less current practice in non-southern quarters before the Civil War, and up to the present there has been a persistent inclination to apply the term to all south-

ern whites who economically and socially rank below the middle class.

How did this confusion—or misconception—originate? How could such a radically wrong view gain credence in one part of a country concerning the state of society in another part within easy travelling distance?

The myth seems to have been started by ante-bellum travellers. Knowledge of other countries and of other parts of the same country was in those days incomparably more fragmentary and exceptional than at present. The world was still wide; tourists without special merits as observers or the knowledge necessary for correct interpretations wrote books which were published and read. The statements, and especially opinions, of travellers possessed an authority out of proportion to their real significance. The attitude of readers was not nearly so critical as it is now. This was true of the accounts written by tourists in all parts of the world, but for the American slave states forces making the easy acceptance of travellers' notions doubly easy were at work.

Most visitors to the South were biased. So were the readers of their books who lived in the North or in Europe. Few of the former (especially after the 1830's, when the abolition movement was gathering force) were in sympathy with slavery.

Various circumstances favored the idea by outsiders that the non-slaveholding whites of the South stood out in pronounced contrast with the slaveholders. The southern planters formed an aristocratic element in democratic America; their country was accordingly conceived of as a strictly aristocratic, if not feudal, commonwealth. This suggested the three elements of noble planters, servile slaves, and socially dependent "poor-whites." The favorite analogies drawn between the plantations of the southern states and the latifundia of ancient Rome, between planters and patricians, and other comparisons made between the slave empire of the past and that of the present also suggested the presence of an element comparable to the plebeians of yore. Exposés by those who lack intimate and detailed knowledge are apt to follow general lines, and in reducing the impressions to writing, tendencies toward schematization also make themselves felt. Social contrasts always have possessed a tempting charm as an object of depiction. Slavery, furthermore, loomed so large in the discussion of everything southern that everything was viewed from that angle. Anti-slavery zealots were eager to point out as many evil consequences of the system as could with some plausibility be indicated. The doctrinaire thought and tone peculiar to political scientists and economists in the decades preceding the Civil

War re-enforced this inclination. For them a certain institution was either good or bad. If bad, it was so absolutely, always, everywhere and in all directions; its consequences were uniformly harmful and manifest in everything. The view that slavery was detrimental not only to the Negroes but to the whole society in which it operated, that it made impossible the consummation of the democratic ideal on southern soil by degrading a great mass of white Americans to uselessness as citizens, offered possibilities as abolitionist propaganda. Certain aspects of rural life in the South helped. There were the slatternly, dirty, and indolent "sandhillers." No traveller who met them failed to describe them in vivid terms. This would have been done anyhow, because unusual and striking phenomena naturally invite mention, but existing prejudices made for biased and incorrect generalizations. Fanny Kemble, in a letter to a friend in the North, spoke of the pinelanders of the vicinage, who, indeed, were far from prepossessing, as "the most degraded race of human beings claiming an Anglo-Saxon origin that can be found on the face of the earth—filthy, lazy, ignorant, brutal, proud, penniless savages, without one of the nobler attributes which have been occasionally allied to the vices of savage nature." Their condition, she went on to generalize after a stay of short duration, was that of all the non-slaveholders of Georgia. "Labor being here the especial portion of slaves, it is thenceforth degraded, and considered unworthy of all but slaves. No white man, therefore, of any class puts his hands to work of any kind soever."

The itinerary most commonly followed by travellers brought them in contact with the lower piney woods people and "poor-whites" to be found in the neighborhood of plantations. On the other hand, regions like the upper piedmont, eastern Tennessee and eastern Mississippi, where a vigorous yeomanry lived, lay outside the tourist route. Besides the generally crude and poor aspect of the farmsteads, the tumbledown fences, ramshackle outhouses, razor-back hogs rooting under the porches, and the coarse "hoecake" or "hog and hominy" of the common people impressed northerners as unfavorably as their ignorance, rough-and-ready easy-going manners, and willingness to be satisfied with little. Frederick Law Olmsted wrote elaborately on this point. Visitors from across the Atlantic mostly came South after having glanced over New England and the middle states, and did not fail to notice the existing discrepancies which, indeed, were not flattering to the South. James Sterling, an English tourist, making remarks on the differences between the houses of rich planters and poor farmers, wrote in 1857: "There is not the same appearance of equally disseminated comfort.

There are handsome dwellings here and there, and there are poor, mean-looking homesteads ; but one misses the neat farm houses that dot the landscape of New England, and speak of comfort, equality, and intelligence.” Some observers made careful and illuminating notes, sticking to details and avoiding facile statements of a too general nature. Others, not so modest, let their opinions shine through the lines they wrote and did not abstain from suggestions and explanations which obscured the facts. It was the custom among most travellers of that time in the South and elsewhere also, not to be content with describing what they saw, heard, and experienced, but to add their generalizations and interpretations. These were always amateurish, mostly biased, and too often misleading. They imposed their viewpoints without the necessary knowledge for criticism, and often their misinformation fitted neatly into the existing prejudices of their readers.

The term “poor-white” existed already south of the Potomac, of whatever origin it may have been. For those not of the section born, from a white who was poor to a “poor-white” there was only one step. Negroes, secure on the plantations and accustomed to observing and, in a way, identifying themselves with “quality,” felt contempt for white people of small property and no social distinction. They certainly stood on a none too friendly footing with such folk and were apt to refer to them indiscriminately as “po’ buckra” or “po’ white trash.”

So the myth could grow. A few southern protests could not find a wide hearing. The civilized world read anti-slavery literature in which, in the later ante-bellum decades, the tripartite tableau of southern society is featured. James Sterling wrote in broad strokes : “The white inhabitants of Florida, as of all the Slave States more or less, constitute but two classes—the planters or rich class, and the poor class, variously denominated ‘crackers,’ ‘white trash,’ ‘poor whites,’ ‘mean whites.’ This social characteristic I consider the most remarkable and important feature of Southern civilization.” Prospective amateurs were emphatically warned that “. . . it is only by keeping this clearly and constantly in mind, that we can at all understand the social and political organization of the South. . .” The quotation may be added : “Society is divided into a wealthy, dominant class, and a wretched, ignorant class, at once insubordinate and servile. . .” After pioneers in the field had prepared the way, next-comers with no more knowledge were unlikely to diverge from established conceptions. To give a single instance, it is but natural that shortly after the war David Macrae, a tourist from Scotland, should tell his readers that the southern aristocrats who

formed the upper stratum were but few in number ; "beyond the middle class, which is also limited, lies an immense class of whites as a direct product of Southern principles, . . . a class poor, idle, uneducated, and in many respects very worthless."

The testimonies of those who had been in a position to obtain first-hand information were used by others who wrote in a secondary way to instruct the general public about the southern states. If careful authors, going at their task in a cautious and critical manner, had welcomed equally information of all kinds, if they had discounted the evident prejudices of the witnesses they used, they could, even with this material, have reached conclusions which were not far from the truth. Little attention should have been paid to allegations and interpretations of those evidently not in a position to judge, and above all, these should not have been reinterpreted. But in the heated atmosphere none was inclined to be critical. Statements of prominent southerners also were quoted to support their assumption of a southern "poor-white trash" numbering several millions. It is not to be forgotten that great poverty indeed could be found in the South. The existence of many was precarious in the extreme. In a state like South Carolina poverty was a problem of no small magnitude, though not generally recognized as such. Public spirited southerners like Governor Hammond, William Gregg, and J. H. Lumpkin of Georgia wrote and spoke about it. They saw in the development of manufactures a means for the elevation of the people. Articles in *De Bow's Review* advocating the promotion of industries used this humanitarian argument as an additional motive. These statements were taken as confessions in the other camp, and were eagerly quoted as irrefutable evidence by those who indicted the system of slavery but seriously lacked a sense of proportion. The care with which one should sift the statements of travellers on all subjects of a general and, as such, non-observable nature, can be illustrated with the statements of such eminent writers as Alexandre de Tocqueville and Miss Harriet Martineau on the numerical importance of southern non-slaveholders. The gross errors made by such keen observers, which could have been singled out in the fifties, should have been a warning to those who relied naïvely on such sources. De Tocqueville thought that in the South nobody was so poor as not to own at least a single slave, and he stated that in the lower South "there is not a white man who works." Miss Martineau also had an entirely wrong idea of the proportion of southern non-slaveholders. There are, she wrote, "a few unhappy persons in the slave States, too few, I believe, to be called a class, who strongly exemplify the consequences of such a principle of morals as that

work is a disgrace. These are a few, called by the slaves ‘mean whites’; signifying whites who work with the hands. . . . No inducement would be sufficient to bring honest, independent men into the constant presence of double-distilled hatred and contempt like this; and the general character of the ‘mean whites’ may therefore be anticipated. They are usually men who have . . . no chance elsewhere; the lowest of the low.” Before the census of 1850, which enumerated the slave-holders and their human possessions, other authors of less renown showed like ignorance on this point.

A few publications shortly before and during the Civil War were important in the fixation of the growing conception of the southern non-slaveholders as a great mass of utterly debased “poor-whites.” The already world-famous Harriet Beecher Stowe devoted in her *Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1853) a separate chapter to the “poor White Trash,” whom she too considered one of the worst consequences of slavery. In a pamphlet printed in 1857 the northern journalist J. M. Weston gave a pitiable picture of the “Poor Whites of the South.” Many quotations of southern spokesmen were given to make convincing this “very clear exhibition of the condition of the mass of white population in the Slave States.” In the next year this writer published his *Progress of Slavery in the United States*. Though in this book it is recognized that there are areas in the South not blighted by slavery, especially in the highlands, where sturdy and vigorous farmers can be found “corresponding with the yeomanry of the free States,” the contention is that “the non-slaveholders of the South (of course, with many exceptions) are shiftless, ignorant, and degraded.” In the same year Hinton Rowan Helper’s notorious *Impending Crisis* appeared. Here a southern writer who did not own slaves called himself a “poor-white”; if anyone, he should know how conditions were. He wrote of slave barons and “five millions of ‘poor white trash’ ” whose “liberation of the second degree of slavery could not be accomplished too soon.” Though the condition of the slaves was wretched beyond description, vast numbers of “poor-whites,” he wrote, were infinitely worse off. Any white person who had to live by his own labor was, the writer assured, customarily “treated as if he was a loathsome beast, and shunned with the utmost disdain.” Elsewhere he said: “The serfs of Russia have reason to congratulate themselves that they are neither the negroes nor the non-slaveholding whites of the South. Than the latter there can be no people in Christendom more unhappily situated.” The whole book was an indictment of the southern slaveholders because of the supposedly tremendous harm they had done to all the interests of those not wealthy enough to own Negroes. It had a wide circulation

in the North, gained political importance, and made a solid impression with its many statistical tables. Indeed, it had the merit of bringing before the public many facts worthy of thoughtful consideration, but its one-sided emphasis and highly colored exaggeration must have contributed considerably to the popularization of the "poor-white" theory. Another southerner turned abolitionist was the Virginian, M. D. Conway. His *Testimonials Concerning Slavery* denied that outside the mountains there existed in the South a class of respectable whites between the "slavocrats" and the "poor white trash," that "dumb, degraded, crushed class, which Slavery has created by dishonouring labor and abolishing wages. . ." The picture he gave of this latter class was gruesome in the extreme.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War two books were published in Europe in which American slavery was depicted, analyzed, and evaluated. They attempted to give its history, uncover its inherent tendencies and ultimate aims, find the factors in its origin, growth and eventual decline, and give besides, a general view of southern society. Friedrich Kapp's *Geschichte der Sklaverei in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Hamburg, 1861) was the work of a German liberal who, like many compatriots, emigrated after the upheaval of 1848, and afterwards played a rôle in northern politics. His treatise, which can not be denied a certain thoroughness, logical coherence, and power, was not the cool product of an objective mind but the exposure of a partisan. The fatal influences of slavery on whites without capital, the political dependence and small capacities of the "mean whites," the "Pariahs of Southern Society," were strongly emphasized. It was in line with the schematizing economic and political thought in the first half of the century to explain a certain society out of a few factors of central importance, or even a single one. Deductive reasoning, apart from the facts and standing on its own merits, was acceptable; if its logic could stand the test, the results were respected. In so far as reputed facts were used, the realization of the difference between the methods of selective illustration and objective induction was not a common attainment. Kapp's point that it is the inevitable tendency of slavery to concentrate land-ownership, capital, and power in a few hands was perhaps well taken, but was decidedly overplayed. Had he remarked only that it is the tendency of slavery to stratify society, he would have been indisputably correct. But his thesis was that such a labor system inevitably pushes down all non-slaveholders to a continually lower level of well-being and intelligence, that it degrades them necessarily into a miserable rabble. These assertions remained practically unchallenged. For the German-reading public the book long

has remained an authority on the subject of American slavery.

A work of similar content but of much greater influence was *The Slave Power, its Character, Career, and Probable Designs*, by J. E. Cairness (first edition, 1862 ; second edition, 1863). The author, a pupil of Stuart Mill, was professor of political economy in the University of Dublin and Queen's College, Galway, and had never been in the country he wrote about—not of itself necessarily a great objection. Starting from a few general premises, readily admitted at the time, and relying mostly on observations and generalizations of travellers like Olmsted, Sterling, and Gilmore, he constructed with cogent logic and in an assertive way the essence of American slavery and its consequences. The book was well-written, interesting, and acute, but on the whole a contribution of doubtful value. Its conclusions were sometimes true, sometimes false, but its picture of the social structure of the slave states was imaginative and bizarre in the extreme. Like Kapp, he asserted that southern institutions and conditions made it impossible for non-slaveholding whites to attain any degree of even tolerable comfort or social respectability. There was as a most natural consequence of the system a cleavage of southern white society into haughty aristocrats and “an idle and lawless rabble who live dispersed over vast plains in a condition little removed from absolute barbarism”—ignoring or implicitly denying the existence of a sturdy, self-sufficient, self-respecting yeomanry. Exceeding anything that had yet been said, he put the number of these incorrigible ruffians at five million in the first and four million in the second edition. These millions of “mean whites” led “a life alternating between listless vagrancy and the excitement of marauding expeditions.” The exhausted plantation land, he stated, became in time “the resort of a promiscuous horde, who, too poor to keep slaves, and too proud to work, prefer a vagrant and precarious life spent in the desert to engaging in occupations which would associate them with the slaves whom they despise. They were “little removed from savage life, eking out a wretched subsistence by hunting, by fishing, by hiring themselves out for occasional jobs, by plunder. Combining the restlessness and contempt for regular industry peculiar to the savage with the vices of the *proletaire* of civilized communities, these people make up a class at once degraded and dangerous, and, constantly reinforced as they are by all that is idle, worthless, and lawless among the population of the neighbouring states, form an inexhaustible preserve of ruffianism, ready at hand for all the worst purposes of southern ambition. The planters complain of these people for their idleness, for corrupting their slaves, for their thievish propensities ; but they can not

dispense with them; . . . Such are the 'mean whites,' or 'white trash' of the Southern states. They comprise several local subdivisions, the 'crackers,' the 'sandhillers,' the 'clayeaters,' and many more. . . . This class is not peculiar to any one locality, but is the invariable outgrowth of negro slavery wherever it has raised its head in modern times. . . . In the States of the Confederacy, it comprises, as I have said, four millions of human beings—about seven-tenths of the whole population."

With this book, soon enjoying great prestige, already existing opinions were given seemingly irrefutable proof. The spirit of the times gave it a large and lasting influence; for many years its generalizations were accepted as authoritative and its picture of the non-slaveholders was not impeached. A few protests went unheard. At the end of the century the Italian economist Achille Loria still referred to it without critical comment. In the same years the German scholar Ernst von Halle, in his ambitious history of the cotton kingdom, raised no objections to it.

The expression "poor-white" has remained part of the stock vocabulary especially of those of non-southern extraction writing on the southern states. This term was originally used particularly by southerners themselves to denote a relatively small class of shiftless human beings, "poor," it is true, and designated "white" to differentiate them from the Negroes whose living standards were not very dissimilar from theirs. The term was early used in its derogatory—and therefore misapplied—sense, of all non-slaveholding white people in the South, by travellers to the South and by propagandists who sought to show the terrible influence of Negro slavery. As the years have passed those so denoted have become a class of much larger size, with more definite limits and special characteristics, and the expression itself has attained greater significance in northern and European nations than it ever possessed in the South. As such it has unfortunately come to embody for many non-southerners an entirely wrong conception of the plain people of the South before the Civil War as well as in later years. As can be expected, its effects are still noticeable. The fact that for a long time the standard histories of the United States have been written almost exclusively by New Englanders, that the northern point of view prevails throughout American historiography, must further be taken into account in tracing the "poor-white" fable.

III

THE CIVIL WAR and its outcome wrought great change in the South. The statement has often been made that the poorer whites profited

immensely by the change; it has been said that the liberation of the Negroes brought about an "emancipation" in some way or other of the former non-slaveholders. The background of this view, which in this formulation is certainly an exaggeration, must be the erroneous belief that the South was sharply divided into aristocrats and "poor-whites," and that slavery was the basis for the division. The more one sees slavery as the central factor, directly responsible for the supposed wholesale degradation of the former non-slaveholders, the greater will be the importance attached to the disappearance of the institution as marking a new day for those who were more or less obscure under the old régime. Though nobody will deny that they profited greatly by the change, it is well in this matter to avoid undue exaggeration. Various views can be found concerning the nature of the improvement in their position. Among the more positive is the one which contends that the landless "poor-whites" as well as those who formerly owned only barren tracts took up the land of the planters, to be had for a song, after the war. The great increase in the number of small farms which the census reports of 1870 and 1880, as compared with those of 1860, undoubtedly show, has been advanced as indicative of this spread of small white land-ownership, the elevation of the "poor-whites" to the rank of peasant proprietors. The remarkable growth in the proportion of whites employed in the cultivation of cotton especially has been brought forward to prove that the more desirable land had passed into the hands of the former non-slaveholding class.

But these arguments will not stand examination. The frequently quoted census figures of 1870 and 1880 indicate only the progressive disintegration of plantations into conglomerates of independent or semi-independent tenant farms, each one of which was in these enumerations counted as a unit, a practice which still exists. They indicate nothing regarding the diffusion or concentration of white land-ownership. No compiled figures exist to show whether the number of landless whites decreased after the Civil War or whether land formerly owned in large tracts and cultivated by slave gangs was now used if not owned by small white farmers. Official estimates indeed show that an increasing part of the cotton crop came to be produced by white labor. But the explanation for this change may be found in the rapid opening up in these years of western cotton lands by preponderantly white farmers, the decline of production in the black belts, and the extension of cotton cultivation into areas where white farmers predominated, among which the upper piedmont deserves prime attention. To this latter change contributed the improvement in means of transportation, the great need for a

money crop in the poverty-stricken years following Appomattox, the high prices of the staple in these years, and, especially, the coming into use of commercial fertilizers—later to revolutionize agriculture in the sandhills and pine barrens also. In many instances poor dwellers on infertile post-oak ridges and sandy wastes may have acquired a footing on plantation land; in general there may have been a certain influx of whites into districts where formerly the reverse tendency prevailed, but it is to be doubted whether this movement was of a magnitude to warrant the opinion that it was an aspect of the “economic emancipation” of the former non-slaveholders. The black belts remained black. In the new South the economic paradox of the former era—that on the whole the best land was cultivated by the least efficient labor—continued to exist.

No one denies that Negro slavery was prejudicial to the interests of both white yeomanry and the “poor-whites,” and the abolition of the institution in several respects has worked for their good. In what ways this has operated is not a simple matter to analyze. It will have to be understood primarily from an exposition of the ways in which the South as a whole was benefited by the removal of a hindrance to healthier economic life and progress in general. That those of low economic status profited as a class more than the wealthy planters, often ruined by war and emancipation, might be proved, but it has not been finally demonstrated that for the former the change was so fundamental, sudden, and wide in scope that it may be referred to as the “emancipation of the non-slaveholders.” The growth of political assertiveness of the common man towards the end of the century is not proof of an essentially improved economic condition. It was social and political unrest, to a large extent caused by economic dissatisfaction. A great change, which deserves more attention than it has received, is the rather rapid transition in post-bellum decades of the self-sufficiency of the average small white farmer into the economy incident to the production of cash crops. Whether this may be taken as evidence of “the rise of the ‘poor-white,’ ” is also open for discussion. Undoubtedly the breaking down of pioneer economy and contact with markets were requirements for economic advance. However, anyone familiar with the economic and social implications of southern staple production on small farms, especially tenant farms, in the two-thirds of a century following the Civil War, must be skeptical about the advantages which cotton and tobacco have brought these producers. If any single test could be allowed, the steady increase of the tenancy rate among the rural whites might be referred to. That southern cash-crop farming has made for the fixation of many frontier traits

in southern country life can, in my opinion, hardly be doubted. Although it is commercial farming indeed, this money-economy in many instances does not let the small producer handle much more money than his grandfather who lived under backwoods conditions and neither bought nor sold to any extent. Neither has it made for an appreciable accumulation of wealth by the primary producers. For these, on more than one point, the country towns, through various circumstances rapidly rising during and after Reconstruction, occupy a position comparable to the one which the North had in relation to the South as a section under the old régime. The dreary and meagre existence of the majority of southern tenants, their lack of social or economic independence, do not look like "emancipation." Neither does the life of cotton-mill villagers suggest this expression.

True, the peculiar mode of life which the genuine "po'-white trash" of pre-war repute led in wire-grass, flatwoods, sandhills, and piney ridge regions, has changed. Artificial fertilizers have transformed their refuges into cotton and tobacco producing regions. Truck farms, orchards, and winter resorts have been established on land which formerly could be squatted upon at will; the lumber and turpentine businesses have exploited the wealth of the pine barrens; railroads and highways have cut across formerly isolated areas; towns and schools have multiplied; population especially in these sandy sections has increased rapidly; and immigration from the piedmont, the mountains, and more distant parts has infused new blood into these regions that long seemed asleep. The sinking of artesian wells and the campaigns since the beginning of the twentieth century against hookworm and malaria have done their part in the elimination of the listless hunter-fisher-farmer "poor-white" of ante-bellum days. This does not mean that surprisingly primitive existences can not still be found in the lowest latitudes of the United States.

The present South contains several more or less distinct groups, native whites of native parentage, who may be considered instances of arrested cultural development. To a greater extent than poor people in other parts of the union, they do not participate in the fullness of American life, have antiquated traits, and, measured by modern yard-sticks, are found wanting. The highlanders in their inaccessible coves and valleys, the population of the mill-villages, often said to be socially submerged, the great numbers of cotton and tobacco tenants, into whose ranks many small owner-operators merge only too easily—all living along the margin of existence, without much other prospect than to recognize constant failure,

abandon farming, and seek "public works"—are all felt to be problems, and in a way, rightly so.

As a specific class with definite limits "southern poor-whites" exists chiefly in the non-southern imagination. Neither is the term in such current use south of the Potomac as is believed. However, it is anything but unknown there, and its connotation, which decidedly goes beyond the indication of small economic assets, is an essential part of the southern white man's thought pattern. The southern user of the term, putting the stress on the second word, always associates with it attributes and habits that are not socially or economically desirable, to put it mildly.

The use of the expression for the mountaineers is generally censured. Mountaineers are apt to be unrefined and out of touch with the "foreign" world; but they usually possess a pride and rugged independence that is not a part of the "poor-white" pattern. They may submit to being called "hill billies," a term denoting isolation, poverty, and the absence of "book l'arnin'," but they would angrily resent "poor-white." For some reason, mountains as a dwelling place all over the world suggest the possession of stalwartness and other manly virtues by their inhabitants, whose lack of refinement is understandingly condoned. Though the term is not unknown to the dwellers in mountain towns, it may be said that especially in the piedmont and the low lands there is a common understanding that for certain people, through actual experience or traditional repute considered "no 'count" or "low down," "poor-white" is a most fitting, terse descriptive phrase. The suggestion is one of some kind of inherited inferiority. It is a fact that among the southern whites of low economic status fairly large groups exist whose members are, on occasion, contemptuously labeled this way, though the frequency with which the term is used depends to a lesser extent also on the ones who avail themselves of it. It must be granted that many of those so designated, if left to themselves, show evidence of small energy and efficiency, that they are characterized by low cultural development, narrow minds, slight mental flexibility, insufficient ambition, improvidence, and lack of capacity for carrying out plans, as well as a lack of other qualities, important if not requisite for economic success and social esteem in the modern world. Next to the Negro, this group of small capacities is often considered as the second great handicap of the South.

It is interesting to note that boosters of the new South, using also a descent-reasoning, make the argument that the available white labor supply of their states is possessed of great latent capacities, needing only an opportunity to blossom forth and show the un-

limited possibilities for those who are of "undiluted Anglo-Saxon stock," a "hundred per cent American," and so on. In conservative American circles these attributes are highly creditable, but the appreciations involved in these terms seem somewhat unwarranted, and expectations based on no other grounds can not be called solidly founded. Not daring to extend our curiosity so far as to inquire what the fact of being "hundred per cent American"—whatever it means—of necessity guarantees, and wondering why certain fragments of other nations could not be vindicated by their compatriots in the same way, an inquisitive mind might be inclined to ask irreverently what the "pure Anglo-Saxon stock" of the poorer southern whites can do in the way of reassuring those holding a less sanguine opinion of these people. Neither ethnology nor anthropology nor sociology could attach much definite meaning to this "Anglo-Saxon stock," and certainly would not derive any evaluations from it. As an indication of the Nordic somatic type the term has little meaning, and it may be doubted whether a sample of southern "poor-whites" could be used as well as an arbitrary group of Swedes to demonstrate the conventional traits of the *homo Nordicus*. Besides, the pretended qualities of this latter species, though often and elaborately deified, still await cool scientific proof. The vindication of the southern "poor-whites" by pointing out their alleged choice descent is a hopelessly amateurish enterprise. The most that can be said about their Anglo-Saxonism is that it denotes on the part of their progenitors a historical connection with, or early assimilation to the culture complex known as "Anglo-Saxon," which in this case has not been changed by a later infusion of persons of a different cultural heritage; that their ancestors came almost exclusively out of north-western or north central European habitats and by this may be assumed to have been preponderantly of Nordic subracial extraction, is further to be granted. If it could become an established fact that the Nordic type of Caucasian is in any general sense innately superior to the Alpine or Mediterranean type, then those interested in southern "poor-whites" would still have to keep in mind that such an appraisal could never be applied to all the individuals or groups within the general biological division. It would leave ample room for "inferior" elements and groups.

Now we come to another "descent" view, in its conclusions diametrically opposed to the one just mentioned, but ranging in a narrower scope, as unwarranted in its assumptions and inferences. Southerners themselves and critics from the outside have frequently pointed to the "indentured servants" of the earlier colonial era as progenitors of what now vaguely constitutes the "poor-white" category. The

suggestion is that the descendants of transported felons and paupers can scarcely be expected to rank up to general standards, that the shortcomings of the lower class of southern Caucasians are innate, biologically moored. To this popular view it can be answered that able historical research has shown how erroneous the classification of Virginia's colonial population into Cavaliers and "poor-whites" is, that a respectable yeomanry and small planters at all times formed the great majority in this state also, that few immigrants in the Old Dominion were descendants of England's nobility, that the elevation into the rank of farmers and eventually even higher ascent of those who came as redemptioners was far more general and rapid than conventionally believed. The contention that the majority or even a great number of these latter were degenerates has been refuted on good grounds. The general run of these emigrants was fairly representative of English working classes at large with a sprinkling of small middle class people. Calling the bulk of the redemptioners "the dregs of European society" is as untenable as the genteel origin of Virginia planters. Like all colonies, the South Atlantic provinces have received persons who left their country for their country's good, but that this part of America received more than its share of undesirable human material is questionable. The approach to the "poor-white" problem along such general lines has little to offer. The first settlers of Tasmania and Australia were of a much more unfavorable type than the plurality of the southern redemptioners ever was. Yet no distinct "poor-white" class has originated in Australia. On the other hand, South Africa, without a prolonged influx of elements officially stamped as anti-social, has developed a "poor-white" problem of great importance. The existence of "poor-whites" on the Antilles, in greater part descendants of indentured laborers, may offer an interesting parallel, yet does not compel one to an explanation identical to that for the South. Comparisons such as these are dangerous. Especially those between South Africa and the southern United States have to be made with the greatest caution and the recognition of numerous and fundamental differences. Yet, cases such as these make one more sceptical about genealogical theories and increase the inclination to turn to social and economic history as well as geography for guidance. Certainly it is more likely that items of cultural—rather than racial—heritage and of unfavorable conditions come closer to explaining the unsatisfactory picture. There seems to be little basis for the belief that the "poor-whites" have inherited anything of either racial superiority or racial inferiority that a few generations of social guidance can not counteract.

In the United States a high degree of cultural homogeneity is considered desirable. The high requirements on this point are probably explanatory of the somewhat remarkable fact that groups living a long time in this country and not yet conforming to the general standards are likely to be suspected of some unspecified but essential shortcomings. Even if it could be proved that a certain percentage of southern whites of low economic status possessed inherent deficiencies, not more would have been demonstrated than that here as little as anywhere else social material is homogeneous, that here also a lower margin exists. Comparisons, further, should not be made in a simplistic way. The average southern tenant farmer, for example, may make a poor showing compared with the mid-western tenant, but it should be realized that the system of southern agriculture allows those of small ambition, efficiency, and assets, who in other sections would not rank beyond the status of laborer, to participate in production as small entrepreneurs. The fundamental fact should be borne in mind that in the southern staple belts simple human labor means proportionately more, capital and intelligence less in the cost of the unit of production. Other regional characteristics should be carefully considered and weighed before indicting the innate qualities of a part of the southern people. Ignorance, lack of economic and social ambition, shiftlessness, even laziness may be due to incorrigible shortcomings, but are not necessarily so. General poverty through several generations, geographic and rural isolation, lack of economic and educational opportunities, an undermined constitution may account for the same phenomena. To decide between what is genotypical and what is phenotypical is a task not rashly to be assumed. As long as the consequences of cultural inheritance and still existing unfavorable conditions are evident, it is unwarranted to resort to supposed inherent traits as an explanation for an unsatisfactory picture. Especially not, when experience teaches that response to improved opportunities is not slow and that no other methods beyond those commonly used elsewhere for social amelioration have been proved necessary. Without emphasizing the unusually retarding effects of mountain *milieu* and mill village life, or putting much stress on the heritage of antebellum life, which was not rich, it must be admitted that the poorer rural population in the South ever since the Civil War has lived under most unfavorable conditions. The vicious interaction of already existing poverty and ignorance, sparsity of population, excessive rurality, with one-crop farming, the crop-lien system and all its implications, especially excessive credit rates, hazards of weather, pests and markets, the peculiar forms of tenancy in the South and

its consequences, occasional exploitation by landlords and credit merchants, excessive mobility on the part of the tenants, the meagre returns which, on the average, the southern staple crops give to those who do the work, the comparative ease with which in seven or eight months a living of some sort can be made with little or no capital, small skill, and the help of wife and children, under the supervision and guidance of an economic superior—a multiplicity of causes must be taken into account to understand the unsatisfactory appearance form of so many rural southern whites. In the worst city slums other standards and examples stand more before the eyes, are nearer and can exercise their influence more easily than in certain poverty-stricken rural regions where all enlightened leadership is absent. For those who dwell there in accustomed poverty, escape and elevation are difficult; the children will consider this life as natural and will, in time, carry it on with little change. They derive too little stimulus from their environment for making attempts at improvement. Such inertia can explain persistency of traits through several generations just as well as hereditary defects.

As explanations, race, *casu quo* descent, and climate have too often been resorted to as facile *passe partouts*, when need existed for unbiased and painstaking investigations of complex problems. Whether the southern climate may be regarded as a contributing cause of the “poor-whites” of the region is, thus stated, a question of a very general nature. Insofar as climate is indirectly one of the greatest single factors shaping the culture of a particular region, numerous but not very elucidating relations can of course be established. One might point out, for instance, the softening of the struggle for life incident to a mild climate and the promotion of easy going habits by a hot and long summer. Especially, however, the demands of a subtropical climate for systematic sanitation, careful hygiene, and a well-adapted diet should be given weight. When these requirements have to be met by a section where the population is preponderantly rural, generally poor, inadequately educated and the masses have—as a frontier heritage as well as an incidence of one-sided cash-crop farming—a badly balanced, monotonous diet (hoe-cake, hog and hominy, Baltimore side, molasses, cowpeas, and collards) ill-adjusted to life in these lower latitudes, it means that the climate puts the section as a whole at a disadvantage, but especially the poorer rural people. Malaria and hookworm are in their distribution largely determined by climate; in late years pellagra has been shown to be a deficiency disease generally following the boundaries of southern poor folk’s food habits. The tremen-

dous social importance of malaria and hookworm for the warmer regions of the world, the need for combatting them vigorously and systematically, have only recently been fully realized. Great successes have been achieved in the campaigns against the hookworm in the South, but presumably for many years to come undermining diseases will play a rôle in the life of the lower level of southern whites and will have to be taken into account by anyone inclined to a harsh judgment.

We can only conclude, therefore, that so long as really convincing evidence is not brought forward, there seems to be no reason to assume that any part of the white population of the South is any more inherently inferior than comparable classes in other sections of the United States.

THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

BY W. T. COUCH

ON MARCH 6, 1857, the Supreme Court of the United States speaking through Chief Justice Taney, handed down an epoch-making decision in the history of the Negro. Although slavery had existed in this country for over two and a quarter centuries, never before had the Federal Government made any official pronouncement through any of its departments attempting to justify the system on a broad philosophical basis. When the Supreme Court took upon itself this onerous task in the case of Dred Scott, it brought to one focus the burning criticism which had been finding expression and smouldering toward flame for many years.

"It is difficult at this day," said the Court, "to realize the state of public opinion in relation to that unfortunate race, which prevailed in the civilized and enlightened portions of the world at the time of the Declaration of Independence, and when the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted. But the public history of every European nation displays it in a manner too plain to be mistaken.

"They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. . . ."

These words, written by the southern Chief Justice, received the explicit concurrence of the four southern and one of the northern justices. They formed the basis of the majority's arguments that the Negro was not a citizen when the federal government was first formed, that Congress had no constitutional authority to confer citizenship on the Negro, and that it remained within the power of a state to keep the Negro in a degraded condition if it wished to do so. Northern abolitionists for many years had been anathematizing

the South precisely because, in their view, the South was practicing the doctrine that the Negro "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The protagonists of slavery vehemently denied this charge when it was made by abolitionists but accepted it as the essence of wisdom when it was made the basis of a pro-slavery argument.

The use of the same facts and theories for different purposes is by no means limited to controversies over interracial policies. Indeed, it is so general and frequent a practice that it may seem unnecessary to call special attention to it here. There is no subject, however, on which the pliant nature of the materials of argument has given rise to more confusion than on this one. The abolitionist concluded that the southerner was a blackguard because the latter refused to disturb the course of his life and devote himself to the uplift of the Negro; the southerner concluded that the abolitionist was a blackguard because he maligned the South's peculiar institution, because he refused to accept slavery as the divinely-appointed place of the Negro. To the one group, the system of slavery existed because of the extreme cupidity and inhumanity of southerners; to the other, it existed ultimately because of the will of God. To argue today that the conclusions of both groups were wrong, or that the truth lay somewhere between them, is to miss entirely the determining factor: each group had its own conception of what society ought to be and these conceptions were in direct conflict.

In order to have any conception of what society ought to be, it is necessary to have a scale of values. It is necessary to have points of view, and the excellence of a scale of values depends on the way in which it hangs together, the interdependence of its parts, and the lack of fundamental contradictions ignorantly held. Among one class of writers today the delusion prevails that the professional fact-finder can gather raw data in such manner that out of them will come inevitable and unambiguous conclusions. The social scientist of the 1850's, laboring under this delusion as do many of his successors of today, in all probability would have reached the same conclusion as that of the Supreme Court if the Dred Scott case had been placed before him. The Court rested its decision on a large body of historical data interpreted in the light of the dominant opinions of the time. Here and there, to be sure, were little meager facts, of no comparative numerical importance, indicating that some few Negroes might be able to live and thrive as free men and citizens. But the fact-finding statistician in averaging up his findings could have given them no more than a few remarks—they would have been eliminated as freaks from his calculations. The social planner who

was not a seer at that time would have charted no course of freedom for the four million slaves. To have done this he would have needed a view of society and a scale of values in which freedom for the Negro was an essential element.

In the present South the prevailing view is that what has been ought to be. Chattel slavery has been abandoned, but another species of bondage not far removed from it has taken its place. In the following discussion it will become evident that somewhat the same conflict that raged in the 1850's over slavery, only far more confused and on a different level, persists today.

DOMINANT OPINIONS

FIRST, LET US consider the matter of opinion. There is no question as to what the dominant opinion is. It holds that the Negro is inferior to the white man, and shades all the way from the prevailing opinion of two centuries as given in the Dred Scott decision to the less extreme opinion that the Negro, while inferior, nevertheless has some rights and should be encouraged to develop a culture parallel to and dependent on that of the whites. If we take our most obvious facts as they are without adding or subtracting, it is not hard to see why the doctrine of inferiority has such a hold on the minds of the majority.

The Negro's color itself is regarded as an infallible sign. Open your unabridged dictionary and run your finger down the definitions of black—it does not matter that many Negroes are not black. See the definitions: unclean, foul, dismal, gloomy, cruel, baneful, calamitous, destitute of moral light or goodness, atrociously wicked, evil or baneful as a result of sorcery or magic—as *black* art, *black* magic, *black* mass. These definitions are old as the language, they are a most intimate part of popular mental equipment. Shakspeare himself, as Hinton Rowan Helper indicates in his scurrilous and little known *Nojoque*, wrote

Black is the badge of hell, the hue of
Dungeons, and the scowl of night

and used the term frequently to represent a thing of "ugliness, disease and death." When the color black for centuries has had such associations in the popular mind, would it not be strange to find any attitude other than the prevailing one?

Of course, the Negro's color is only one element in the complex of his characteristics. There are his crinkled hair, his long skull, prognathous jaw, flat nose, thick, everted lips, thin forehead, long arms, spindly shanks, flat feet, and larkspur heel. There are the

tradition of foul odor, the fact of distinct racial odor, and the necessity of doing strenuous, sweaty jobs and of living in homes without plumbing—and the general ignorance of white people that they also have a characteristic racial odor which may be offensive to other races. There is the great body of superstition and folklore. If some weird, archaic Negro doctrine is brought to the white man's attention, as Newbell Niles Puckett tells us in his exhaustive study of southern Negro folk-beliefs, "he almost invariably considers it a 'relic of African heathenism,' though in four cases out of five it is a European dogma from which only centuries of patient education could wean even his own ancestors."

It would be wrong to assume that prejudice toward the Negro exists merely on account of his color or any other one of his supposed physical or mental characteristics. It is impossible to determine precisely or even with close approximation the actual part played by any one of them. For instance, the same prejudice often exists toward persons indistinguishable from whites who have even the slightest admixture of Negro blood; and this prejudice may exist even though the object of it is a highly cultivated person. Thus it might be said that the prejudice is against the Negro's blood, or the characteristics transmitted by his germ plasm. But this can mean nothing more than what we have started with—prejudice against the complex of physical and mental characteristics that are usually associated with the Negro. An individual with any Negro blood is generally judged by what are thought to be the Negro's racial characteristics. Such persons are only rarely judged and treated on the basis of their merits alone.

The Bible is regarded by many southern people as giving authority for keeping the Negro in a servile position; but if you ask anyone who believes this to show you the passage in the Bible on which he rests his opinion, you will find either that the passage is not known or that a passage in which Negroes are not mentioned or referred to in any way is interpreted to mean Negroes, "because," you are told, "it can't possibly mean anything else." Genesis 9: 20-25 is the classic authority, and, buttressed by such advice as "Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh," is regarded as infallible proof. The same people who cite the Bible as authority may also hold to the theory of separate origin, arguing that the Negro by divine fiat is something less than other human beings and particularly less than themselves. "God Almighty," they say, "created the Negro for a menial." That Ham was the son of Noah and in direct line from Adam, and thus according to their authority was not of separate origin, makes no difficulty whatever for them.

These queer jumbles of ideas and phrases are a hang-over from the time when every cross-roads preacher had to justify slavery and used the Bible to do it; and southern writers found it desirable to present a theory more in accord with scientific knowledge, and discovered ready and waiting the notion of separate origin.

The impression is often given in popular articles that prejudice toward the Negro is peculiar to the white South. This, unfortunately, is not true and has never been true. Until recent years and even after the migrations of recent decades, in comparison with the rest of the population, there are few Negroes in the North and the opportunity for prejudice to develop has been correspondingly small. Even so the laws of many northern states concerning Negroes until years after the Civil War were little less stringent than those of the South. There is perhaps no more instructive incident in the history of the race in this country than that which occurred when, after 1865, the southern states adopted the black codes of free states and were promptly criticized for enacting barbarous laws attempting to re-enslave the Negro. At the same time that the white South was being forced to accept the fifteenth amendment, many northern states were not permitting Negroes to vote. It was difficult at that time, if not impossible, to find any precedent or any model of really good interracial relations. Slavery, abhorrent as the very notion is, was then by far the most natural, the easiest, and the most orderly relationship. It was necessary to have a four years' war to break the slave system. Now, nearly three quarters of a century later, emancipation is hardly realized and full citizenship for the majority seems utterly remote.

Since 1890 a number of well-qualified writers, among them Frederick L. Hoffman, Walter F. Willcox, Alfred Holt Stone, and Raymond Pearl have argued that the Negro's condition has not improved since emancipation, that from year to year it was generally becoming worse. More bitter poverty, more deadly disease, and ultimate extinction were to be the Negro's fate. Alfred Holt Stone, distinguished planter of Mississippi, after an experiment lasting five years, concluded that it was impossible "to make the average plantation Negro realize the remotest causal relation between stability and prosperity." In his opinion the Negro's defects were inherent and were mainly a "migratory instinct" and an "easy-going indolence."

While these gloomy views were being expressed, Negro home ownership was steadily growing, illiteracy was being decreased rapidly, Negro schools and colleges were increasing in numbers and influence, Negroes were becoming doctors, lawyers, teachers, and

artists and were meeting with success, and the last two decades were to show the possibility of great improvement in Negro health. A "migratory instinct" might be seen in the movement of nearly two million Negroes to the North during the decades 1900-1930; but from another view this great migration might be seen as an epoch-making effort to find better homes and schools and opportunities.

There were other opinions and predictions, and proposals galore. One would see the South a few generations hence flooded with blacks. Another would sound the alarm over visions of amalgamation. Another would send the Negro out of the country, no matter what the cost and regardless of the Negro's wishes. Another would set aside a state for them. And another would solve the problem by not talking about it. Until the last decade only a very few southern writers—prominent among them Atticus G. Haygood and George W. Cable in the 1880's and Edgar Gardner Murphey in the 1900's—showed any real conception of the issues involved. Now and then a southern politician would speak with frankness and insight, and a few educators and ministers stood for more justice and fair play. But for the most part, these voices went unheard.

The opinions of the general white public were untouched and uninfluenced by the writings of the social scientists but reflected the same wide variety of conclusions. There was at all times, however, a large body of agreement. The point of agreement was the inferiority of the Negro and the necessity of maintaining white supremacy. Only rarely did a southern white man suggest that if the whites were really so very superior it was not necessary for them to be so much concerned over maintaining their supremacy, that the South would do well to face its problems honestly and directly and disregard the race problem except when a real racial issue arose. Nothing of public importance could be done in the South that did not involve Negroes. Public education, health, roads, libraries, public buildings of all kinds, public policies toward labor in industry and agriculture, all could not be pushed ahead without running upon the snag offered by the race question. The low and helpless condition of the white tenant farmer and of his women and children, the utter failure to develop a sound social policy toward him and his family are largely due to the fact that any laws that would give the white tenant a hold on the land and on improvements he might make would also give a hold to the Negro.

CHANCES FOR LIFE AND HEALTH

DURING THE ONE hundred and forty-three years since the first census the Negro has been a constantly decreasing proportion of the popu-

lation of the country. In 1790 there were 193 Negroes in every one thousand of population, in 1930 there were only 97 to every one thousand. In the southern states, including Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, the number of Negroes per one thousand population from 1790 to 1900 was never less than 320 and for most of the time was above 350. The peak of concentration of Negro population in the South occurred in 1840 when there were 380 Negroes per one thousand population. There has been a gradual decline since, very slow during the period 1840 to 1880, and considerably faster from 1880 to the present. The actual figures are as follows :

380 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1840
373 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1850
368 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1860
360 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1870
360 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1880
338 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1890
323 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1900
298 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1910
278 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1920
247 Negroes per 1,000 population in 1930

Mississippi is now the only state with over 50 per cent Negro population. South Carolina comes next with 45 per cent, Louisiana and Georgia next with 36 per cent each, and Alabama next with 35 per cent. Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, and the District of Columbia have between 20 and 30 per cent Negroes ; Delaware, Tennessee, Maryland, and Texas between 10 and 20 per cent. The other southern states, West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Kentucky have less than 10 per cent.

In all except a few border states there have been large decreases in the percentage of Negroes during the last twenty years. The decreases have been very large in those states with the largest percentage of Negroes. Most of the decrease has been due to migration to cities outside of the South where the migrant has been far outnumbered in much larger white populations.

The conditions of the past fifty years or longer have not been favorable to the Negro, and there is much evidence that for several decades he will continue becoming a decreasing portion of the population. Both his birth rate and his death rate have been declining during the past thirty years, and apparently the decline in birth rate has been more rapid. During the past several years his birth rate in Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee has been less

than that of the whites, in Florida and Georgia it has been practically the same as that of the whites, in only three southern states has it been consistently higher than the whites each year, and in these states the difference has been practically negligible. The death rate has been at least 50 per cent higher in every southern state, and in a few states it has been 75 to nearly 100 per cent higher. The rate of excess of births over deaths tells the story better than any other figures. This rate, for the whole country, showed a startling decline for the period 1925-1930, a decline so great that the rates for these years can not be accepted without question. The comparative figures for white and colored population (colored population includes colored races other than Negro, but this inclusion does not materially affect the rates) in these years were for excess of births over deaths per one thousand:

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
White	9.8	8.6	9.5	8.0	7.3	7.8
Negro	7.8	6.8	7.1	5.1	4.4	5.3

These figures may be prophetic and they may not. If we should conclude from them that the Negro faces extinction in the next two or three centuries through an excess of deaths over births, the same conclusion would hold for the white population, whose fate, according to the trend indicated, would be the same, only delayed perhaps a few centuries.

This is more certain than the basis on which Hoffman, in 1896, or Pearl, in the early twenties, predicted the extinction of the race. Yet it can not be trusted. The decline in the Negro's death rate since 1900 indicates greatly improved health conditions. A similar improvement in other environmental conditions might easily result in a change in the natality trend. It must also be remembered that these figures are based on a series of records and of population estimates, any of which may be seriously in error.

With the exception of Charles S. Johnson's excellent volume, *The Negro in American Civilization*, practically every book of any importance on the Negro which has considered his chances to live in the North has remarked on the high death rate and the low birth rate of northern Negroes. It is a remarkable fact, however, that during recent years the chances for birth and survival have been better in northern cities than they have been in southern cities. Indeed, there is strong evidence that the Negro population in northern cities will sustain itself and grow in the future even if there is no further migration from the South. If we calculate from the census records of births and mortality the rates for all the 43 southern cities with

10,000 or more colored population in the birth registration area (this includes most of the southern cities outside of Texas), we find for 1929 a birth rate of 21.5, a death rate of 23.2 per one thousand population, and an infant mortality rate of 112.5 per one thousand births. The comparable figures for the 17 cities outside of the South with 10,000 colored population and over (excluding those cities with appreciable colored populations other than Negro) are birth rate 21.2, death rate 18.0, and infant mortality 105.0. The 17 northern cities show a vital index of 111, that is, 111 births to 100 deaths, and the 43 southern cities show a vital index of 92, or 92 births per 100 deaths. It may be that climate is a factor in the Negro's health, it may be that the race has peculiar characteristics which make it particularly susceptible to certain diseases, but the fact that the Negro's health is better in New York or Boston or Chicago than it is in Charleston or Atlanta or New Orleans or any one of a dozen other southern cities should suggest that climate is perhaps not so potent a factor as an uncontaminated water supply, or a good sewage system, or an alert public health officer and an enlightened public interest.

These figures do not prove that climate is not a factor or that peculiar racial reactions to climate do not exist. They do suggest strongly, however, that many southern cities have been extremely negligent in their handling of public health problems. They suggest also that the North may be drawing the South's most healthy and capable Negroes.

Again, if we rank the urban population of southern states according to Negro mortality, we find that the state in which the Negro's mortality is lowest also has the lowest white mortality. Oklahoma occupies this distinguished position. The state which ranks highest in Negro mortality also has the highest rate of white mortality. South Carolina has this unenviable position. Perhaps Negro health is not important to the Negroes! But anyone should know without the aid of such calculations that Negro health is of great importance to white people. The diet and general health conditions of the race are undoubtedly responsible for at least a part of its comparative backwardness, stupidity, and poverty. The same is true of large numbers of the white population.

According to Charles Wardell Stiles, over 25 per cent of the white children in certain regions of the South are still infected with hookworm. Malaria is constantly depleting the vitality of large numbers of whites and blacks, and the toll of pellagra (apparently a dietary disease) was increasing until Hoover prosperity forced a shift from staple to subsistence farming. Recent investigations of the prevalence

of syphilis among Negroes in the South indicate an appalling condition. According to a Rosenwald Fund study made in co-operation with the United States Public Health Service and published in 1932, a mass survey in six southern states showed prevalence rates per one thousand Negro population as follows :

In Alabama, Macon County, 350 per 1,000
In Georgia, Glynn County, 269 per 1,000
In Mississippi, Bolivar County, 236 per 1,000
In North Carolina, Pitt County, 118 per 1,000
In Tennessee, Tipton County, 259 per 1,000
In Virginia, Albemarle County, 71 per 1,000

It was previously thought that the Negro rate was about 7 per one thousand and the white rate about 4 per one thousand. There has never been any mass investigation of the white prevalence rate. It is not improbable that in certain regions an investigation would reveal a much higher rate than the one at present accepted. There is no question that among Negro women the high percentage of sterility is largely due to gonorrhea,¹ and the high percentage of still-births is largely due to syphilis. It is possible that within a thousand years or so, if nothing is done to prevent it, the race may be exterminated mainly on account of venereal diseases. But so long as Negroes cook white people's food, wash their clothes, tend their babies and come into daily association with large numbers of them it is unlikely that white people can afford to permit extermination of the Negro in this manner.

Migration into other regions may bring a more even distribution of the colored population over the whole country, but it is extremely improbable that the future of the white South during the next five or ten generations will be separated from the future of a large Negro population. Can there be any doubt that it is better for this population to be healthy and vigorous?

THE NEGRO FARMER

THERE ARE nearly twelve million Negroes in the United States. Two and a half million live in northern and western states, nine

¹ "No mass control demonstration to determine the prevalence of gonorrhea and the practicability of treating this disease has ever been carried out in the South. It is generally conceded that this disease has a much higher incidence than syphilis among Negroes. In the experience of the undersigned who has had several details in the South, it is probable that a majority of the Negroes, particularly those in the poorer classes, are infected with gonorrhea at some time during their lives." Letter from an officer in the United States Public Health Service to the author.

and a half million live in the sixteen southern states. A little over half of those living in the South are on farms.

In 1900 only about one-fourth of the Negro population lived in towns and cities. In migrating from the country to town the Negro is simply following the same trend that has governed the white population for many decades.

The movement of the Negro from the land has been regarded as a racial error. For some reason, farming was thought to be an ideal occupation for the Negro, whereas industrial occupations in cities would bring him nothing but disaster. It would be pertinent to ask, then, what have been the conditions in southern agriculture which have made it so peculiarly adapted to the Negro?

The Negro, so the argument goes, is a simple, child-like race. Farming in the past has been done mostly by simple, child-like, unsophisticated people; and of all farming, tenant-farming as it is done in the South is supposed to require the least intelligence. Therefore the Negro should farm. Some have argued broadly for Negro home ownership, but have not argued for conditions that would make more home ownership possible. But all Negroes have not been content to remain simple, child-like, ignorant, and fixed in their status. In addition, farming has never been a simple, easy, natural process. It has always been one of the most difficult and complicated of all occupations. As a matter of fact, however, the great majority of Negroes on farms, the croppers, have never been more than hired hands working without regular wages on the lowest possible subsistence basis. The labor of their women and children has been a major condition of tenure and has been necessary to their maintenance. The lack of any legal protection of tenants in improvements made by them, the one-sided protection of the merchant and owner by crop-lien laws, the system of requiring the growth of money crops and of furnishing feed and other supplies at prices 20 to 50 per cent above market, have made practically certain the failure of tenants, both white and black, to better their condition. The landlords, merchants, and bankers who live in the system are just as powerless to control it as are their white and black tenants. That the Negro should ever rise from tenantry in any numbers, own his own farm and become a real farmer with all that the word implies in its best sense, has been a remarkable achievement and a strong evidence of genuinely good qualities in the race. That he should be limited to the prevailing irrational agricultural economy has been his inevitable fate along with the small white farmer, whose lot has been little, if any, better.

The small farmer and the tenant in the South, both white and

black, share the advantages and disadvantages of isolation on their small, widely-scattered holdings. Until recent years bad roads emphasized the distances which separated them. There is no possibility of community co-operation in the ownership and operation of expensive machinery unless there are communities. There is no possibility of developing co-operative enterprises and a co-operative spirit unless a start is made somewhere, unless practice is gained in actual co-operation. Isolation and poverty in the southern countryside have necessarily had their counterparts, ignorance among both races, bumptiousness or assertiveness among the whites and servility among the Negroes. The white man has suffered terribly from these characteristics, but they have been a greater burden to the Negro, because his position has been relatively lower. In spite of these handicaps the Negro in the South has shown ability to acquire and operate farms. His record in this respect as shown by the census is as follows :

	Owners	Tenants
1890.....	111,831	428,894
1900.....	183,817	565,470
1910.....	211,087	668,559
1920.....	212,365	701,471
1930.....	176,130	694,001

These figures do not even suggest the struggle of the Negro farmer to attain a competence. There is nothing in them which tells the level from which he rises and how he rises. Let us start at the bottom with the hired hands, the casual laborers and croppers, and see the discipline through which the Negro passes before he becomes an owner.

The cropper has a plot of land varying between 20 and 60 acres, assigned to him by his landlord. He agrees to plant 10 to 20 acres in cotton, according to the labor he has available in his family, including wife, children, and any relatives he happens to have living with him. He will also plant a certain acreage in corn, and if he cares to have a garden, he may have a special plot assigned for that purpose. The cropper has no farm animals, no vehicles, and no tools. All these, and also the food and clothing he needs until his crop is harvested and sold, are furnished to him either from the landlord's commissary, through a local merchant who is given a lien on the crop, or by a cash allowance of \$20 or so a month during the growing season, which may be spent when and where and how the cropper pleases. When the cotton has been picked and ginned, half of it goes to the landlord for rent, and the other half, less the cost of

supplies or cash advanced, goes to the cropper. One-half of the corn also goes to the landlord.

Suppose the cropper succeeds in raising ten bales of cotton on 20 acres, a yield considerably above the average, and suppose the price of cotton is 10 cents a pound. His share is \$250, less the cost of advances to him from the landlord. His only other means of getting cash during the year is by doing special labor during slack seasons; his wife is likely to aid the family till, if she can find washing or housework to do. His older daughters work in the fields along with him, his wife, his sons, and all the children able to work. All of them also try to find extra work during the times when the fields do not need them. In this way the family income is increased anywhere from nothing to \$100 or more a year. In all, his cash income is not likely to exceed \$300 or \$400, and it averages much lower. His gross income, including all the products that he grows and consumes, is usually less than \$500.

The house in which he lives is usually a mere hovel, built of logs or of cheap framework, with one to three or four rooms. It is set in a spot of land bare of grass, usually swept clean. Flies buzz in and out of the windows. Chickens, dogs, and pigs, if he is so lucky as to possess them, run freely around the yard and under the house, which is supported by piles of rocks or large blocks of wood on end. The house is unpainted. The roof is likely to leak, especially during the heavier rains. Windows are few and small and if they are designed for glass, the panes are likely to be broken out and replaced by pieces of cardboard, old rags, newspapers, or planks. The windows may be wooden shutters which make the house dark and gloomy when closed in rainy or wintry weather. The inside of the house is no better than the outside. The floor is extremely rough with splinters, knot holes, and wide cracks. The walls are unceiled and unplastered, leaving the single boards the only protection from wind and weather. In winter, Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward catalogs, newspapers, old calendars, and pictures, picked up nobody knows where, are shoved into cracks and plastered over the walls.

Furniture is scant and what there is is rough. In the parents' bedroom, which is also the sitting room, the bed, a rocker, a couple of splint-bottom chairs, and a chest of drawers are cast-off heritages from kindly white families. They have been acquired over a long period of time, one at a time, and are faithfully preserved as the best pieces in the house. One side of the bed is broken and is supported by a box. One arm is gone from the chair and a piece from the back of the rocker itself is broken off. The chest of drawers

was a proud piece in the nineties, with its marble top and carved woodwork. One edge of the marble is cracked off and gone, some of the carving has fallen from where it was glued on, and various brass pulls have been replaced by heavy hempen string. In a corner is a pallet on which sleep three small children. The baby sleeps in the bed with its parents. In another room two bedsteads of planks fastened in the wall on one side and supported by blocks of wood on the outside provide sleeping places for the girls and any older people who happen to be living in the house. A shiny chest of drawers with a large mirror is the pride of this room. It was bought on installment. In another room the older boys sleep on similarly improvised beds. The single ornament is a gaudy calendar, distributed by the bank in the nearest town and picked up at house-cleaning time at the home of a white neighbor. It displays a buxom, rosy-cheeked girl (white, of course), with a prize-winning horse's head over her right shoulder.

In the course of twenty years since marriage the family in this house has lived on six different places in two counties. Only one house was better than the present one—it had thin pine ceiling on the inside and was much tighter throughout. But the owner was too careful in his supervision, and a bad crop year left Jim open to proposals from other owners. The lack of ceiling and the roughness of the other places do not seem to bother him. He has never had anything much and he does not expect much.

The oldest girl is now nineteen years old. She has been doing housework for a white family in a nearby town but she is now at home, pregnant. Her father and mother do not know who is the father of the child and the daughter never says anything about it. Having children is an entirely natural process, and no one is surprised that Dorina should be about to have one. Tom, the next oldest living child, is working for a sawmill now and then and making good wages. He will get at least \$75 wages during the year for about four months' work. When he isn't at the sawmill, he works on the farm. None of the other children are yet old enough to work away from home. There are five others living, and three dead. Three of the younger ones are old enough to work in the fields, dropping and covering cotton and corn seed, chopping cotton and thinning corn, weeding the garden, and picking cotton in the fall. One of them, the one next to Tom, is large enough to plow. The other two can do only the lighter work but are just as good as a man when it comes to planting or cotton picking. Three or four months in the year these three go two and a half miles to a one-room school with long benches, a blackboard in the front, and a flat-topped stove in

the middle. They have one book, a tablet, and a pencil apiece. The books, bought second-hand, were about to fall to pieces when they were bought. Before the children finish school they will learn how to spell a few dozen words, how to add, subtract, and multiply ; they will learn that George Washington was the father of his country ; that Abraham Lincoln had set them free ; that the world is round ; that they are living in a big place called Georgia ; and that the way to get ahead in the world is to work hard and save. Most of this they will forget. They will not have to remember to work hard and they will have little opportunity to save.

Several of the children show signs of rickets. Jim doesn't own a cow ; for many years he has had no garden and the family has lived on fat back, corn pone, molasses, and "thickenin" gravy. There hasn't always been a plenty of this. The two youngest children are five and two years old. Maggie probably will not have any more. She is getting too old, and anyway, she has had enough. Ten children in twenty years, seven of them living, isn't so bad. There are some that have done better, but the Lord gives and the Lord takes away and Jim can't complain.

Every one of the children was helped into the world by old Negro midwives. Jim had found it necessary to get white doctors only a few times, and he had finally paid them most of their bills. He called them in only because his landlords advised him to. He doesn't believe much in doctors. If you are going to die, you are going to die, and that is all there is to it. What possible difference can a few pills or a little syrup make? But perhaps there is something to having doctors ; the pain-killer he bought from the patent-medicine man had helped his wife's back.

On Saturday afternoons Jim walks to the little country town four or five miles distant. He may catch a ride in a neighbor's wagon or he may even be picked up in some more prosperous Negro's shambling Ford. Now and then he hitches up the one mule and wagon furnished by his landlord and he and his wife ride in to get things they can't carry back. All the afternoon until late evening is spent on the trip. First, the necessary things are bought. Then Jim sits around and swaps stories with other Negroes, or watches the town officials and leading citizens shoot marbles or pitch horseshoes. If he is dissatisfied with his place, he is on the lookout for a new landlord, talking over terms and making arrangements if he finds something that suits him. If any of his friends have anything to drink he may get liquored up a little, and he may go out to some Negro restaurant for a game of craps or other diversions. So long as he is sober he is careful how he mixes up with town slickers, but

once he has a little liquor in him, he feels like anybody's equal.

Instead of going with a gang of Negroes he may eat a box of crackers, sardines, and potted ham and drink a coca-cola for supper and hang around until nearly dark. Once or twice a year he may wait for the patent medicine show that will start after dark on the vacant lot between the stores. Both whites and blacks will be in the crowd. The show starts with a black man strumming a banjo and singing and shouting to gather a crowd. Then, after the crowd has gathered, the medicine vender engages the black man in conversation, and hilarious wisecracks and jokes follow one another in rapid succession. Then comes the serious business. The black man holds the crowd with his banjo and his singing, the white man gets off the raised platform, goes back of it, and returns with a couple of bottles in his hands. The black man sits down on the edge of the platform and the white man begins a speech.

"Folks," he says, "I have here the greatest discovery of this age. I came here to share it with you. (You niggers over there be quiet or get the hell away from here.) See this bottle I hold in my hands? If you are troubled with backache, headache, worms, indigestion, aching limbs, if you have pains of any kind, a few drops of this will kill it dead. See this bottle here? See this long worm in it? Well, two months ago a man who was so weak he could hardly stand bought a bottle of Blackburn's Pain Killer and Liver Tonic and now he is a changed man. He brought me his worm in this bottle a few days ago. This is what was troubling him. He has gained twenty pounds, and his wife says he is just like he was twenty years ago. Who wants a bottle of Blackburn's Pain Killer? Price only one dollar a bottle. The first man who buys gets two bottles for one dollar, two bottles for one dollar. . ."

Soon the bottles are going, both whites and blacks are buying them, and the black banjo player is out in the audience carrying bottles to purchasers and collecting bills. If Jim has a dollar he is pretty likely to carry home a bottle of pain killer. He and Maggie have plenty of need for pain killers.

On Sunday he hitches the mule to the wagon and he and his family, all dressed in their best, pile in and go to church at a cross-roads three miles distant. Their best is a sight to see. Jim has an outfit made up from clothes given to him by his various landlords, and Maggie and the girls are draped in a collection of white women's cast-off finery. The boys likewise have their cherished pieces of clothing, first worn by white boys and then handed down in Jim's family from son to son until worn to tatters and finally replaced by other cast-offs. Nothing fits very well, but the family bumps

along unconscious of this unimportant detail. Arrived at church, they exchange hearty greetings with the brothers and sisters. The women and children go in and sit, the men stand outside in little groups talking and welcoming others just arrived.

Finally the preacher comes, greets everyone with a flourish, and goes into the church and the singing starts. The men follow him until all have entered. The preacher then leads in a short but fervent prayer, there is more singing, and the sermon begins. Ever since he can remember, Jim has been going to church. He is afraid not to go. He believes what the preacher says. Hell is a place of fire and brimstone, the devil has horns and a forked tail and carries a long, sharply pronged pitchfork. If you don't believe in the Lord God and ask him to forgive your sins, you are bound to go to hell. But if you repent, if you come through sorrow and suffering to faith in the Lord, then you will go to heaven. It is a place of pearly gates, golden streets, of singing and shouting and perpetual mirth. God is an old gentleman with a long white beard. On each side of him sit cherubim and seraphim, and angels round about sing and play on their harps. Nobody has to worry. Everyone is white and has a harp, a shining white robe, and wings.

The preacher expounds the horrors of hell and the glories of heaven. He tells the terrible certainty of punishment. He walks back and forth waving his arms, now and then stopping abruptly to point at a sinner and shout "It's you I'm a talkin' to, you sinner! You been a livin' in sin and the Lord knows it and the devil knows it, and one of these mornin's you are goin' to be dead, and then there'll be a weepin' and wailin' and gnashin' of teeth. (*Oh Lord, save me*, responds some one.) The devil tempts you with women and liquor and you forsake the ways of the Lord. You remember not his holy word. The Lord says he that cometh unto me, I will give him life everlasting. But if you do not come to me, says the Lord, I will cast you into utter darkness, and the devil will get you and take you to hell, and there you will burn, burn, burn. (*Lord help us*.) Sinner won't you come to him now? (*Yes, Lord, do*.) He will take your heavy burdens (*He will, yes He will*), he will wash your sins away (*Yes, Lord*)."

The sermon gets results. There is a little shouting, a few long prayers are spoken, interspersed with many *Ahs* and *Oh's*, *Yes Lord*, *Ain't it de truf*, *That's right*. Hymns are sung, with variations, in between prayers, and finally the benediction is spoken. The congregation breaks up and after many greetings and much conversation goes home. If it is late July, August, or early September, it is the time of revivals, with many meetings on Sunday and meetings

every evening on weekdays. On a Sunday in revival time dinner is brought by the families and served on the grounds. This is the time of much religion and much courting. The drinking, cutting, and shooting come later on in the year, in the other period of rest and merriment around Christmas time.

Jim has a family, he is getting old and isn't so spry as he once was. But Tom, the oldest son, promises to be all that his father ever was. He has just recently started sporting the girls of neighboring tenants. He has a big barlow knife of which he was once very proud; before long he will have a razor. He has not yet been on a spree, but few men can work around a sawmill and not learn to drink, cuss, run after women, shoot craps, and tote a razor. White men have cut the pattern, the Negro simply follows it. The Negro's liquor is meaner, his women are blacker (the mulatto women who are loose usually have white men), his craps a little more likely to end in carving. His razor takes the place of the white man's .38 or .44 only until he can buy a gun from a white man or get one in a trade with another Negro. Tom is rapidly becoming a man and learning all the things that boys suspect and men know. Soon he will be leaving home. In a few years he will be married and started on the cycles that have carried his father through a score of years.

The youngest members of the family are already learning the differences between white and black. By the time they are eight or nine a deep and ineradicable consciousness of their differences will have been drilled into them. Meantime, they are merry. They have dogs to play with, cats with tails to pull, old tires and hoops off old barrels to roll, stickhorses to ride, hickory saplings to make bows with, stickweeds to use as arrows, mud to make into cakes, corn cobs to throw at each other, and rocks to throw at chickens and trees and posts. The boys learn to swim by the time they are ten or twelve, and they learn not to be caught in swimming by white boys. Many a Negro boy has in swimming had his first wetting all over since babyhood or since being caught in a rain. Bathtubs and regular scrubblings are as unknown as polar bears.

Jim has been a law-abiding Negro. His reputation among white land-owners and among his own people is good. One of his landlords years ago was so pleased with him that he offered to sell him a piece of land on the back part of the plantation. Jim could have made a good living there and his white friend would have stood between him and hard times, but a bad crop year made him decide against buying and the landlord did not press him. Never in his life has Jim had any trouble with a white man. He has always known better. Many is the time he has pulled his wagon outside the road

and waited for a white man in a buggy to pass. A few times he has been badly scared when he has met drunken white men who have cussed and threatened him for a damned black rascal. But he has kept his peace and moved farther into the ditch.

Jim has no resentment against white men. There are only a few whom he dislikes and he keeps his dislike to himself. If he gets in a tough place and needs help, there are several white men to whom he can go. He knows his place, they know theirs, and all is right. Yet at times Jim is stirred with a vague disquiet. He wants land and a home of his own. He wants his children to have more than he has had. But most of his Negro friends have no more than he, and somehow it seems natural to go on forever having no more. When a good crop is harvested and money is plentiful, there are so many things to buy—new shoes, blue jeans, a pot or pan for the kitchen, a chair, a picture of himself and his wife, enlarged and prettily colored, things at Christmas for the children, perhaps even a talking machine. When the buying is all done, the money is nearly gone. But it would have gone anyway. There is his friend Ed Blanton. Ed had been lucky, had saved \$2,500 dollars, and in 1920 had bought a farm for \$5,000. Two years later, after the coming of the boll weevil, he had made no crops and had lost the farm and his \$2,500. Ed is now a cropper like himself. Jim has had fun and a lot of pretty things—Ed saved and scraped and now he has almost nothing. What can a man do? To be sure, there are a few other Negroes who had saved like Ed and who now own their homes. But many of them do not live any better than Jim himself. A few of them own cars, but if he has a lucky crop and good prices he can own one too. Perhaps next year he will be able to make a better bargain with his landlord. Maybe he will have enough at the end of the year to buy a mule, a wagon, a turn plow, and enough other implements to get on a share renting basis. But whatever happens to him and his family, it is the Lord's will. He can't quarrel with that.

At the end of the year Jim comes out \$50 behind. Early in December a friend tells him of a planter looking for a tenant. On one of his trips to town on a Saturday he sees the planter, talks to him, comes to terms, and makes plans to move. His new landlord is to arrange with the old one to take over the debt of \$50, and in addition he will furnish Jim with supplies, a wagon, mule, plows, and other implements. He can get the wagon and mule in late December or early January and move his household furnishings and family. The terms are those to which Jim is already accustomed. His wife and children are glad of the prospect of a change. There is variety

in moving. The old scenes begin to pall. The new house may perhaps have a better roof, it may be cooler in summer and warmer in winter. Besides, it is a lot of fun to go places. How can they go places without moving?

In Jim's twenty years of cropping some of his landlords who had commissaries charged him high prices. Jim suspected it but couldn't do anything. In good times his landlords made a lot of money, but like Jim, they couldn't keep it. In bad times they tried to look after their tenants and would refuse to furnish them supplies only when crop conditions were hopeless and ruin imminent. On three plantations fairly close to small towns the owners had made arrangements with merchants to supply Jim up to a certain limit. Jim's supplies from them had cost about the same as they had from the commissaries. It was generally thought that the merchants were making a lot of money, and one time Jim tried to keep a little account book. But it was a lot of trouble, it didn't keep down his expenses, and he gave it up after a couple of years.

* * * * *

In order to buy a farm a Negro must first have the approval of the community. Often the purchase will have been made at the suggestion of a white man who wishes to do a favor to a Negro whom he likes. The land will not be of the best, its location will not be prominent, but the price is likely to be reasonable and within the ability of the Negro to pay. No Negro who does not have the approval of some white man is likely to have any money with which to buy; and if one with money should come along and attempt to buy, he couldn't do so without first getting white approval. Negroes do not compete with white people in bidding at auctions—if they wish to buy at such times they get white men to bid for them.

The Negro home owners are pillars in the local church, they are the school trustees, the lodge and society officials. Their houses are not a great deal better than the Negro cropper's and are about on a par with the better ones of the white tenants, but they stay in them longer and look after them and their surroundings much better. They have more and better home furnishings and they own farm implements, vehicles, and animals. Many of them have second-hand cars. Flowers grow in their yards, and they may have fruit trees here and there in a back lot. They are likely to have a good well-kept garden, a cow, turkeys, guineas, ducks, and many chickens, pigs, . . . and dogs. (Many Negro croppers, contrary to the general impression, do not have the solace of this animal.) The cash tenant is only one step below the owner. He pays an agreed cash rental,

per acre for his land, and he owns farm animals, implements, tools, and vehicles. The share tenant pays an agreed number of bales of cotton and bushels of corn for his land and is otherwise on the same basis as the cash tenant.

The average size farm operated by Negro owners in 1930 was 61.2 acres, while that of the tenant was 37.1 acres. The fact that the Negro owner has been able to acquire only the less fertile land is shown by the average value per acre of his farm, which is only \$19.93 as compared with \$31.18 for the tenant. The most fertile land in the South is owned by white landlords and operated by Negro tenants. The great majority of the Negro farm owners in the South during the past ten years had less than \$600 gross income annually, including what they raised for their own consumption; the cash and share tenants had about \$550, and the croppers—those who had to be furnished with farm implements and animals and supplies—had less than \$500. The white cropper's position was about the same as that of the Negro cropper, the white cash and share tenant probably averaged \$50 to \$100 more, and the white owner-operator perhaps averaged \$100 to \$200 more than the Negro owner. Here and there wide variations might be found. In some regions detailed studies have shown Negroes to have larger incomes than the corresponding class of whites. In other regions there has been wholesale abandonment of farms because of the boll weevil and later because of low prices for crops and the unwillingness of merchants and landlords to take the risk of furnishing, or because the small owner saw himself involved in a hopeless struggle and imminent loss of the little he possessed. Generally, the condition for both races has been one of poverty so intense as to be almost hopeless. Schools, libraries, medical service, automobiles and other conveniences have been exceedingly scarce; and though the average rural Negro may never feel the need of such things as books and magazines, yet he is vaguely conscious that he is outside the stream of modern life and that somehow the bareness and emptiness of his existence are connected with his isolated position.

That large numbers of Negro tenants and owners should have had the courage and resolution to break with their past and migrate to cities, especially that they should migrate in such large numbers to northern cities, is just one more sign that even the most untutored of the race are not totally unaware of their own best interest. It would be utterly wrong to consider the Negro's abandonment of southern farms during the last thirty years merely a sign of a "migratory instinct."

There are 880,000 Negro farmers in the South. Most of them lead

lives very closely comparable to that of Jim and Jim's family. The farm problem of the South is not a race problem. The immensity of it may be seen in the figures of white and Negro ownership and tenantry :

	White	Negro
Owners	1,230,000	180,000
Cash Tenants.....	140,000	100,000
Share Tenants.....	570,000	210,000
Croppers.....	380,000	390,000

One million and ninety thousand white tenants, nearly one-half of all white southern farmers and about one-sixth of all the farmers in the nation, live under conditions not far removed from those of the Negro cropper, Jim. There are differences. The white rates for crime, illegitimacy, illiteracy, and disease are low in comparison with the Negro. The Negro has his distinguishing marks which are considered a badge of inferiority, placing him in a separate class. On this account the white South regularly makes many allowances, only now and then losing temper and breaking into a furor of lynching. On this account the Negro expects to have allowances made for him and continues loose and careless habits. But in spite of these differences, important as they are, essentially the same conditions that have kept the Negro farmer down have also kept the white farmer down. The poverty of the mass of southern farmers is not due to any inability to grow corn, cotton, tobacco, pigs, chickens, cattle, and any of the many other things that may be grown in this region. It is directly due to a disorganized economy under which it is impossible for the mass of people everywhere to buy and pay reasonable prices for the things they need.

THE NEGRO IN CITIES

WHEN THE NEGRO gained his freedom from chattel slavery in 1865, he lost his practical monopoly of skilled labor in the South. It has been estimated that at that time, out of a total of 120,000 mechanics in the South, 100,000 were Negroes. Important among these were blacksmiths, gunsmiths, cabinetmakers, plasterers, painters, ship-builders, stone and brickmasons, pilots, and engineers. Prior to emancipation the skilled Negro had been given training by his owner and he was afforded constant protection by the system which tended to drive out free labor. Immediately after emancipation the long-suppressed prejudices of white labor were given a far better chance for expression. During reconstruction the Negro to a great extent lost the sympathy of his former owner, who in any case could no

longer protect him from competition. Northern labor unions made a few weak and partial efforts to find a basis on which to organize the Negro, but northern labor was either Democratic or promoting an independent party while the Negro in the South had to be Republican or get out of politics entirely. There was never any chance for alliance with southern white labor. The white skilled or semi-skilled worker in the South had long resented and fought the hired-out skilled slave labor, and the old habits and attitudes persisted and persist to this day. It appeared for a time around 1890 that there really was no place for the Negro to live except on the farm, and he would have to live there in a condition little if any removed from peonage. It was not to become clear until the last decade that the Negro was to have a place in American industry in spite of the almost uniform prejudice of labor unions everywhere.

The conditions which the Negroes found when they migrated from country to town were at first far worse than the conditions they left behind them. In southern cities generally they went into one or two room shacks similar to those they had abandoned but located alongside and near railroads, near dumpheaps, in back yards, in back alleys, always unsightly, often extremely dirty and insanitary. Usually their streets were muddy and poorly lighted or not lighted at all. One water spigot outside in a yard would have to suffice for two or more houses. Sewerage systems had not yet been extended to them, drainage was poor, filth was everywhere except around and in a few Negro homes where marvelous industry and endurance made apparently hopeless places clean and neat. As the influx of Negroes into southern cities became rapid, the worst type of city landlordism was developed in the sections where Negroes predominated. Houses were built in the flimsiest manner at the lowest possible cost and rented at the highest possible prices. The older southern cities, such as Charleston, Richmond, Savannah, New Orleans, already had large Negro populations. In some of the older cities like Charleston the Negro population was widely scattered throughout the city in back yards and alleys. In others, like Richmond and New Orleans, the Negroes were highly concentrated in certain parts of the city and lightly scattered in others. The recent migrants in both the older and newer cities are likely to be found in Negro districts. In them the worst sanitary conditions are found, and in them are incubated the disease and crime which so severely burden both whites and blacks.

In a study of landlordism in one southern city it was found that the financial returns on investment in 181 houses in five Negro districts were 12.6 per cent, 14.5 per cent, 16.9 per cent, and 22.6 per

cent per annum. The evidences of exploitation are plain to anyone who will walk through one of the worst Negro sections and inquire what rents are paid. When a Negro family that has met with some success finds it impossible to get a decent house in a Negro section and finally rents or buys one a few blocks away in a white section, the white people are inclined to think the Negro family prefers to live in a white section and wishes to claim social equality. There may be such Negroes, but there is no question that the great majority, the illiterate and the educated, the untutored and the cultivated, would prefer to live among people of their own color. The crux of the matter is whether or not the Negro's dollar is as good as the white man's, whether the Negro is to be forced to accept miserable accommodations at high rentals, whether he is to be restricted to unsightly and insanitary sections. Two southern cities, Winston-Salem, N. C., and Dallas, Texas, seem to have made some progress on this question. In these cities "a systematic canvass of the situation revealed the trend of Negro population and the probable rate of expansion. The facts were discussed in a series of neighborhood meetings attended by both white and colored persons ; and an understanding was reached as to the direction to be taken in the spread of the white population on the one hand, and in the spread of the Negro population on the other, though naturally Negroes did not relinquish their right to hold property anywhere in the city. The Negroes at these meetings made clear their right to have better neighborhoods and better facilities for the making of good homes. . . . Already there has been, in response to this joint effort, a great stimulation of the school-building, paving, sewerage, and recreational programs of the two cities ; and friction seems to be at a minimum."²

The obstacles have been great but nevertheless Negro home ownership in cities has constantly increased since 1890 while the percentage of white ownership during this period has decreased. In the South in 1890 the Negro owned about 110,000 city homes ; in 1930 he owned over 200,000. Throughout the whole country in 1930 the Negro owned a total of 669,645 homes or a total of 23.9 per cent of all Negro homes, whereas the percentage for native whites was 48.9. The homes owned by Negroes in cities are generally better than those rented, and there are several thousands of owned homes that reflect white middle-class standards. Negro society has to some extent become stratified accordingly. But while it is not difficult to find attractive and even expensive owned homes, and while there are class lines among the Negroes, yet there is also a feeling of solidarity. White policy toward Negroes has undoubt-

² T. J. Woolfer, Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities*, p. 77.

edly had many evil effects, but this one has something to recommend it. The Negro who has attained a measure of success is not allowed entirely to forget his race. The many nuisances and meannesses to which the practice of this policy gives expression have at least this one redeeming quality.

Along with the changes that have come in industry during the past several decades there have necessarily come changes in the occupations which it is possible for Negroes to enter. For instance, it would be absurd to judge Negro progress or retrogression in skilled labor by the proportionate numbers employed as blacksmiths and gunsmiths in 1860, 1890, and 1930. These employments have practically disappeared from many regions. On the other hand, while Negroes seem barely to have held their own or to have suffered losses in the building trades, in municipal employment, and miscellaneous employments such as barbers and waiters, they have gained in the mechanical industries. In Birmingham, Atlanta, Charlotte, there has been determined displacement of Negro carpenters and plasterers. In Winston-Salem, Raleigh, and Charlotte, N. C., and in Greenville, S. C., a recent report³ indicates considerable losses in the building trades during the last twenty years. Negro skilled labor is not used along with white and has not been so used in these cities for twenty years. Negro contractors appear often to be limited to repair jobs and are rarely if ever given new construction jobs for whites. In most of the old southern cities the qualified Negro painters and carpenters seem to have held on fairly well. In New Orleans Negroes are not considered for street repair jobs unless they are voters. In Atlanta, the city Sanitary Department has replaced all Negroes with whites so that white men are sweeping the streets and removing garbage in Negro sections. This tendency seems to be general throughout many southern cities. Scattered through the South are plants which employ a labor force largely or entirely of Negroes. Of such is an overall plant in Atlanta with over 200 Negro women, a hosiery mill in Durham employing over 300, and an automatic pencil factory in Atlanta which employs about 200 Negroes and 25 whites. This factory reports that it intends to use Negroes in office work. The use of Negro women in laundries seems to be fairly frequent. In Georgia the State Highway Board has 2,000 Negroes employed, 400 of whom are semi-skilled.

Proportionately to the whites many more Negroes are in agriculture and personal service, and many fewer in all other occupations except forestry and fishing, extraction of minerals, and transportation, in which the differences are comparatively slight. The Negro's

³ T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Races and Ethnic Groups*, p. 118 ff.

most important gains have been in manufacturing and in professional service. In the former, he is engaged mostly in the heavy basic industries ; but he has made gains as a skilled laborer more than sufficient to offset the losses he sustained during the period 1865-1890. These gains have been made in the face of extremely adverse conditions, prejudice on the part of employers who have accepted traditional views until after they have had satisfactory experience with Negro labor, and persistent opposition, sometimes violent, on the part of white labor unions. On occasion, white labor has not hesitated to murder Negroes in order to terrorize and eliminate them from competition. An example of this is the seven murders, seven attempted murders with the victims wounded, and one flogging of Negro firemen on the Mississippi division of the Illinois Central Railroad in recent months.⁴ As is usual in such cases, no one has been punished, no one has ever been indicted. The murders are forgotten, the Negroes who are not murdered are without protection of law and are forced to choose between being shot and being replaced with white men. Of course many of them are replaced. This may continue indefinitely until the interests of capital are seriously threatened. Then, and not until then, the white man is forced to accept Negro competition. Is it any wonder that a good many Negroes conclude that the law is their enemy, that among them in the worst city districts there is a large percentage of crime? Under the circumstances, it is difficult to understand why the percentage of criminality among Negroes is not much greater.

During the years 1929-33 the city Negro has suffered terribly from unemployment. He is often the first to be cut off and the last to be re-employed. Generally, throughout the South, where he has been given public relief, it has been on a basis corresponding to the wage differential, that is, 20 to 30 per cent below that given to whites.

The possibility of serious competition between whites and blacks for jobs in the South always exists. The doctrines of rugged individualism have the almost uniform allegiance of unskilled white labor. The next few years may see great changes in the attitudes of this group, but whether white labor will see the necessity of a planned economy in which organized Negro labor will have its place is subject to serious doubt. There can be no social peace and general improvement of wages and working and living conditions until the community of interest of Negro and white labor is recognized and given orderly expression. As long as a low level of living persists among Negroes they will drag down the general level of wages and

⁴ Hilton Butler, "Murder for the Job," *The Nation*, July 12, 1933, p. 44 ; and Ira De A. Reid in the same, September 6, 1933, p. 273.

will remain a permanent danger to the white labor of the South.

In the professions the Negro's gains have not been so large as they have been in industries, but they have been even more important in that they have indicated abilities in the race waiting to be developed. The increase in the number of doctors, lawyers, authors, chemists, teachers, musicians, trained nurses, and members of other important professions, it is to be hoped, will continue at the same rapid rate that has prevailed for three decades until the Negro has professional service more nearly proportionate to that of the whites. In one profession only, the ministry, he has more than his proportion. A good many Negro preachers probably could be dropped without loss.

While Negro business has undergone considerable development since emancipation, it is still practically negligible in comparison with the total volume of business. The success of Negroes here as in the professions is most important not for what has been achieved but for the clear indication that Negroes can engage successfully in business. About fifty Negro banks and forty insurance companies come first in order of financial importance, and after them come some 2,700 enterprises scattered through 33 cities—grocery stores, barber shops, cleaning, pressing, and tailoring establishments, restaurants, drug stores, and automobile service stations.⁵

The Negro press has grown with the Negro's migration to cities and is an important factor in the formation of Negro opinion. During the past decade there have been published some 300 weeklies, about a dozen magazines, and at one time two dailies. There are now about 250 periodicals published by or for Negroes. So far it has not been possible to keep any dailies going. Two of the weekly journals, *The Crisis* and *Opportunity*, are of good appearance and in content compare well with any other journals of special interest published in the country. In the Negro's papers there is necessarily a great deal of attention given to discriminations, lynchings, and other racial grievances. All too often Negro papers are able to print with entire truthfulness stories of unpunished assaults and murders of members of their race. But equally often they misrepresent and magnify and imagine abuses where there have been none. The Negro press generally stands for very much the same things as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Some of these things are :

1. Equality before the law.
2. Elimination of racial discriminations.

⁵ Monroe N. Work (editor), *The Negro Year Book*, 1931-32, pp. 132 ff.

3. Abolition of lynching by use of the federal power.
4. Assurance of rights of citizenship to Negroes.
5. Equal accommodations on common carriers.
6. Equal educational opportunities for colored children.

EDUCATION

IN 1930, ACCORDING to the reports of the state superintendents of education, there were in the sixteen former slave states, Oklahoma, and the District of Columbia, 3,326,000 Negro children of school age. Of these, 2,290,000 or 68 per cent were enrolled in school, with average daily attendance of 49 per cent as compared with 81 per cent enrollment of white children of school age and 63 per cent average daily attendance. The average expenditure per child of school age in these states was \$14.95 for Negroes and \$45.63 for whites. The lowest expenditures were

	per Negro	per white
South Carolina	\$ 5.20	\$ 52.89
Mississippi	5.94	31.33
Georgia	6.98	31.52
Alabama	7.16	37.50
Louisiana	7.84	40.64

Even greater discrepancies exist within counties and school districts. Such large differences as these tend to disappear in the border and northern states where the expenditures for both whites and Negroes are much greater, whether in the same or separate schools.

In the South in 1930, Negro illiteracy was about 20 per cent, and was as high as 26.9 per cent in South Carolina, and as low as 4.1 in the District of Columbia and 9.3 in Oklahoma. White illiteracy varies from 1.4 in Texas to 7.3 per cent in Louisiana with the general average less than 4 per cent. Even if Negro illiteracy be omitted, there is still far more illiteracy in the South than in any other section; and because of the lack of reading matter, especially books and periodicals, it is practically certain that a large number of these, both white and black, classed as literate, are barely able to read and write. Public libraries throughout the South are extremely inadequate and in most cities Negroes are not permitted to use those which do exist. Here and there the Negroes will have a library devoted to them and containing a poorly selected collection of a few thousand much worn volumes. Rural Negroes are almost entirely without access to books and periodicals.

As is shown in the chapter on education, the improvement in educational facilities throughout the South has been phenomenal

since 1900, but the present level is still below that of the rest of the country. The development of Negro education has lagged far behind that of the whites. While the great acceleration in the building of white public high schools began about 1900, this same movement did not reach Negro schools until 1915, when there were a total of 91 public high schools for Negroes in the whole country. There are now about 1,000, practically all of which are in the South. Of these 1,000, some 200 are classed as accredited and do work of sufficiently high grade that a graduate may enter one of the better Negro colleges without having to do further preparatory work.

In the whole country there are a total of 131 Negro colleges and universities, 17 of which are United States Land-Grant colleges, 20 are state and city normal schools and colleges, 94 are private universities and colleges. In these 131 colleges there are about 3,600 teachers, an enrollment of about 68,000 students, about 23,000 of whom are doing work of college grade while the rest are doing elementary and high school work. The best of these colleges and universities are probably Howard University (Washington, D. C.), Fisk University (Nashville, Tennessee), Atlanta University, Wilberforce University (Wilberforce, Ohio), Lincoln University (Lincoln University, Pennsylvania), North Carolina College for Negroes (Durham, North Carolina), Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute (Hampton, Virginia), and Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (Tuskegee, Alabama). Hampton was the creation of Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Tuskegee of Booker T. Washington. These two schools have attracted more attention than any of the others because of their emphasis on vocational and industrial training and because of the personality of Booker T. Washington, who gave leadership to his race for a quarter of a century.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO

THE ARMED FORCES of the United States have been landed on foreign soil for the protection of the lives and property of American citizens living abroad on more than one hundred occasions during the past hundred and fifty years.

It is an interesting and significant fact that an American citizen in Manchuria or Mexico or elsewhere may be afforded the protection of the United States Navy if he is threatened with harm. But any citizen of the United States, especially if he is a Negro, appears to have no claim on the protection of the federal government if he is threatened with harm anywhere within the confines of the nation. Thus four white men in South Carolina a few months ago broke into a jail, carried off a Negro prisoner, shot him to death, and

neither the State of South Carolina nor the federal government is likely to do anything about it. Hardly a month passes when similar outrages do not occur. The figures that are given for lynchings every year do not include the casual insults, beatings, and murders of Negroes by white men. No one knows the number of such occurrences. They are affairs of no importance. State and national honor apparently are not involved in them.

Now it would be utterly wrong to assume that everyone in the South approves of such atrocities; on the contrary, most of the city newspapers, many of the public men, a considerable number of liberals, and a much larger number than is suspected of men and women of every class feel keenly the injustice of such affairs whenever they come to their personal attention. But this feeling is personal, individual, and mostly unorganized.⁶ Regularly it makes the error of resenting "foreign" efforts to get it organized and make it effective. Thus the citizens of A would resent it keenly if, after a lynching in A, some of the inhabitants of the neighboring town B should come over and suggest that the decent citizens ought to organize to prevent such barbarities as lynchings. The citizens of B know that their intrusion would be resented by the majority of those of A, that too many of the "best people" derive profits from the subservient Negroes, that any organization of the really decent citizens would have to cut sharply across class lines,—and that any really effective organization would have to deal with more than symptoms and would be dangerous to things as they are. Accordingly, the well-intentioned persons of B get no further than the expression of regrets that they cannot do anything, and in the final counting of hands many of them are likely to be found with those who condemn others who have acted on their good feelings, have gone into A and tried to do something.

The governor of the state, on such occasions, will perhaps say something about the honor of the state and the dignity of the law, and order an investigation. But usually nothing comes of it.

Even if the law were applied rigidly and unsparingly to those who commit crimes against Negroes, the present situation would not be greatly improved. Such outrages are, as liberal southerners argue, signs of general backwardness, of low educational, religious, and economic standards. But these in their turn are signs of something else more fundamental—an economic system that is running in the wrong direction, that thrives on struggle between the poor and the less poor, that forces on the white laborer the fear that he will lose

⁶ The Commission on Interracial Co-operation is the best organized expression of this sentiment. It deserves the full support of southern people.

his job to a Negro (at 20 to 30 per cent lower wages). So fundamentally wrong is the direction of economic activity that well-intentioned employers, of whom there are many, face the future with despair. "We can't pay high wages," they say. "We have long been in such condition that if we regarded our bank accounts, we wouldn't pay any wages at all." Now the business man stands on rock-bottom truth when he says this, and the prevailing laws and customs stand with him when he cuts his payroll accordingly. But if someone else says the same thing, and especially someone from "outside," and suggests that something is badly wrong precisely because this is true, then he must forthwith be sent to that economic hell of all true Americans, Soviet Russia. It is not enough merely to demand that the laws be enforced. The laws, the fundamental laws, and the attitudes back of them must be examined.

The rights to life, liberty, and property are declared inviolable by the fifth amendment to the federal constitution, but it is clear there are wide differences between declaring that certain things shall not be done and enforcing such a declaration. If anyone questions the application of this amendment, he is told it is intended only to restrain the federal government; and if he investigates he will find this was clearly the intention of the framers of the constitution, and the Supreme Court uniformly has held this view. The first ten amendments, the so-called bill of rights, were intended only as guarantees against arbitrary government, against deprivation of civil liberties by the federal government itself. The popular notion that the federal constitution guarantees protection to life, liberty, and property has no foundation whatever in practice, except that the federal government itself is pledged not to engage in buccaneering or lynching or other similar crimes. On rare occasions federal judges have stretched the precedents in the effort to protect elementary rights, but only to find themselves reversed by the Supreme Court. At the same time, the federal courts have taken into their hands powers which were never given them and have repeatedly rendered decisions based on finely spun doctrines for which there has been no basis either in the fundamental law or in natural equity. The federal government now and then indulges in the gesture of preventing states, acting through their official agencies, from depriving persons of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; and anyone who has friends or wealth is always able to invoke power to protect himself from arbitrary usage. But persons without friends, or persons representing unpopular causes, have little or no chance to get their cases heard. If a state makes a law deemed oppressive by a powerful group, the law may soon be declared unconstitutional. A state law oppressive to a

weak group may be given the same treatment. But if a state merely refrains from making oppressive laws and silently chooses to let one class of its citizens deprive another class of life, liberty, and property, the federal government has nothing to do with the matter. Thus a group of citizens may organize a political party and under the fiction that political parties may properly be considered private organizations, may govern its membership on a basis excluding those considered undesirable, may nominate and elect officials, and hold absolute control of local and state governments. A smaller group of citizens may then with impunity violate the rights of those outside the dominant groups. Thus we have Gastonia and Marion and Scottsboro, and lynchings both legal and extra-legal. Usually no one is haled into court to answer for the crimes of mobs, but if anyone is, he is almost certain to be acquitted. Such persons imagine themselves to be among those who own the state and the government. Those on the outside have no rights they are bound to respect. This is the actual situation in many of the southern states.

In interpreting the fifth and sixth amendments the Supreme Court has carefully kept to the original intention of the amendments and has never overstepped their literal surface meaning. The Court has assumed that the political and economic system supported and made possible by the government was not depriving men, women, and children of life, liberty, and property; or if this was done it would simply shut its eyes to the facts and invoke that magic phrase "due process of law" to explain that everything was being done according to law, that the American system was founded in the eternal verities, and, incidentally, that nothing could be done to prevent such atrocities as stealing from widows and orphans by selling them watered stock and junior mortgage bonds, or racketeering in business, or the shooting, burning, and mutilation of Negroes by mobs in certain sections of the country. The federal constitution is the bulwark of American liberty, we are told, and the flourish of the orator so intoxicates us that we fail to see the true nature of the bulwark or the liberty over which we palpitate so freely.

The same sort of confusion that conceals from the public the true meaning of the fifth and sixth also surrounds the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. The first section of the fourteenth amendment declares all persons born or naturalized within the United States are citizens of the United States and of the states in which they reside; forbids states to make or enforce any law abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens; or to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; or to deny equal protection of the laws. The second section declares how rep-

resentation shall be apportioned and that it shall be curtailed if the right to vote is denied. The fifteenth amendment declares briefly that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The purposes of these amendments seem to be clear and beyond dispute. But let us look at what the decisions and interpretations have done to them.

The first time the Supreme Court had occasion to interpret the fourteenth amendment was in 1872 in the *Slaughter House Cases*.⁷ Mr. Justice Miller stated the majority opinion of the Court :

“On the most casual examination of the language of these amendments, no one can fail to be impressed with the one pervading purpose found in them all, lying at the foundation of each, and without which none of them would have been even suggested ; we mean the freedom of the slave race ; the security and firm establishment of that freedom, and the protection of the newly-made freeman and citizen from the oppressions of those who had formerly exercised unlimited dominion over him. It is true that only the fifteenth amendment, in terms, mentions the negro by speaking of his color and his slavery. But it is true that each of the other articles was addressed to the grievances of that race, and designed to remedy them as the fifteenth.”

Mr. Justice Miller further doubted whether the first section of the fourteenth amendment would ever be used for any other purpose than to guard the rights of the Negro. But in 1882 Roscoe Conkling, one of the members of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction, appeared before the Court with the Journal of the Joint Committee. He had a new interpretation ; and he could not be wrong because he had helped draft the amendment. When he finished he had shown that the Committee which framed the amendment intended that it should be used to restrain state interference with the freedom of corporations as well as with that of natural persons. Conkling gave his speech a fine flourish. The Reconstruction Congress, he said, “builted, not for a day, but for all time ; not for a few, or for a race, but for man. They planted in the Constitution a monumental truth, to stand foursquare whatever wind might blow. That truth is but the golden rule, so entrenched as to curb the many who would do to the few as they would not have the few do to them.” A few years later, without any definite act of Congress, without any clear precedent anywhere, and in obvious violation of good sense, the Court decided there were two classes of persons—natural per-

⁷ Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The Journal of the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction*, p. 22 ff.

sons and legal or corporate persons. Subsequent to this time the Court has rendered some six hundred decisions based on the fourteenth amendment. Some twenty-odd of them refer to the rights of Negroes ; some six hundred of them refer to the rights of corporations.

Meantime, the second section of this amendment, which provides curtailment in representation in proportion to denial of ballot, has been ignored. This device is proving just as effective as interpretation.

The history of the fifteenth amendment is equally illuminating. Let us, for example, follow the course of Negro voting in Texas for a few years. In 1918 the Negroes of Waco went into the courts and demanded that they be permitted to vote in the primaries about to be held in that city. The Judge of the Nineteenth District Court ruled that they could not legally be prevented from voting in primaries. In 1921 a group of Negroes in Houston sought to establish their right to vote in the primaries, but were denied by another district court which held that the question of voting was a political and not a legal one. The Houston Negroes carried their case to the United States Supreme Court, where it was ruled out on the ground that "cause of action had ceased to exist." In 1922 the State Supreme Court ruled that any political party in Texas could prescribe the qualifications for any persons voting in its primaries, and therefore if any party wished to do so, it could exclude Negroes.

Meantime, in the elections of 1922 Negroes here and there in Texas found it possible to vote. And in October, 1923, a statute was passed by the Texas legislature providing that "in no event shall a negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the State of Texas, and should a negro vote in a Democratic primary election, such ballot shall be void and election officials are herein directed to throw out such a ballot and not count the same."

At the next election in El Paso Dr. L. A. Nixon, a Negro and a Democrat of many years standing, was denied the right to vote in the Democratic primary. He carried his case to the courts. The state law was upheld by all the state courts and the case was carried to the United States Supreme Court where, on March 7, 1927, a decision was rendered reversing the decisions of the lower courts. Mr. Justice Holmes delivered the unanimous opinion of the Court and in the course of it said

"... the same reasons that allow a recovery for denying the plaintiff a vote at a final election allow it for denying a vote at the primary election that may determine the final result.

"We find it unnecessary to consider the Fifteenth Amendment, because it seems to us hard to imagine a more direct and obvious

infringement of the Fourteenth. That Amendment, while it applies to all, was passed as we know, with a special intent to protect the blacks from discrimination against them.

"States may do a great deal of classifying that it is difficult to believe rational, but there are limits, and it is too clear for extended argument that color can not be made the basis of a statutory classification affecting the rights set up in this case."

There was much jubilation in the liberal press when this decision was announced. But the Texas legislature was not without resourcefulness. In 1927 it corrected its former mistake and passed another election law prescribing that "every political party in this state through its State Executive Committee shall have the power to prescribe the qualifications of its own members and shall in its own way determine who shall be qualified to vote or otherwise participate in such political party. . ." Of course the State Executive Committee of the Democratic party prescribed that all voters in the party primaries should be white. In spite of this prescription, some Negroes were allowed to vote and their votes were counted ; but Dr. Nixon was again debarred and again carried his case through state courts to the federal Supreme Court where, on May 2, 1932, the state law was again declared unconstitutional. It was held that the party executive committees were invested by the state with powers which were inherent in the party conventions and could be conferred on the executive committees only by them. But the Court expressly refused to state any opinion as to whether party conventions or their committees, acting without authorization of state law, are subject to constitutional prohibitions. This question, the Court said, would be determined whenever it might come up. Accordingly, on May 24, 1932, the Texas State Democratic Convention, in session at Houston, passed a resolution "that all white citizens of the state, who are qualified to vote under the Constitution and laws of Texas, shall be eligible for membership in the Party and as such, eligible for participation in primaries."

The fifteenth amendment thus appears to be resulting in nothing but a perpetual quibble. On the one hand, the white people of Texas, as represented by the Democratic Party, are determined to keep the Negro from voting. On the other hand, the Supreme Court limits its decisions to technical questions so that the merest tyro in legislation can find means of circumventing these decisions and attaining the purpose desired. The whole affair thus tends to become a game, the realities of which are ignored by everyone concerned.

Since the Negro is without any secure political status, without any political representation of any kind, it is not surprising that

little attention is paid to his health or his education or his general improvement in either town or country. In each southern state there are laws defining who shall be classed as Negroes, laws forbidding interracial marriages and miscegenation, laws requiring separation in schools, laws prescribing separate and equal accommodations in public conveyances, and laws and practices that aid in his disfranchisement. During the twenties, two or three southern states passed laws designed to limit the activities of labor agents who were enticing large numbers of Negroes into industries in northern and mid-western cities. In other regions custom is more effective than laws. It decrees that a landlord may use shotguns and pistols to protect his Negro labor from the blandishments of other landlords or labor agents. There is also in the common law throughout the South the precedent that to call a person who is not one a Negro is actionable *per se* and damages may be recovered. The doctrine is that the term *Negro* falls in the class of those in themselves injurious to social or business relations.

This is the general framework of the Negro's legal status in the South.

CUSTOMARY RACIAL DISTINCTIONS AND DISCRIMINATIONS

IT HAS BEEN necessary to make distinctions in the judgment and treatment of the Negro in order to be just. The phrase "equality before the law" has a habit of slipping easily from the tongue, but if taken in a literal, mechanical sense there could be no greater injustice than such equality. The principle that unequal treatment may be necessary in order to achieve a more genuine equality is of unquestioned validity, but extremely difficult to apply. It is clear, for instance, that a tax law which required every man to pay \$25 to \$50 in taxes every year would be grossly unjust; accordingly, in order to achieve more genuine equality in the payment of taxes, we examine the citizen's ability to pay. Very much the same sort of distinction is often made in interracial relationships in the South. It is not expected for the Negro generally to have ability equal to that of the white man. The validity of this distinction is less clear. It may be partially responsible for the failure of the southern Negro to be more competent; but this is impossible to determine, because we know less about the Negro's abilities than we do about the white man's.

Perhaps the clearest instance of the necessity for distinction on account of color is to be found in the school system. With things as they are, no worse punishment for Negro children in the South could be imagined than to send them to schools with white children.

It is doubtful whether it would be possible, without the use of force, to keep them in schools together. I am aware the opinion is abroad that prejudice is drilled into white children from earliest childhood and that under some other régime all this could be changed. There is possibly some truth in this, but it remains yet to be demonstrated ; it is not likely to come without a violent interval ; and until it does come, the prejudice is there and must not be permitted to make a bad situation worse.

This amounts simply to saying that justice can not be entirely an abstract affair. The folkways, the habits and customs, of a people always have to be taken into account ; but in taking them into account we must not become ensnared in the complexity of our problems and fall into romantic worship of and submission to the folkways.

Now the necessity for making distinctions in order to be just has opened wide the door for discriminations that may be exceedingly unjust. Often when it is obvious that distinctions should be made in favor of the Negro, they are made against him. Such is frequently the case with the Negro in court and in many other relationships as, for instance, the public services that are denied him—park and playground facilities, adequate schools, libraries, sanitation and attention to health. Distinctions are made to work in precisely the wrong directions. This explains the way in which poor whites and Negroes get chain gang and death sentences while white persons of wealth and position often escape punishment or receive less severe sentences in penitentiaries for similar crimes. It is impossible always to be sure of the precise nature of a distinction, the reasons for its existence, the extremely complicated ways in which it works, and the diverse effects that result. It is not possible within the limits of this paper to give more than very brief attention to these difficult questions.

Legally, in some of the southern states anyone with one-eighth or more Negro blood is classed as a Negro ; in others, the law prescribes that any trace of Negro blood no matter how remote automatically classes one as a Negro. Actually, the law does not make a great deal of difference ; it is difficult if not practically impossible for persons with Negro blood to pass as whites without moving from one community to another and carefully concealing the tinge of colored ancestry. In one case known to the author persons of less than one-eighth Negro blood succeeded in getting their children legally declared white ; but when the children attended local schools and churches the white people stopped going. Finally, the children succeeded in attending white schools and churches in larger nearby

communities without being exposed to continual insult and injury. It is not always true, as it was in this case, that larger communities will be more tolerant and less inclined to resent and oppose the effort to pass from one class to the other ; but, in the upper South at least, urban communities are more likely to be tolerant than rural communities.

Now it is clearly an injustice to an individual who has a small amount of Negro blood to class him as a Negro, especially when this means, in the great majority of cases, requiring him to remain in a low economic and social class regardless of his individual ability to gain wealth and position. But since the discrimination against the race exists, that which falls on individuals in this manner is probably a great advantage to Negroes generally. With only a very few exceptions Negro leadership has come from those with mixed blood. As things are, it is hard on the individual always to be classed as a Negro, no matter how small the fraction of his Negro blood, but in the long run it is proving best for the race. The history of French policy in West Africa has been that of separation of the most able Negroes from leadership of their people by professing doctrines of equality and by giving them legal recognition as equals. Some ninety-odd Negroes out of a population of about fifteen millions have been recognized in this manner. French West Africa has three or four Negro officials in high places. They are sympathetic to France and to French policies even when these policies are extremely oppressive. Great Britain has made no professions of equality. Yet the British Gold Coast with less than two and one-half million Negroes has natives in some thirty-odd high official places who do not hesitate on occasion to criticise government policies.⁸

The line drawn between whites and Negroes in the southern states is not likely to be removed at any time soon. The good of the southern Negro, therefore, may often be in accord with the policy of making those men of ability with Negro blood feel that they belong with Negroes. If the color line were ignored in all relationships with such Negroes, if they were accepted always on the same plane as whites, many of them, perhaps most of them would do precisely what most white people do when they rise from poverty to wealth and position. The self-made white man usually regards himself as a being of superior merit. He attributes his success to his innate superiority and looks with pity on those whom he has left behind. Virtue, he believes, is always rewarded—therefore he has been rewarded. To him there is only one explanation for the existence of

⁸ Raymond Leslie Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, vol. ii, p. 82 ff.

low classes of people ; they simply haven't got the right stuff in them. He has forgotten completely that this was thought of his father and his father's fathers for long centuries. He is disqualified to do more for his people than to give them charity and advice on how to work and save and be successful like himself.

Negroes who had risen to full recognition would doubtless sympathize with their race, but they would do so from a great distance. They would have passed many barriers—economic, social, intellectual, and the barrier of color ; and this last is the greatest of all. The distance between them and the mass of their people would be correspondingly greater. The condition of the mass of whites in past times has been greatly improved because of the opportunity for exceptional individuals to rise ; and because it has not been possible to keep the masses down in spite of prevailing notions of their inferiority. We have now entered upon a time when more than ever before, social progress depends on raising the level of the masses. Exceptional individuals from lower classes must be given opportunities to develop their abilities, but they also must be made to feel the closest possible community of interest with the class from which they come. While there is much to criticize in the social customs and attitudes of southern whites, it must be admitted that insofar as this result is achieved, southern prejudice is not an unmixed evil. It is unfortunate that there is no means of applying this same principle to white people.

This is no justification of race prejudice. It has no justification. Every man who is conscious of its terrible effects will fight it to the limit. But if he has good judgment he will fight it where it is most important. The intellectual who fights against exclusion of the Negro intellectual from eating places, hotels, and social gatherings of whites, against segregation on common carriers and other such discriminations, who limits his fight to discrimination against the Negro intellectual is of extremely doubtful service to the race. Of course, the establishment of a full consciousness of a community of interest is not always a result of discriminations that fall on all Negroes. Negro society has its cliques and its factions, and there will always be a tendency for some Negroes to isolate themselves and their interests from the mass of the Negro population. But the fact that they can not do this entirely forces them to take up the cudgels for their people. The consequence is that men who show every sign of snobbishness in their personal relations, as well as those who have genuine sympathy for their race, are compelled to line up and fight the handicaps which rest on all alike. That portion of the white population which sympathizes with the Negro and

would see his condition bettered does not realize clearly enough that even the worst sign of race prejudice, lynching, could be removed without appreciably altering the condition of the Negro or other almost equally bad aspects of interracial relationships. Lynching, like every other evidence of race prejudice, is both a part of and a symbol of deeply underlying relationships. It is utterly futile to isolate the symbol, treat it as a fundamental fact, and fight it alone. The reality is the notion that the Negro is so far inferior that he has no rights which the white man is bound to respect. The racial customs, habits, and laws of the southern states are merely the external aspects of this one deep-lying reality. It is a thousand headed hydra, but unlike the mythical beast it seems to have no heart—or perhaps it has many hearts—to be pierced before it will finally die.

On the one hand it is held that the removal of economic disadvantages is the key to the whole problem of prejudice and discrimination; on the other hand, it is extremely doubtful whether economic disadvantages can be removed before the race has achieved political power. Each of these in the final analysis seems to hinge upon the other. When one is secured, the other is secured. The same is true of educational and other opportunities. All of these are interdependent. How much chance do Negroes have to get equal appropriations for their schools until they have equal political power, and how can they get really effective political power until they have economic power? The only chances for the race are that the spirit of justice and fair play in the nation will in some way operate to offset its present disadvantages; or that the large measure of identity of interest between the mass of the white people and the Negro may be recognized and cultivated. The central problem in the South for whites and blacks alike is the cheapness and servility of labor. Nothing can be done of any consequence to raise the level of the mass of either race until this issue is decided, until cheapness and servility of labor (which are essentially one and the same thing) have been utterly repudiated. These are the points around which battle is raging. Unfortunately, both the white and the black intellectuals have been able to get too far from the scene of conflict. They have given entirely too much of their attention to the fringes of the conflict and miss almost entirely the deeper realities of it.

Some of the following distinctions and discriminations are obviously absurd and pointless; some—such as discrimination in case of medical need—have no excuse whatever for existence among a civilized people; others such as separation in schools and colleges and customs tending to prevent any question of social intermingling

from arising have, at least for the present time, sound reasons for being.

Some sixty-odd years ago in most of the South it was illegal to teach a Negro how to read or write; but this legal proscription was not always observed. Many Negroes—possibly as many as ten per cent (mostly mulattoes)—were taught by master or mistress in spite of the law, while others remained illiterate. As everyone knows, of course, the Negro is excluded from the white school system in the South, and has his own system. Only in their own schools and colleges do southern Negroes have the opportunity to develop purely scholarly interests. They can not attend southern white colleges or state-supported universities, no matter what their abilities may be, and have to go north or west to follow any interests which may extend beyond the limited though excellent training available in their own southern schools. Suppose, for instance, that an intelligent young Negro does go to Harvard or Chicago for his advanced training and returns South with, say, a degree in medicine or law. He may easily pass the state examinations and be allowed to practice his profession, but his practice will be exclusively limited to Negroes and even among Negroes will be limited to certain types of cases. Judges are invariably white. Juries only rarely will have Negroes on them. Negro offenders often avoid Negro advocates, and Negro lawyers must be extremely careful how they appear before white juries. Even in those counties, towns, and cities in which Negroes form the great majority of the population the local government will be entirely in the hands of white people, and the representatives to the state and the federal congress will be white. The Negro is supposed to have the legal right to representation. Actually he does not have it.

Negro men and women who need to go to a hospital may or may not be permitted to go to a white one; they will not find Negro doctors or surgeons there to treat them. In many instances they are not admitted to white hospitals even though the case may be one of certain death if treatment is not promptly given. Hospitals run exclusively or partly by Negroes are scattered through the South, but only Negroes are treated in them and it happens they are not so well equipped that whites ever tend to break over the self-imposed restraint which generally keeps them out of Negro hospitals. Colored persons are not tolerated in city parks and playgrounds frequented by whites, and with rare exceptions they are not able to have their own. The states are very careful to respect the racial prejudices of the inmates of their insane asylums, jails, prisons and poor houses, and although all of these institutions are

wofully lacking in housing, equipment, and trained personnel, separate quarters are provided for whites and blacks. No southern state except Louisiana makes provision for taking care of the Negro feeble-minded. In one public institution, the chain gang, Negroes and whites often may associate freely. It would be interesting to know whether the white thief or murderer retains his confident feeling of superiority while engaged in breaking rocks on country roads alongside his black brother in crime. It is probable that he does.

The church was the first separate and independent institution erected by the Negro. It had its beginning in ante-bellum times, when Negroes were given religious instruction and were allowed in some regions to have their own churches and in others to attend the churches of their masters, where they sat apart in a gallery or section specially reserved for them. After emancipation the organization of separate churches was carried on with extreme rapidity. The Negro even then as today, apparently preferred his own organization.

Negro business, while still in an elementary stage, has been developed so that nearly every town with a Negro section will also have a few ramshackle stores, offices, and places of business; but, except for cleaning and pressing shops, and barber shops, the main streets will generally be entirely lacking in places managed and operated by Negroes. With the exception of these two activities, the Negro aspiring to do business must find a place in his own section.

The case is not very different with the Negro buyer. We have already seen the disabilities of the Negro in buying land in the country. Let us now follow him on main street. No matter how much money he carries in his pockets or how large the checks his bank will honor, he can not buy a ticket at the movie palace except where separate accommodations are provided. He may be able to get a gallery seat at a concert in the town hall; but in small towns often he must attend his own movie palace or do without such entertainment. He can not rent a room in a hotel or buy a meal in a restaurant. If he is discreet and wishes to be very careful to avoid trouble, he will not eat or drink at a soda fountain, but will stand to one side or most likely get outside. If he presumes to cross this line, he may get anything from a more or less gentle mobbing to a polite invitation to get out; and, in general, he may as well not expect any redress for injury from the only courts to which he could carry his complaint. He can buy automobiles, hardware, furniture, clothes, hats, shoes, and wearing apparel galore; but he is carefully kept out of the way of white customers and made to wait for service.

He may have to buy shoes, hats, or other wearing apparel without any privilege of trying on or of return. If he is buying on credit, as many country Negroes have to do, he does not have the privilege of selecting from a wide variety of stocks. He can buy groceries, and drugs, and books too, if he cares to and if the town happens to have a bookstore. It is not likely that he will be invited to use the public library (if there is one). If he is permitted to use the library, his welcome there will not be cordial, and he will use its extremely limited facilities infrequently and hesitantly. The facilities in the few libraries provided for him are so limited as to be almost useless. He can deposit his money in the white bank, he can buy stocks and bonds, he may be able to buy shares in the Home Builders Association ; but with the exception of one large company, he usually can not buy white life insurance, nor can he buy valuable real estate in a white section unless he buys through a white agent ; and then if he should wish to live on the property or do business on it, he could not do so without great embarrassment and even danger to his life. Whatever the courts may have said or may say about the legality of segregation, until white sentiment changes on this point, in most communities, segregation will be effective.

In the shops on main street in any southern town one may find a place to get a cool drink of water. Now and then, however, a sign will be displayed "For Whites Only." If a sign is not displayed, it does not mean that Negroes may drink there. The Negro on the street is expected always to give way to any white person. On the highways in the days of buggies and wagons, the right of way belonged to the white man. If the Negro was driving a loaded wagon, he would likely draw out to the side and wait for the white man to pass. Now, about one Negro family out of four owns a dilapidated car. So many whites drive similarly dilapidated cars that the Negro driver can not be distinguished at a distance. The nature of the machine, its speed and anonymity make impossible any discrimination against Negro drivers. They can rattle along and assert their right to half, or, as some white drivers charge, to more than half the road.

Throughout the South until recent years the custom prevailed of addressing Negroes only by their first names. Most Negroes would regard it as extremely queer if they were addressed as "Mr.," "Miss," or "Mrs." A small but growing minority is demanding the impersonal mode of address, and department stores and other businesses competing for trade are learning that circulars addressed to "John Davis, col" are having the opposite of the desired effect. White sales girls are in a quandary when wealthy Negro women

come in to make purchases. Custom and habit prescribe condescension. But how can a shop-girl condescend toward a wealthy and cultivated person? In seeking a way she is only too likely to be offensive. But trade has to be kept, and the girls are having to learn to show a measure of courtesy to everyone with money to buy.

Suppose a Negro wishes to go somewhere. If he drives his own car, he can usually buy gas at any filling station; he can even buy a soft drink and a sandwich, but just as on main street, he can not sit down at a table or counter in any restaurant used by whites; nor can he use the white toilet, and he will rarely find one for Negroes. Suppose the Negro does not drive his own car. If he wishes to go to a town a few miles distant, he may be able to buy a ticket and ride on a back seat of a bus or he may not—until a few years ago in North Carolina he could not. If he can not buy a ticket on the bus, he must either catch a free ride, which is not easy, or he must ride on the jim-crow car of the local train, or he may walk. If he lives in town and merely wishes to ride home from main street, he can buy a ticket and ride a street car or bus—again in a section specially reserved for him, either in front or back, according to the wisdom of the town fathers. If he wishes to take a long trip, he waits in a separate room or a section of one room according to the size and importance of the town. He may find that he has to enter the station through the same doorway as the whites but must use separate gates to the tracks. Or when going from the waiting rooms to the train he may find it necessary to use the same gate, while he uses a separate one in getting off the train. Segregation in the station may be attained by solid partitioning walls, by a latticed wall to the ceiling, by a waist-high balustrade, or by a word printed on one side of the common waiting room.

If traveling a long distance, he may or may not be able to get a Pullman ticket, according to the prejudices of the ticket agent. If he succeeds in getting one, he will find it necessary to be as inconspicuous as possible in order to avoid embarrassment. He usually can not eat in the dining car. He must be prepared for extreme discourtesy if he sits in the smoker while it is occupied by others. On the other hand, a Negro nurse may bring a white baby into a Pullman without fear of embarrassment, though she too can not eat in the diner.

Suppose a Negro woman is librarian in a Negro college and is invited to attend a regional conference including representatives from white and Negro colleges and universities. First of all, she is handicapped by the fact that she can not stay at the same hotel with the white representatives. She can not eat at the same table

with them, but she can sit in the same conference room, and she can get a hearing if she has anything to say, though she will usually be very careful what she says. The line which separates the Negro woman representative from the whites follows very much the same course as the one which separates the Negro man ; but the attitude toward the Negro woman is much different. She can and does cause much more embarrassment, both to herself and others. There will always be white members of such a group who will refuse to show a Negro woman such courtesies as are ordinarily offered to white women. On the other hand, there are probably always present white persons who feel that the same courtesies should be shown her. The result is that the ordinary rules of conduct are confused, no one knows what to do, and if it were not for the serious situation which they reflect, the ensuing embarrassment and discomfiture would afford the impartial observer nothing but mirth.

In a certain town in North Carolina the parents of an apparently very gifted Negro family wished to give their children the same musical training which was available to white children through private teachers. There was only one really good teacher in that town. But neither he nor any of the others would endanger their standing with their white pupils by taking Negro pupils. On the other hand, in Winston-Salem, a town in which Negroes make up a large portion of the population and in which there has been at least one serious riot in the last twenty years, an ambitious Negro girl could not study stenography in the regular business school ; but she was able to secure a white teacher to give her private lessons, and apparently this white teacher lost none of her other students on this account. Thus there are stretches of the color line which are definite in some localities, and vague and undefined in others. And the same stretch of the color line which is definite in this town today may be vague and undefined tomorrow.

It might be argued that if the Negro had any real ability, he would develop himself in spite of limitations of the nature just described. This is precisely what a considerable number of Negroes have done, but it must be admitted that the majority do not have the ability to overcome serious handicaps. Like the majority of whites, they need encouragement and a favorable environment. It is entirely possible that most of them would not improve a great deal even under the best conditions. But the fact remains that under extremely unfavorable conditions the race has gained considerable wealth, it has developed professional ability of a high order, it has gone North and won recognition in the arts, it has shown that it can learn when given the benefits of education, and finally, it has

shown amazing fortitude and self-control in the face of repeated insult and injury and continued adversity.

* * * * *

THE NEGRO in the South is such a large subject and so contradictory in many of its phases that it would be possible to put together a picture varying considerably from that above. By manipulation and careful selection of facts, by giving more emphasis here and less there, one can achieve almost any conclusion he desires, and do so with great plausibility. For instance, it could be argued, and with much truth in the author's opinion, that bad as conditions are for the Negro in the South, with a few exceptions such as that of health conditions in northern and southern cities, his condition in the South is generally better than anywhere else on the face of the globe. But to argue that because this is true the South should rest content with having done its duty is like arguing that a doctor who has successfully saved his patient from dying with pneumonia should not be interested in preventing him from contracting tuberculosis and living many miserable years as an invalid. Now for over half a century, in spite of all that can be said of southern "progress," the South has been and remains today an invalid in the family of states. She scornfully rejects expert diagnosis and treatment, and she persistently fails to treat herself or even to recognize that her energy and genius are paralyzed by a malady which could certainly be rendered less burdensome, which with careful, persistent treatment might even be transformed into another of her charms.

The diagnosis of social disorders will always remain a perilous task. It will always rest, in the final analysis, on a social faith. The author of this article believes that the conception of southern economy in terms of cheap and servile labor is the main source of most of the Negro's (and the poor white man's) disabilities, and that this conception and the system which gives it effect must be changed before the genius of the southern people, white and black, can find its full expression.

MIDDLE CLASS AND BOURBON

BY CLARENCE E. CASON

WISHING TO BE complimentary, a forthright city editor of a Manhattan newspaper once proclaimed that young men from the South make excellent reporters provided they can rid themselves of malaria and gentility. This characterization may be accepted as a fair statement of the reputation of southerners abroad in the land. By malaria the city editor meant not so much the pathological state induced by the mosquito's sting as that dreamy and miasmic attitude of mind usually associated with the disease. And by gentility the editor intended to imply a false assumption of gentlemanly graces and immunities, especially an immunity from a conscience which holds steady work to be a duty. From his own point of view the Manhattan journalist of course spoke with accuracy. But from the point of view of the indigenous southerner he was altogether wrong. For the terrestrial aims of the southerner are not the same as those of the New Yorker or New Englander. To be properly appreciated for his native qualities, the honest southern person should stay at home.¹

The northern commentator has developed an axiom which to him fittingly describes the southern dereliction; he is satisfied to catalogue the Georgian as being content with the second-rate or half-best. "Well, less is more, Lucrezia." Whereas the Ohioan might estimate success with a yardstick, the Tennessean is more likely to gauge accomplishment in terms of self-sufficiency. That desirable harmony with one's environment may be achieved in a log cabin perched in the midst of a patch of tobacco in the hills of eastern Tennessee, or it may be acquired in a stone mansion overlooking the curves of the great Mississippi at Memphis.

Tourists from Pennsylvania are forever unable to overcome sur-

¹ In connection with this chapter, thanks are due the *Yale Review*, the *Virginia Quarterly*, the *Sewanee Review*, and the *North American Review* for brief passages which were originally published in those magazines.

prise at the unpretentious aspects of the celebrated ancestral homes in Virginia. They have seen so much handsomer and more costly residences near Philadelphia. Their natural conclusion is that the southern aristocracy, while now and then apparent to the naked eye, must surely be in a state of lamentable decadence. Otherwise, the Virginia houses would be bigger and better. Strangely enough, however, the Virginia houses never have been any finer or larger than they are just now. It is only that the American standards of judgment have been altered. What it takes to be a Bourbon in the South is different from the requirements of that enviable state in the North. Consequently, the middle class in the South, in its efforts to become Bourbon, is likely to emphasize different qualities from those which are the objectives of the aspiring middle class in the North. What the Manhattan city editor required of his young men from the South was snappy copy produced with accuracy and dispatch and in good volume. Reporters from Mississippi or the Carolinas might become adept at such a performance, but in doing so they would no longer be southerners.

If it be objected that a mere city editor is not qualified to speak with authenticity on the characteristic attitude of northern people toward southerners away from home, an instance of an unpleasantly similar view may be exhibited from the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson. That eminent philosopher himself was not above a surprisingly ill-natured estimate of the characters of southern students attending Harvard University during the time of his residence at Concord in the home of his father-in-law, the venerable Doctor Ripley. Under the date of October 8, 1837, Mr. Emerson wrote in one of his *Journals*: "The young Southerner comes here a spoiled child, with graceful manners, excellent self-command, very good to be spoiled more, but good for nothing else,—a mere parader. . . Give them an inch and they take a mile. They are mere bladders of conceit. Each snipper-snapper of them all undertakes to speak for the entire Southern states. . . . The proper way of treating them is not deference, but to say as Mr. Ripley does, 'Fiddle, fiddle,' in answer to each solemn remark about 'The South.' 'It must be confessed,' said the young man, 'that in Alabama, we are dead to everything, as respects politics.' 'Very true,' replied Mr. Ripley,—'leaving out the last clause.'"

If Mr. Emerson's irritability is partly excusable on the ground that at the time of that writing he was only thirty-four and the harassed father of "the babe," which, to quote a note in the *Journal* of a week later, "stands alone to-day for the first time," his sectional prejudice is not wholly to be explained away so easily, for in the

very same year he proved his maturity and force by delivering before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge his address on "The American Scholar." One is led to suspect that his animadversions upon southern students were broadly acceptable to the New England of his time and afterward. It is devoutly to be hoped that inclusion of the quoted passage in Bliss Perry's *The Heart of Emerson's Journals* does not indicate unhappy reverberations of that animus in the New England of this day. Even so, there is something rather pleasing about the self-sufficiency already attained by the young southern Bourbons who were so fortunate as to be attending classes at Harvard University in 1837.

Perhaps a modest question might be allowed on the justice of Emerson's remarks. Generally the transcendentalism, for which he later became renowned, is supposed to place the intuitive and spiritual above the empirical or apparent values. Then, aside from the more fundamental mysteries of mankind's eternal spirit, what would transcendentalism have to recommend with regard to ideal human behavior on this planet? Would it hold anything to be more desirable than a well-mannered complacency supported by intuition? In view of his later declarations, it would be interesting to know whether fifteen years after 1837 Emerson would have applauded the expression "fiddle, faddle" as applied to the table-talk of young men with "graceful manners" and "excellent self-command." As a matter of fact, there exists a certain notable essay of his entitled *Self-Reliance*. Possibly the explanation is that Emerson, in his informal comment of 1837, had momentarily dropped his eagle flight to putter with such concepts as thrift and diligence in the manner of his later geographical kinsmen such as Calvin Coolidge.

Recently having desired in a brief essay to make a disparaging comment upon the middle-western deification of work as the highest good, in contrast with the southerner's respect for unproductive leisure, I quoted some verses from the pen of Edgar Guest, with what I believed to be a devastating sneer. The verses were as follows :

There is no limit placed on fame ;
'Tis something every boy can claim.
Hold fast! *Work* hard, be strong, be true—
The future keeps a place for you! . . .

Soon after the publication of these lines as a principal exhibit in what I considered a scorching assault upon the doctrine which holds assiduous work to be the chief glory of man, a firm of Massachusetts lawyers mailed me the following request by special delivery: "A

philanthropic citizen of Newburyport wishes to have a large number of cards bearing the lines of Edgar A. Guest . . . distributed in the public schools. . . . If there is a copyright in force covering the lines referred to, he wishes to procure a waiver by the holder thereof. Please tell us who Guest's publisher is." . . . Presumably the influence of the languorous southern boys at Harvard had not injured the stern philosophy of energetic New England; at least, not at Newburyport. The spirit of Emerson may rest assured on that score.

Another somewhat personal digression may be permitted me. When I went North to college, a dean, after learning the region of my nativity, asked in a tone of slight facetiousness what I considered the aim of southern scholarship. Did I also think southern scholars had to do nothing but sit pleasantly on a vine-covered back porch and drink lemonade? I shall always feel that one of the tragic failures of my experience was that I did not, to our common astonishment, say, "Yes—provided the scholarly conversation is graceful, well-mannered, and leisurely enough."

No doubt the theses written under this dean's guidance exceeded the theses prepared anywhere else in the twelve surrounding states. Placed end to end they without question would have reached from Kalamazoo to a point three and one-half miles east of Grand Rapids. The books in his graduate library, if placed on a single shelf, by actual measurement certainly might have been expected to span the Mississippi River four times at St. Louis. And the line of his past and present graduate students, had they obligingly joined hands, would indubitably have extended from Boston to Lowell, with a kind of branch extension two-thirds of the distance out along Cape Cod. But he was not serene. He was not happy. All of his splendid energy was spent in obtaining more theses, more books, more graduate students. His view of heaven must have been an infinite space packed to the limits of efficiency with these three items. He never attained a self-sufficiency. He was always after something that could be expressed in the greatest number of something or another. Though we afterward became good friends after a fashion, we never sat at ease on a vine-covered back porch together, and we never drank any lemonade. I wonder whether he would have cared for anything like that. Perhaps, after all, it was just as well that I merely blushed with a little embarrassment and stuttered a bit without making any direct answer to his inquiry which related those agreeable amenities to the habits of southern scholars.

Again, I know of a famous magazine editor who on one occasion,

so to speak, took a southern writer by the throat and insisted that an article be prepared on the subject of southern arrogance. What the editor had in mind was self-assurance, serenity, self-sufficiency. He called the quality arrogance because it was vaguely disturbing to him. It was impossible for him to understand how a southerner might be happy with a hole in his trousers.

For mental satisfaction a certain class of southerner is not dependent upon successful acquisition or accomplishment. He is more concerned with being than with becoming. Approach it as you will, this aspect of the southern character is irritating to the outsider and the uninitiated. Possibly it constitutes a temptation which terrifies the Puritan. The characteristic, however, must be very strong indeed, for it is able to sustain those who possess it, and to enrage violently those who do not possess it. Such a state of mind is the one which distinguishes the intellectual life of the southern Bourbon; it is the end striven for, the attainment imitated by the southern middle class (which does not always take the right direction toward the goal). This attitude once attained makes one at ease in Zion. Whether too much so I do not know.

When Professor Phillips used *Life and Labor in the Old South* as a title for his prize-winning volume, he was on the solid ground of tradition. To one who had not read the book, the title might infer that there have been but two classes in the South: those who enjoyed life and those who performed the labor. That is to say, exclusive of the Negroes, there were the "aristocrats" and the "poor whites." Someone whose name assuredly ought to be a matter of record in every southern household (it may have been Professor Hesseltine, formerly of the University of Chattanooga) has pointed out that *squirearchy* is a better expression than *aristocracy* to denote the class of persons who had a good time in the South of tradition. But that is incidental.

Within recent years politicians active in the populist revolt in the South have made a great point of identifying themselves with "the people," by which they mean, as a rule, the "poor whites" who have risen to an economic position enabling them to pay poll taxes. A generation ago no book about the South dealt with anything except Colonel Witherstone and his daughter Claribel seated at julep and embroidery, respectively, while the son of Major Weather-spoon, Beverley by name and Galahad by avocation, pranced up to them on a milk-white horse, named for Colonel Witherstone's eldest son or daughter (as the case might be), so as to startle them into a fit of genteel swearing and a flutter of sweet blushing, respectively, and so as to knock three sprigs of crepe myrtle and a magnolia

blossom into Claribel's lap, while Aunt Julia in a red bandana, peeping from behind a white pillar on the wide porch of the splendid mansion, cried, "Lawdy-me," winked her eye, slapped her thigh, and drove eight pickaninnies back to the slave quarters to get their banjos and pieces of red watermelon. But what of the middle class in the South? Neither the politicians nor the novelists like Joseph Hergesheimer have made any mention of them, although T. S. Stribling, to the consternation of the people of Tennessee and to his literary credit in the outside world, has made some broad hints to the effect that they have existed.

Be those matters as they may, whatever their basic causes, I am now composed for a brief statement which should insure me a sacred or profane name with posterity. Like the heroine of *Alice in Wonderland*, I am ready to plunge with shut eyes down a rabbit hole into a world of indiscretions. I am ready to assault the King of Spades, the Queen of Hearts, the Mad Hatter, the Cheshire Cat, the Caterpillar smoking his pipe on the mushroom stalk, and even Father William. The fact is that a middle class does exist in the South; it has been on the landscape for several generations. In short, I belong to it. So far as the record shows, no southerner has ever made that statement before. A few, perhaps, have murmured the terrible possibility to themselves in the privacy of their own bedrooms on sleepless nights. But surely no husband has heard a wife of the South in such agony of soul, and no wife a husband. All southern girls at northern boarding schools are members of the aristocracy, and have always been. Have there not been inexhaustible Aunt Dinahs to send them devil's food cakes at Christmas time? And certainly it is a fair assumption that all southern gentlemen now residing north of the Potomac must assuredly have originally come from Charleston, South Carolina. Where else, not to labor the point, could they have come from?

In view of these obvious facts, it seems my inevitable duty to record a few notes upon my life history, for in doing so I should be recounting no less than the experience of the entire social category to which I—singly?—belong.²

² After the foregoing paragraphs had been set down, the writer was confounded by the discovery that a similar claim had been made by another man as early as 1862. In that year William G. ("Fighting Parson") Brownlow, who at the beginning of the Civil War had flown the Union flag at Knoxville, Tenn., declared in Philadelphia that he was "the only man who ever did or ever will appear before an audience publicly confessing that he descended from one of the *second* families of Virginia." (*The Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, Oct. 28, 1903, page 6.) But in the same scurrilous speech Brownlow added that F. F. V., "since [the] numerous retreats before Rosecrans, now signifies Fleet-footed Virginians"—a remark which on its face establishes Brownlow as unworthy

II

THIRTY YEARS ago in an Alabama town I lived in a small gray house with heavy blinds, the leaves of which were not always connected together. It stood in one corner of a large grassy yard, at the end of a walk topped over with the shining green leaves and velvet white blossoms of magnolia trees and flanked by beds of lemon verbena, marigolds, and sage—all kept within their proper spheres by carefully-laid rows of bricks imbedded in the ground so that they peeped forth in the shape of equilateral triangles three inches high. Nasturtiums grew beside the walk for a long time, but my rabbits came to like the leaves too well, and the thin flower stalks appeared so unbearably deserted, sticking up there by themselves, that we concluded that it would be better to confine the flowers in the beds to those kinds the rabbits did not like to eat, and to give the rabbits more of their regular food. The bunnies cared nothing for hyacinths; so we had lots of those—pink, blue, white, and even double ones. But the finest white hyacinths, those with the largest bells, grew in the yard with the Bermuda grass.

I was trained in the romantic school of literature. My mother always invited me to her parties and then carefully arranged for me to be on the outside of the house during most of the festivity. While her guests within drank tea and nibbled small sandwiches tied with pink and blue ribbons, I was engaged very agreeably on the outside in a private search for Jordan almonds placed among the hyacinths by the cook and represented to me as rabbit eggs. Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales* and two teaspoons of pale medicine were dosed out to me three times a day whenever I became ill from eating too many rabbit's eggs. *The Arabian Nights* filled me with dreams and amazement until I became somewhat unwilling to sleep alone at night, at which point Grimm's *Fairy Tales* were substituted for their more soothing effect. *The Swiss Family Robinson*, *Oliver Twist*, and *David Copperfield*, in illustrated editions, became the nucleus of my library.

Beginning at the time I was five years old, my grandmother would tell us stories about the fine people we were descended from. With a mind full of sheer white curtains and the dull black wood of the ante-bellum days, my eyes fell upon yellow window shades and all kinds of wood except dull black. The effect was disconcerting to me. It was my secretly-held opinion that if what my grandmother said was true, we had descended pretty far indeed. But my grand-

of serious consideration on any score whatsoever. Consequently, the present writer's equanimity has been restored.

mother never wavered. There had been reasons, she said, and plenty of good ones for the changes in our fortune. And she would tell the story of how her husband had wrapped the flag of his company—that very flag she held so tenderly in her tiny white fingers that trembled a little—about his body, and had escaped with it; and how the two bars of the Confederacy—she always slowly and delicately drew three fingers, with the middle one bent ever so slightly, along the two bars—had crossed just above his heart. It was a sweet story, the way she told it; and I loved every word. What if it did vary somewhat in detail from time to time? I was ready to adjust myself to all phases of ever-changing truth.

But there was something vague about the latter days of this distinguished hero. I never have been able to combine and clarify the several versions. It seems, however, that he possessed a more or less conspicuous taste for Bourbon whiskey. This feature, always told in a kind of hesitant whisper or trailing away of the voice, appeared to be the only one common to all descriptions of his latter days. But even better than the stories about the ebony furniture, lace curtains, silverware, and the rescued flag, I liked the exciting recountal of how this gentle lady's husband had once killed a mountain lion with a sheath knife on the edge of their Mississippi plantation. We had the stuffed lion's head resting in state on a crocheted mat in the living room. His teeth were menacing, and I was glad they had not closed upon my grandfather; his glass eyes would shine a bright yellow in semi-darkness, and his outstretched tongue was resplendent in watermelon red. But his fur was a little moldy in spots, and he caught dust very badly.

My father was a physician who all his life fought such maladies as pellagra, malaria, and hookworm among the country people. One December night he drove sixteen miles into the hills to see a stricken family. The eldest son had walked the distance into town, and standing in the street before our house in the cold midnight, had called, "Hel-loo, Doc—hel-loo, Doc." When they reached the shack in the country, the doctor found the sallow-faced parents waiting by a smoking kerosene lamp in the sick room; three children were huddled on a rumpled bed in a dark corner. Upon a mat of rough patch blankets placed on the floor in front of the blazing fire of chestnut logs, a child lay unconscious from chills and fever. The doctor, in a despairing effort to make some pretense that would delay the pain of his announcement, took two five-cent pieces from his pocket, placed them over the eye-lids of the dying child, and moved his fingers gently through the moist hair. He knew that the parents would be comforted by these mysterious signs. Eight months

later, the father walked stiffly into the doctor's office. "Been a-tryin' to save up and pay you off, Doc," he explained. "Anyways the preacher said fer me to jes' pace in here and git these two nickel pieces back to you. They's been a-botherin' of me."

My father often took me with him on long drives in the country to see his patients. He and I liked to sing old Negro songs together. *Little David, Play on Your Harp* was our favorite. He called me Little David. It was not that I was to obey the admonition and become the least musical—though once when I was taking lessons on the violin the meal-covered proprietor of a grocery store snatched me inside his emporium and allowed me to perform three or four bars of *Nearer, My God, to Thee* before he hurriedly gave me the dime which he had offered in a mistaken moment of generosity combined with a dubious craving to further the arts in our town. It was not, then, that my father desired that I actually take up harp playing so much as that we both candidly admired certain of the other manly qualities attributed to the young person of our song. "Little David, little David . . ."—and he would hold the horse's reins in one hand and put his free arm about me and sing softly, while the gray horse would take his time in pulling the buggy over the slanting and curving roads far, far into some shadowy valley beyond the crest of the mountain that we could barely see if we looked steadily for a long time into the hovering dusk.

How sometimes with wide eyes I would stand and watch the blood spurt from beneath the keen edge of my father's operating knife, and how I would clamp my jaws together and clinch my fingers when the steel saw grated through the bones. Should I—I, little David, and even greater I, the son of the father who cut men's legs off while they slept—cry out, even if the tears were running down my cheeks and my legs were trembling in the most helpless way? But sometimes I did creep away, sometimes when I knew my father was thinking only of the uncertain breathing of the body hunched before him on the bed of unplanned yellow pine. Then, after an interminably long time, he would find me, outside somewhere, trying to count the stars if there were any, and talking to the horse if he was awake.

Often the people from the weather-beaten cabin followed him outside, the woman in a faded gingham dress, with her apron tucked in by a string at the waist, bearing a kerosene lamp which smoked and flared crazily as the door was opened. They talked in fearfully low voices, and I always knew what had happened. I walked slowly to meet my father halfway, and with a swelling heart took one of his instrument cases, to carry it for him. He would look at the stars

too for a while, and, after that, unhitch the horse. "Little David, are you tired?" I would strike the match for his cigar, and with delight inhale the odor of choloform. Once he told me about the patient inside the dim cabin which we were leaving. "Old Tom died, little David—he was a good man." Stray smoke from the cigar must have caught my father in the nostrils and eyes, for he coughed a little and drew the back of his hand brusquely across his face. "Old Tom put his rough hand on mine and said, 'You done the best you could, Doc. Now hit's jes' me and God—Doc, hit's jes' me and God, now, ain't it?' " When we did not reach home until daybreak I always slept until late the next afternoon. But my father never did.

My uncle, a theological student, now and then spent vacations with us. He had the most marvelous group of atomizers in existence. Every morning at eight o'clock he would tune his voice for the day. I tested all his atomizers surreptitiously, but none of them seemed to enable me to shout as sonorously as my uncle could. Everybody thought that he ought to be married to the young lady who at that time was instructing me in orthography. So far as I knew, she would have made an excellent companion for a Baptist minister. I was also convinced that my uncle's absorption in the processes of learning to which I was being subjected rose out of something deeper and more personal than his interests in the principles of pedagogy. On her side, my teacher would let me make myself at home with a large green jar of the most extraordinary preserves whenever I was of a mind to speak unreservedly of family affairs, as a part of the geography lesson. May I be delivered from unbecoming inquiry into reasons and wherefores. Suffice it to say that my uncle went back to school and that my teacher and I returned to our cedar pencils and yellow paper-pads. The entire affair was of no particular moment anyway. I had, upon finding myself last summer in company with the lady and the members of my family, gone so far toward forgetting it completely as to remain for several minutes in ignorance of the cause of an almost imperceptible movement of uneasiness on the part of my mother when I, in a vein of innocent reminiscing, confided to Miss Wilkins that I should never forget the elusive charm she had always given to the twists of the tails of her final s's twenty-five years ago.

The other courtship in our family at this period was of even less importance. My aunt was expected to be married to a young man with sand-colored hair until one morning he peremptorily announced that he had arranged to be a missionary in China. I knew nothing, and cared less, about the turn of events as they affected my aunt's decision. The next morning, however, I became aware

that he, while holding me somewhat in his lap, was weeping directly upon my right cheek, and at the same time soliciting my life for foreign missions. Clearly something had gone wrong between him and my aunt. I readily agreed to be a missionary in China. It seemed a pity for him to have made the long trip to our home for nothing.

One summer my grandfather, not the one who saved the flag, had all the beard cut from his face, perhaps that he might more conveniently smoke cigars as short as he pleased. In this state he looked like Savonarola. The next time he visited us he had regrown his whiskers, and looked like General Grant, although he had the tallness of General Lee. (I believe it was General Grant whose whiskers were slightly stained about his mouth from smoking so many cigars.) This grandfather was in the Civil War too; and, singularly enough, had both his wrists pierced by the same bullet, or broken by the same explosion. I forget which. At any rate, the knots on each of his wrists were sources of the greatest family pride. He used to wear little knitted wristlets to keep his forearms warm between his gloves and coat sleeves; but he was always having to take off his wristlets to exhibit his injuries to anyone unacquainted with them. I do not know how much he enjoyed these continual exhibitions. Although he always removed his wristlets with a show of reluctance, I never saw him actually refuse to accommodate a prospective spectator.

He had been a surgeon always, and the knots on his wrists had not been allowed to halt his frequent activities with the scalpel. It seemed to some of us that his patients might now and then have cause to take his misfortune more seriously than he did himself. But the amputation of a limb or the delivery of a baby with his twisted arms he considered a feat, if not deserving of special note in the foremost medical journals, at least worthy of great local renown. A coterie of admirers urged him to announce for the governorship on the basis of his surgical acrobatics; but my grandfather said he considered politics too much below the dignity of the medical profession.

In another town he owned a small brick drug store which stood off to itself in a field opposite the Grand Catawba Hotel, which was our hostelry when he and I made one of our irregular trips to see how the business was getting along. During our visits of inspection, which seldom lasted more than two hours, he would spend most of the time sitting in one of those chairs with circular seats surrounded by burnished metal rims, the legs and backs of which were constructed of one tremendously long piece of heavy metal

wire twisted into the most intricate combinations of decorative curves. This chair he would tilt on its hind legs just within the screen doors of the main entrance to his store, and there he would complacently read the *Birmingham Age-Herald*. After having read issues of that paper steadily and line by line for fifteen years, he invariably insisted that he did not like it. I never saw him engaged with any other printed matter whatsoever.

Sitting tilted in his drug store chair, at carefully timed intervals he raised his enormously large foot slowly and impressively from the floor, kicked one of the swinging screen doors open, and expectorated most violently through the opening. This operation he performed without ever taking his eyes from the news columns, to the perceptible dismay of any persons who might be passing the store or on the point of entering at the moment. It was always well enough for the townspeople to forewarn themselves as to the dates of my grandfather's inspection trips. Meanwhile I would sometimes be engaged in appropriating a few cigars from the case behind him. One morning I smoked nearly an entire *Union Eagle Invincible*, standing propped against the back of the store in practically an upright position.

The last time I saw my grandfather he was sitting up in bed with wide muslin sleeves falling loosely about his long arms. The knots on his wrists showed quite plainly. Lighting his cigar with one hand, he pointed a little unsteadily at me with the other. "If you failed to have mind enough to be a surgeon, young man," he said, "I reckon you'll do the best you can as things are."

So there is a picture of middle-class life in the South of a quarter of a century ago. It is offered in the interest of social science. Perhaps the very fact that I should be willing to talk so intimately and freely about my own family is the best proof that I still belong to the middle class. If so, well and good. My assertion at the outset was to that effect. Such Bourbons as would challenge the taste which I have exhibited I refer to the pertinent observation of James M. Barrie: "It's bad taste to call attention to what is good taste."

As for Bourbons, however, I think that we in our town would never have suspected that we had failed to enjoy the cream of civilization had it not been for an incident involving a shower-bath. During our high-school days there moved into town a family which had grown rich by the process of exploiting tenant farmers in the surrounding country area. They built a huge white residence in what they held to be the most impressive style, bought three stores in the town, and sent their children to school. One afternoon when we were walking home with a son of that family he left us cere-

moniously at his gate with a flourish of profound implications. "Well, good-bye, fellows," he announced. "I've got to take my *shower-bath*." So greatly did he seem transported by the significance of that remark that we for the first time fell into a soul-searching meditation upon what heights of human experience might lie beyond our simple knowledge in this astounding world of man. This new schoolmate of ours had caught at the fringe of Bourbonism. Perhaps his grandchildren, if the family retains its money, will actually become Bourbons. Such social elevations have been known to take place in the South. But through high-school days in our community we had not become aware of them.

III

IN THE UNITED STATES a traveler may find at least three regions which are suitable abodes for country gentlemen in the strictly Anglican sense of the expression. The verdant slopes of southern Wisconsin constitute one of the regions. But the Wisconsin people of German and Scandinavian extraction would rather make hay than be gentlemen, and at their preferred vocation they do exceedingly well. André Siegfried on one of his visits to America found that Wisconsin "might almost be described as a German principality; there is something very comfortable, well kept, and old-fashioned about the countryside, a feeling of a German *Gemuethlichkeit*." The landed people in Wisconsin, however, raise draft horses rather than the racing or saddle breed; and on warm afternoons in summer they may be seen mowing the neat lawns of their farming establishments, instead of sitting quietly in the shade with a palm-leaf fan and a tinkling glass of julep. For one thing, it is too cold in Wisconsin to invite more than a brief summer's participation in those outdoor recreations characteristic of the English countryside; and furthermore, for all the natural beauty and fertility of the state, the whole tempo of life in Wisconsin is typically middle western. The urge toward more and still more material acquisition is too much in the air; it motivates alike the humblest dairyman and the wealthiest industrialist. Driven by a restless energy, they can not be quiet and composed even in the midst of the beauty of their calm and peaceful lakes. Like Iowa farmers, many of them hope eventually to acquire enough property to enable them to quit work and move to Los Angeles. But they never quit work. Retired to the haven made possible by a life of unrelenting toil, they still must whittle a stick or pluck stray weeds from the lawn. They can not keep their hands in repose.

Two other agrarian paradises in the United States are the Blue

Grass section of Kentucky and the whole state of Virginia, with the possible exception of the over-worked tidewater region. When Count Keyserling, after a recent visit to the United States, spoke at length on the South as "America's hope," he obviously had in mind the rich life cultivated in Virginia by a race of benevolent Bourbons. Virginia of course is the concentrated quintessence of what is to be cherished and revered in the life of the southern squirearchy. It is the Castile and Aragon of American Bourbonism. In a sense, it is a sacrilege to speak of commercial progress in connection with Virginia. One might wish that the community-development bodies could hold their peace in that state. Virginia really should be endowed. Nobody should have to make a living there. In a state so perfectly designed to serve as a background for mellowed charm and quiet grace, where long ago the brash surgings of the pioneers were softened under the influence of a mature civilization, it is fitting that there should be a solicitude only for harmony among men, and for sweetness and light.

The Blue Grass section of Kentucky, however, possesses an air as fragrant with clover as that of Virginia. Not seriously damaged by the Civil War, in which it was not wholeheartedly partisan, Kentucky perhaps is closer than any other southern state to retaining a vigorous and undiminished zeal for the ante-bellum version of the good life. Possibly the Blue Grass region, more than any other southern area, could muster an assemblage of tall, bewhiskered colonels who might bear some faint resemblance to the traditional image of southern gentility as it was represented on posters advertising the recent national convention of the Elks in Birmingham. One Alfonso, formerly king of Spain, more than likely would feel at home there. He would enjoy following the blooded race horses from their preliminary trial at Lexington to the great climax of their lives at the Derby on Churchill Downs at Louisville. He, the last of the Spanish Bourbons, would not consider that Bourbon County in Kentucky had been named without propriety. And his kinsmen among the French rulers might even feel themselves a bit complimented should they be able to return to earth and see the principal town of Bourbon County, which is called Paris.

As a matter of fact, it was this county which contributed the principal connotation to the word *Bourbon* as it is commonly understood both in England and the United States today. The celebrated Bourbon whiskey was originated and perfected there. Together with fine horses and beautiful women, this particular grade of corn distillation has done a great deal for Kentucky's reputation.

But aside from the state of Virginia and the Blue Grass section of

Kentucky, what other parts of the South have developed civilizations which could be regarded as advanced beyond the material status of middle-class respectability? Bourbonism never really covered the South. It existed only in certain more or less concentrated spots. Splashes of it were spread along the coast near Charleston and Savannah; outposts were visible as far inland as Augusta, Spartanburg, and Charlotte. Plantations in the black belt of Alabama, the middle section of Tennessee, and the Delta region of Mississippi flourished during that happy, but lamentably brief, interval when cotton was king. The summer heat and the winter rains, however, were sufficient in these parts to dampen the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and as a consequence the sporadic eruptions of a modified form of aristocracy, even in their heyday, were allowed to decay a little as the scorching sun peeled the layers of white paint from the manor houses. At present in these regions the evidence is ample that what is left of Bourbonism has either accepted a dismal seat in the chimney corner, or else gone Kiwanis. Finally, that commingling of French and Spanish refugees which made New Orleans, while a species of Bourbonism in its most salubrious years, could not properly be linked with the South of the story-book tradition. New Orleans culture was too directly European to be associated with the indigenously southern; also, it was an urban civilization instead of an agrarian way of life; and Latin rather than Nordic.

If the geographical extent of Bourbonism in the South has always been confined to certain limited districts, nevertheless there have been numerous families and individuals below the Potomac that have succeeded in maintaining a dignified self-assurance and self-determination, regardless of whether their residence happened to be on a rice plantation near Charleston or in a modest town in the red-clay hills of Georgia. They have not been consumed by a material industriousness; they have not been passionately determined to rise in the world, to improve their positions at any cost; they have not "played the sedulous ape to many masters." Hence they have enjoyed that serene state of mind which is the intellectual mark of the Bourbon.

IV

It is NOT difficult to understand why the geographical extent and cultural heights of southern aristocracy have been both humorously and tragically exaggerated through the years.

In the first place, the physical defeat of the Confederacy in the Civil War gave rise to compensatory mechanisms which strongly marked the psychology of the South. After the wreckage which

followed Appomattox, it was natural that the futility of the southern outlook should be balanced by an effort to glorify the era which had preceded Manassas. Eating the cornbread and sorghum of 1870, the impoverished and discouraged southerners bravely drew mental pictures of tables laden with pheasant and Burgundy, which they desperately led themselves to believe had been their customary fare in 1850. The psychological reaction constituted a typical flight from reality. Futilitarians throughout the centuries have been fleeing from disagreeable realities to idealized versions of the Rome of Augustus and the Greece of Pericles, falsely supposing that in those times they might have occupied positions of eminence and have known a happiness not given to them in actual life. For analogous reasons there sprang into being after the Civil War an old South more full of visions and dreams than of red-clay hills and bramble bushes.

Defeated on the actual ramparts of Virginia, the southerners retired to the ramparts of the mind. Here the glories of the old South became an impregnable castle over which was flown the invincible banner of "the Lost Cause." Since reality was unbearable, mythology became supreme. And thus retired to their last haven of fancy and fitful dreams, the lost generation of southerners were immune from the blasts of enemy cannon and the terrors of marching men in overwhelming numbers. Their blessed sanctuary had at last been attained. Let it remain inviolate now, a sacred edifice for anguished souls. Let not the rude tongue of the "realist" be heard in this temple of last resort of the weary, the forlorn, the unshepherded. Only the hushed whisper of love has a place in the sacrosanct presence of those who must dream of magical glories in the murky silence of the dead. Southerner limping from Appomattox, brave shattered heart in resplendent sanctuary—*requiescat in pace!* But let contemporary southerners live and breathe in the clear light of day. The temple of the lost is not for them.

In the second place, the destitution common to all southerners after the Civil War made it possible for all to claim direct lineal descent from aristocracy, regardless of what pruning and grafting the family trees were forced to undergo in the process. Howard Mumford Jones, in a recent essay entitled *On Leaving the South* complains of the injustice with which a southern lady of Texas appeared to hold him personally responsible for the loss of her family silverware during the Civil War. Presumably he rather felt expected to produce forks and spoons deeply engraved and centuries old from his vest pockets with an air of repentance. Often, as in the case of the thefts attributed to Mr. Jones's ancestors, it is necessary to make

some refinements in blanket accusations flung northward across the Potomac, and in blanket assumptions of universal wealth and luxury in the South before General Sherman marched to the sea. Obviously not every Union soldier went beyond the rules of warfare in confiscating property of the Confederates—only a limited class of southerners would be willing to forget the simplicity of General Grant's chivalry toward General Lee at Appomattox, one of the most striking and least emphasized acts of the Civil War—and, furthermore, it is just as clear that not all the Confederates possessed family property in the first place. In fairness, therefore, the Texas lady should not have looked narrowly upon Howard Mumford Jones without having previously determined just what Yankees had stolen silverware, what silverware these had stolen, what Yankees had not stolen any anywhere, and what southerners had not owned any that might have been stolen by anybody.

Similarly, many authors have written of southern aristocracy with an all too evidently middle-class gusto and fatuousness. They have been like shouting Methodists who envy the prestige but can not endure the quiet restraint of Episcopalianism.

In the hands of enthusiasts, pæans to the glory of the South often approach the abysmal flatulence of the more gushy small-town society editors who from week to week patch together their pieces from such stereotypes as "gracious hostess," "charming guests," "dainty refreshments," "talented musician," "distinguished orator," and "lavish decorations." Now and then such prattle verges upon the tragic, as, for instance, when a man piously murmurs about the "unsullied beauty of Southern womanhood," and at the same time indulges in only moderately concealed affairs with his stenographer, finally dying without leaving his wife any life insurance. Like unworthy ministers of the gospel, these foolish babblers leave a sour taste in the mouth of anyone with the slightest discrimination; they but serve to cast opprobrium upon what they presume to represent. Perhaps many a commentator has been led to speak deprecatingly about the South when he really has reference only to the silly quacks of that region.

But upon the minds of the indiscriminating or ignorant, vagaries of the society-editor category have stamped numerous misleading impressions about the true nature of the past and present-day South. So much damage, in fact, has been wrought to simple truth that authentic recent historians such as James Truslow Adams, Ulrich B. Phillips, and Charles A. Beard have been put to much pains in clearing away great quantities of accumulated fustian and balderdash in order that an honest picture of southern civilization

might be constructed from the ground up. With apparent satisfaction, Professor Phillips, himself a Georgian, recounts the strategy of the rebellious Bacon in placing captured women of the Berkeley faction upon his rampart to forestall threatened attack during the uprising against the Virginia government in 1676. Pointing out that this action showed "that it was possible in Virginia then to do barbarous things," Professor Phillips adds: "Berkeley, in his crusty closing years, had little enough chivalry; Bacon, though technically a gentleman, had none."

In the third place, among the types of exaggeration which have incorrectly interpreted southern Bourbonism must be mentioned the vein of nostalgic sentiment in which such transplanted natives as Stark Young occasionally write of the South. When Mr. Young allows his beautiful prose to play upon the charm of past days in the Mississippi Delta lands, the glow of his warm heart and the stylistic perfection of his writing are likely to attribute a false glamour to his subject-matter. Travelling in Italy, he ponders upon the similarity of southern culture to what he finds to be beautiful on the Mediterranean shores. Mainly he bases his comparison upon a certain composed and leisurely enjoyment of the truly good things of life which he deems a trait commonly esteemed among the Italians and the southerners of the higher cultural level. But it is not well to push the comparison too far. One might be forced to inquire specifically as to what good things were the common property of Italians and the Delta people of Mississippi. What of architecture, music, paintings, poetry, philosophy, food, clothing, education, social intercourse, the theatre, and natural scenery—for example? There is, as a matter of fact, in Vicksburg a grand house, now somewhat in decay, the main distinction of which is that it at one time had draperies and carpets imported from France. But the sad thought remains that France still continued to own many more draperies and carpets than had been exported to the southern part of the United States.

Stark Young himself may be trusted to say beautiful things about the old South. Competently he knows what he is about. But when excited upstarts, belonging to an entirely different social and intellectual category, seize clumsily upon Mr. Young's words and themselves begin to talk through their hats about how much the old southern "gentlemen" were like Russian dukes, English barons, and Italian counts, the effect is appalling. So cheapened is the conception of southern gentility by the florid insipidity of these specious gentry that anyone who truly reveres the simplicity and restraint of the authentic southern man of taste is tempted to cry

aloud his protest against the shame and vulgarity of the whole sorry business. It is as if the well-mannered solicitude of kindly folk had suddenly degenerated into the merchandising obsequiousness of drug store clerks, who bow and scrape with many a yes-ma'am and yes-suh in order to sell an extra tooth brush and a bottle of hair tonic. Such travesties are certainly as obnoxious as the willingness, pointedly deplored by Stark Young, of an occasional southern lady to 'sell her dubious ancestry to cold-cream and face-lotion manufacturers who pay generously for very gracious testimonials. It is enough to make one fly for relief to the Rotary Club, where he can touch shoulders with successful business men, eat a hearty meal of solid food, and hear a bit of harmless talk about "service," which is accepted by the members with at least a relieving sense of humor.

Surely no greater injustice can be done to the real South than to set up for it claims of grandeur which far overreach the bounds of reason. Such tactics smack disagreeably of what the psychologists used to call an inferiority complex. Heaven knows the South did possess—and still retains—virtues which are of the highest order in civilization. Why can we southerners not be content to understand and value them for what they are? Why must we from time to time stultify ourselves by factitious comparisons of the southern scene with the golden ages of Greece and Rome? Southerners walking on their hind legs are abominable, and should be tripped. Sitting at ease, being themselves, they are the most charming of people, and should be encouraged. At any rate, so it has seemed to me.

The truth is that the Bourbon order has undergone a number of revisions in the South since 1850. Wealth has changed masters to a considerable degree. Except in a few especially favored spots, such as the state of Virginia and the Blue Grass lands of Kentucky, the Bourbons have come to be factory owners as frequently as they have remained plantation landlords. Southern aristocracy today is as likely to be industrial as agrarian. After lengthy meditation and much ceremonial fasting, I am not sure but that the change is for the best.

V

JUST AS THE authentic Bourbon has suffered from the loose attribution of the wrong qualities to his nature, so has the integrity of the middle class in the South felt the deleterious effects of misrepresentation.

No one should fail to understand that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation also freed the poor whites, as well as the Negroes, in

the South. It swept away the system which basically had differentiated the destitute white classes from the slave-owning yeomen and plantation masters. After the Civil War, as I have tried to show, the attitude of the southern Bourbons began to be clouded and sometimes cheapened by the intrusive blatancy and the kind of middle-class pretense which George Bernard Shaw ridicules so sportively in his plays. At the same time, the honest middle-class people were in danger of finding themselves submerged by the rising tide of populism. Thirty-five years ago in the South politicians began to call upon "the people" to elect them to office. Such rallying cries as "white supremacy" and "white control" became powerful magnets for those classes which had been led by their experiences to think of prestige and power in the South in terms of the ownership and exploitation of Negroes.

In final analysis, the slogan "white supremacy" really means "*poor*-white supremacy," for this term accurately represents the people most concerned in that valorous movement, and the end which they have sought to achieve. Even today there exist few experiences more delightful to the soul of a shoddy white man than to stand at guard with a sawed-off shotgun over a group of Negro convicts working the public highways. At last he has the Negro where he wants him; at last he has the black slaves under his command as the overseers and planters had them in the ante-bellum South. To the white man of any real prestige in the South, "white supremacy" would be taken for granted; the mere statement of the phrase would carry an imputation of insult over which, however, he could never get particularly excited. But not so in the case of the poor whites. From their secluded cabins in the hills they had peered down with satisfaction upon the destruction of the hated aristocrats during the Civil War, in which many of them took no part. From seventeenth and eighteenth-century England their ancestors had brought a hope of ultimate personal freedom, a hatred of Catholicism, and a love of the folk ballad. Every aspect of plantation life scotched their expectations. Driven from the best lands by the expansions of the slave-tilled areas, they languished imprisoned in the hills. If the planters were not Catholics, they at least were predominantly Episcopalians, and therefore not far removed from Catholics in the judgment of the poor white Calvinists. Even the minuets and polkas of the plantation festivals struck unpleasantly upon the ears of people accustomed to the folk tunes and rude stanzas of the communal ballad.

Capitalizing upon the temporary ineptitudes of the sturdy middle class and Bourbon groups, the political demagogues found easy

sailing. They inveighed against the helpless Negroes and the almost non-existent Catholics ; they utilized the Protestant zeal of the hills to develop the faltering temperance movement into a tremendous prohibition fanfare. Supposedly moral grounds offered an excellent basis for the populist revolt throughout most of the southern states.

Neither the broad principles of government nor the national fortunes of the Democratic Party meant a great deal to this new cot rie of politicians. Whoever might be president of the United States, they were infinitely more concerned with who was sheriff, constable, and probate judge in their own counties. Successively behind the  gises of the Populist Party, the Anti-Saloon League, and the revived Ku Klux Klan, they for a time clearly dominated the political life of several of the southern commonwealths. Unfortunately, to outsiders their doctrines appeared to represent the great body of the population below the Potomac. Under their domination some of the southern legislatures passed laws prohibiting freight trains from operating on Sundays, the playing of cards in public places, the sale of anything that "smells like, tastes like, or foams like" intoxicating beverages, and the sale of any drinks whatever in places with swinging doors. For that celebrated corn whiskey which had formerly emanated from Bourbon County, Kentucky, there was substituted a raw alcoholic known as "cawn," which went from hand to hand in untidy fruit jars, and met coarse lips in rattling automobiles on dusty country roads, or in the kitchens of townspeople.

Thus crying for their "rights," the revolting populists for a time elbowed the self-contained middle class from any conspicuous position in the social or political life of many southern areas. Lamentably enough, as I have said, their antics were often regarded as typifying the characteristics of their betters. Hardly a worse injury, however, could be done to the solid middle classes of this region than to confuse them with the poor whites aroused to righteous frenzy by the anti-Catholic bombast, shrieks of "white control," and pseudo-moralistic revivals. Happily, in many sections of the South within recent years the middle class people have begun to regain their feet and to free themselves from the domination of an irresponsible r gime. This reassertion of their integrity is an excellent augury for their future welfare.

VI

IN RETROSPECT it may be seen that two errors have been chiefly responsible for placing a false light upon the significant traits of the middle class and the Bourbons in the civilization of the South.

Embellishment of life, rather than simplicity, has been falsely associated with the Bourbons; and fanaticism, rather than self-sufficiency, has been the supposed characteristic of the middle class. Scrutinized carefully, however, these two groups will be found to hold much in common. What distinguishes them from one another more than anything else is a difference in degree of economic independence. For both share those indigenously southern tendencies toward a self-contained, well-mannered, restrained, leisurely, non-imitative, assured, complacent, and matured way of life.

The typical southerner, Bourbon or middle class, it may be repeated, is more interested in being than in becoming, more concerned with conserving than with acquiring, more determined to remain as he is than to reach some other status which he deems more elevated or desirable than his own. To outsiders, such an attitude may appear non-progressive, reactionary, or backward; but to the southerner it is the only position thoroughly consonant with dignity and self-respect. Whether, in its increasingly close contact with other parts of the United States, the South will lose its special air and flavor is an interesting question for conjecture. But if its provincialism is as strongly marked as both its friends and its adverse critics appear to believe, there is reason to hope that no amount of cross-pollenization and intercommunication will ever make it less baffling to its visitors or less charming to its native population.

A few years ago the executives of a trunk-line railroad were about to extend their tracks through a small town in the lower South, by which they thought to do the place a great favor. But the citizens held a mass-meeting of protest. They declared that the Tombigbee River already gave them sufficient touch with the outside world, and that they desired no railroads. Motoring recently on the outskirts of a southern city on a warm summer day, I saw a gentleman walk with great dignity and aplomb from his front door and seat himself on the front porch in his night-shirt. He thought it would be cooler there; also, he would have a better view of the mountains which ranged across the valley. His self-assurance was such that he impressed one as walking forth with complete propriety and a certain grace in his unconventional garment.

Among my acquaintances there is a lady whom I have seen come out upon her front verandah in three separate costumes during the course of a single morning, for the sole purpose of sitting there quietly in a rocking chair behind a wistaria vine. That she might read, sew, or otherwise profitably employ her time never would occur to her. If one concludes that I must have been sitting unem-

ployed on my own front porch during the same morning, he would be wrong. The fact is I was lying in a hammock. I have been to southern oculists—excellent ones—who have deliberately sat and talked delightfully about politics for two hours, with a testing lens resting over my eyes, and their waiting rooms crowded with patients. And I have heard these same oculists advise restless northern patients to have their work done at home, adding with a sly wink that the northern doctors have so much better instruments.

On the edge of the Alabama black belt there resides a Bourbon grandee who always lies a-bed until noon. If visitors come in the morning, they are shown to his sleeping apartment. On one occasion, when some ladies were calling at eleven o'clock, a servant asked this gentleman whether he did not wish to draw on a pair of trousers and a smoking jacket before their entrance. "Certainly not," he said. "Bring me my teeth. Did anyone ever wear trousers and a smoking jacket in bed?" Without wishing to accumulate these bedroom scenes, I must add that the only time I ever saw Marse Henry Watterson at his Kentucky home in his old age he was clad in a pair of loose trousers, an old-fashioned nightgown, and a pair of slippers. The convention which stipulated the proper dress for a gentleman at noonday meant nothing to Henry Watterson. He cast his own molds of form and grace—and what molds they were! Surely Marse Henry Watterson, there in his study overlooking the tops of sycamore trees and the long stone wall curving about Mansfield, was the most magnificent Bourbon, with his great overhanging brow and remarkable eyes, that ever an enraptured young man has gazed upon in the South.

So long as such illustrations as the foregoing ones are abundant in the South, this region is in no danger of losing caste. For prestige is the result of an ability to indulge spontaneity without fear of censure ; to place intuition above convention ; to feel perfect respect for native patterns ; to live with a simple assurance that is so much a part of nature, so inherent, as to require neither peevish defense nor clamorous assertion. Truly evaluating the wellsprings of the traditional prestige of their land, southerners will discover qualities which make for composure of the human spirit—which should be regarded as a major achievement of civilization—and for as much happiness as might be expected here below. Those natives who possess considerable wealth may be known as Bourbons ; those next in the scale may compose the middle class. But their inheritance of a southern way of life is more effectual in emphasizing what these groups share in common than economic differences could possibly be in separating them from each other.

SOUTHERN TOWNS AND CITIES

BY EDD WINFIELD PARKS

ALMOST FIFTY YEARS ago Lord Bryce wrote that, with a few notable exceptions, American cities differed from each other chiefly in that some were built more with brick than with wood, and others more with wood than with brick. He missed entirely the local traditions and idiosyncrasies and the development of purely local products and specialties that gave character and individuality to European cities. Yet even Bryce's sarcastic distinction would hardly hold good today, when the processes of standardization have tended to make each town more like every other town, until differences in population remain the chief mark of distinction. But in 1880 there were few southern cities, and New Orleans was, significantly, among his exceptions. Even judged by the urban standards of that day, Nashville, Atlanta, Charleston, Richmond, and Memphis were little more than towns; Birmingham, a high vision wallowing in mud; and New Orleans, our one great city.

The reason for this lack of cosmopolitan development in the South is obvious. Before the Civil War, it was neither an industrialistic nor a commercial section. And its people were not only agrarian; they had, in addition, a localism that was largely self-sufficient. The town or city was a useful clearing-house, which disposed of money crops, such as cotton and tobacco, and which supplied, in turn, the luxuries that could not be made or produced. But even then, although in most cases the balance remained constantly on the side of the city, with the farmer and plantation-owner borrowing from year to year on his anticipation of future crops, it was only the financial balance, as measured in dollars, that favored the city. The true center of power, the basis of the entire economic structure, rested on the land and on the people who owned that land. If cotton was not king, in all sections, the power typified by cotton held dominion over the South. The system was almost feudal, for the ownership of land and of slaves carried with it duties and respon-

sibilities to dependents, as well as definite claims upon them. The men living under such a system tried to avoid buying any article that could be made at home, and every plantation was in effect an independent manufacturing unit.

Whatever the defects of this system, the men produced under it had little need for great cities. But southern defeat in 1865 ended abruptly a worn-out, yet human, way of life, and it may be that both victor and vanquished have failed to replace it with a better one. Then, all was confusion. Peace came, but without order. The fields were laid waste; guerilla bands harried many sections; irresponsible Negroes, encouraged by Federal soldiers and accustomed only to obedience, found the heady wine of freedom too much to control. The isolated farm was no longer safe.

The farmer had no choice. In times of stress, men must band closely together, and southern men in large numbers moved to the town or city for safety and security. Between 1865 and 1875, most southern towns doubled in size, although the new residents generally continued to think of themselves as farmers. Yet the type of farming had changed. For a time after the war, when cotton was fifty cents a pound and other produce equally high in price, the planters attempted to resume large-scale production. But taxes were disproportionate, workers irresponsible, and all materials expensive—and prices soon dropped back to a normal level. Once a man could ride over broad fields in the full pride of ownership, and direct a group of workers on a communal project. Now each man wanted his own definite number of acres, to farm as he pleased. From this developed a system of tenant-farming, on the share-crop or money-rent basis, with each tenant farmer and small landowner quite independent. Yet his independence was limited and circumscribed: the self-sufficient farm community was a thing of the past. Now the farmer became dependent on town or city for farm implements, for articles of clothing, and, in many instances, even for food that he could easily have raised on his own land. For the first time in the history of the South, the agrarian community was subsidiary to the urban community.

This transition can be charted with reasonable accuracy. The farmer moved to the small town to escape the dangers of reconstruction, while he rented out his farm to poorer whites or Negroes; more often, he superintended the farm work by day and returned to town at nightfall. The sons of these men knew little of farming, and that little was unpromising. Farms, then as now, often failed to make enough money to pay running expenses, and the migration went on, from farm to town, and from town to city. By 1880,

these younger men had acquired enthusiasm for other things. If money could not be made from raising cotton or tobacco, it could from the manufacture of products from those same staples. The South, men said, must be revived, "not with cotton in the fields, but cotton in the mills." Every town of consequence desired a cotton mill or a manufacturing plant of any variety.

In general, these industries came to established cities, rather than to newly founded towns. New Orleans, Louisville, Richmond, Atlanta, Memphis, and Chattanooga all gained rapidly, both in manufacturing and in population. At first, these new industries were chiefly financed by local men, and progress was heart-breakingly slow. In addition, not one of these cities welcomed industrialism with entirely open arms. A stubborn group of older men and women remembered an earlier and, it may well be, a better way of life, which had little to do with great factories or pushing businesses. But poverty will force most men into line, and—though Walter Hines Page at the turn of the century excoriated as mummies those who held out against new ways—soon the tide was all against tradition.

A few cities grew, almost overnight, out of nothingness. William K. Boyd, in *The Story of Durham*, traces briefly "certain well defined periods in its growth. These are the days of origin, down to 1865, followed by an expansion from a hamlet into a small manufacturing town between 1865 and 1881; then comes the transformation into a small city, a well defined period from 1881 to 1900; and, finally, there is the last quarter century, when industry became more diversified, government more complex, and new social institutions emerged." A less flattering chronicler has suggested that the city has ridden to renown on the shoulders of Bull Durham and Buck Duke. Beyond question, the story of Durham is the story of the tobacco industry, which, like the city, has advanced from infancy to such commanding position that its entrepreneurs can endow great universities.

Even more spectacular—the most striking, though the least representative—was the development of Birmingham. Least representative, because in that city alone was industrialism not at war with an older tradition: Birmingham was not founded until 1871, when the ordinary activities of the South were at a standstill, and it was planned from the beginning to be an industrial city. Men recognized the potential value of Alabama's immense natural resources in coal and iron, but for five years the new city floundered dismally along, until in 1876 Colonel J. W. Sloss proved beyond question that coke iron could be produced in Alabama. Yet vain efforts to

interest northern capital failed time and again (for northern manufacturers refused to believe that iron, and later steel, of good quality could be made from this new bed of raw ore), until the city again seemed fated to remain small.

Then a new element entered into the life of Birmingham and, somewhat more slowly, into the life of the South. Northern capitalism was convinced of bright opportunities. In the 1890's, Andrew Carnegie, his associates, and his competitors bought into the Alabama companies, to give a literal, as well as figurative, truth to Birmingham's proud boast that it was "the Pittsburgh of the South." This was no isolated phenomenon: throughout the South, precisely the same development occurred in many and varied industries.

By 1900, the period of self-development had largely passed, and the era of exploitation had begun. The progress of southern industrialism, as long as it depended upon its own limited capital and resources, was necessarily snail-like. Men demanded more immediate results. Then started the campaign for northern capital, for new factories in every possible line of manufacturing. The chambers of commerce and allied organizations of business men lost no opportunity to paint in alluring colors the glowing advantages of the South, with its moderate climate, its cheap white labor, its abundant raw materials—the prospects were endless. This campaign among the cities culminated in bids that seem incredible—various places offered such concessions as freedom from taxation over a long period of years, free factory sites, and similar financial attractions for which no adequate recompense was ever received.

Whatever the ultimate profits and losses may have been (a subject covered in another article), the tangible result was, more and more, to justify Lord Bryce's statement. The Richmond of 1870 was indubitably a part of Virginia, and Atlanta was definitely an integral part of Georgia. Each was dependent on the state for sustenance. But Richmond and Atlanta were definitely unlike in certain respects—in architecture and in industries, for example. The result of the change sketched above has been to make Atlanta more like Richmond, and also, on a lesser scale, more like New York and Cleveland, but much less like Georgia. It has become, as far as its business is concerned, the representative of New York in the South, and it has striven for, and attained, much of New York's cosmopolitanism. In greater or in less degree, precisely that same development has occurred in every southern city.

The cities of the South have thrived almost unbelievably, but even this remarkable growth, when compared with that of certain other sections of the country, does not seem so great after all. Knox-

ville, in 1920, could advertise itself blatantly on automobile license tags as the 114% city—the growth of a single decade; Birmingham had grown from nothing in 1871 to 175,000 in 1920, and to more than 250,000 in 1930. New Orleans, Louisville, Atlanta, and Memphis all had passed well beyond this same high mark, though only the first, at the turn of the century, had approached it. Bigness, for its own sake, had become a megalomania: at each census the various cities would annex surrounding towns, and make concerted drives for more inhabitants, in order that they might surpass rival cities. Yet Atlanta, though it may seem to us a metropolis, is smaller than Toledo or Columbus, and only a trifle larger than Akron; Birmingham and Memphis cannot equal Jersey City and Newark. Even New Orleans does not begin to compare in size with a dozen cities scattered over other sections of the United States.

There are several reasons for this lack of urban development. The South started late, and this initial handicap has been hard to overcome. The small industries that ante-dated the Civil War were destroyed, and money was lacking to revive or to replace these infant industries. But there were less obvious, and possibly more important, reasons. Although after 1900 the advocates of industrial progress seemed to dominate the cities, there remained an older, more leisurely civilization that set little store by progress, that insistently held out for individual, as opposed to corporate, growth. This attitude has been labelled prejudice, and has been subjected to bitter and fairly effective attack from chambers of commerce and kindred organizations, but it has never been completely uprooted. Men and women prefer to trade where clerks know them by name, and at least seem interested in them as individuals. Chain stores, and any other store that fails to deliver its goods to the purchaser's door, have found difficulty in securing patronage, though they might sell goods a little cheaper than their old-fashioned competitors.

This attitude has carried over into other, less superficial aspects of business. For two generations it made men chary of investing money in factories or intangible stocks and bonds; accustomed to the ownership of tangible land, men could not easily reconcile themselves to paper tokens, however valuable. The sons of gentlemen were educated for the professions, and even today in the South the professional man retains a faint dignity that has been completely denied him elsewhere. Only a change in public opinion could bring about the urban development of the South, and that change was necessarily slow.

It was relatively easy for the commercial Northeast to shift from a mercantile to an industrial economy. But the South had never

been capitalistic, although it had possessed a few shipping centers—New Orleans, Savannah, Charleston, and, partly southern, Baltimore—and it had to build up an entirely new set of values. After 1900 this conversion came rapidly, in part through the propagation of new ideas by such publicists as Walter Hines Page, but primarily and most effectively through the demonstration that financial prosperity could be achieved only through an industrialized society. In 1930 the city seemed dominant and continued to grow apace. This was the tangible symbol of the new South, and bitterly, that year, our cities fought for supremacy when the census counted heads. The results of the last three years will be considered briefly at the end of the article ; in discussion here, it seems better to treat the cities without exact regard to the immediate present, but in a more general time-sense, which may loosely be called “modern.”

II

IN WHAT RESPECT do southern cities differ from those of the North and the West? That, it seems to me, is a question that might reasonably be asked ; it is a question that becomes increasingly difficult to answer. Before attempting such a task, it would be necessary to describe, briefly and pointedly, certain southern cities and to make some differentiation between them. For it is worthy of note that these cities differ radically among themselves, and it is no mean tribute that each name carries with it connotations and traditions that are peculiar to it.

At once the largest and most picturesque city in all the South is New Orleans—which, as Lyle Saxon has discerningly pointed out in *Fabulous New Orleans*, is in reality two cities. There is the old French city—the Vieux Carré—and the newer, “American city.” Here, more clearly than in any other town, can one observe the incessant yet rarely noticeable struggle between progress and tradition. For the two sections pay allegiance to strangely dissimilar gods, and it is with regret that one notices unmistakable signs of predominance of the god of business.

The streets in the old city are narrower ; in the newer section they frequently have a center drive, which is planted with palms or ever-green trees. Canal Street, the business center, is neutral ground ; in “old town,” as it is frequently called, the houses are predominantly French or Spanish, closely joined together, with much graceful iron-work around small balconies, and with inner courtyards. The entire atmosphere is leisurely and cosmopolitan : in part the work of artists and Bohemians who inhabit the Vieux Carré, in part the survival of French and Spanish family life. Here, too, are memories

and realities : of Antoine's, Galatoire's, La Louisianne, and older, not-quite-forgotten restaurants that made of eating and drinking a fine art ; the St. Louis cemetery and cathedral ; the old Ursuline Convent that served also as an archbishop's palace ; the great "duelling oaks," that belong in spirit, if not in location, to the old town—all these, and a score of blocks of houses, a few fine government buildings, are relics of French and Spanish days. Yet, as I write this, newspapers chronicle the doom of the old and famous French Market House—*Halle des Boucheries*. In a few months it will be torn down and replaced with a new and up-to-date building. Fire, also, has taken its toll, in the old Opera House, and, caught between these twin agents of destruction, the Vieux Carré seems fated, some day, to disappear.

Yet the subtle forces of tradition permeate even the new city, with its wide streets and miscellaneous architecture. Men work in leisurely fashion, and go out, each morning and afternoon, for coffee that, according to legend, will help to ward off malaria. And New Orleans bears the imprint of river and of ocean. It is distinctly a Mississippi river town, although commerce on the river has lost its economic importance, and adds, today, only a touch of color and strangeness. But floods are ever-threatening, and men can never forget that the city is often ten feet below the level of the Mississippi, and dependent on levees for its safety. Once, too, the great bend in the river gave to the city a rounded shape and the name of the "Crescent City"—a name without meaning today, save that its principal streets running north and south curve to follow the bend in the river. New Orleans remains a great seaport, a gateway for such southern products as cotton, grain, and lumber, and a center for imports from South America. But there is little manufacturing : New Orleans, as much today as before the Civil War, depends upon the surrounding country for its support. It is a clearing-house for the lower South.

Men have turned the brilliant social life of an older day into a first-rate tourist attraction. Mardi Gras has become an institution, with its Rex, its Mystic Krewe of Comus, Knights of Momus, and Crewe of Proteus. There are balls and street parades, river carnivals, and both organized and impromptu revelry, but the ancient flavor has gone, to a large extent, in the modern effort to entertain visitors. True, business stops while society plays . . . but business reaps in the end, one feels, a two-fold harvest. Yet in this, as in so many other instances, the old and the new are in combat.

Far removed from such conflict is Birmingham, city of the new South. It is the one industrial center between New Orleans and

Atlanta, the center of the iron and coal industry south of Pennsylvania. The buildings are all of a kind : relatively new, with a preponderance of modern skyscrapers dwarfing the more ordinary store-buildings and the semi-classic governmental and institutional structures. Situated on the slope of Red Mountain, it escapes a monotonous regularity chiefly through this natural ruggedness of the terrain. For Birmingham is predominantly a child of the twentieth century, and it has no old traditions that cause men to regret the passing of old landmarks.

In physical location Richmond possesses one likeness to Birmingham : the capital of Virginia was originally built on seven hills, and once it was called the "modern Rome." But the hills, overhanging the James River, are small—and there, abruptly, the resemblance ceases. For Richmond, like New Orleans, is a blend of old and new ; even the principal industry—the preparation of tobacco for use—far antedates the Revolutionary War. Few towns possess more definitely the intangible stamp of historical associations. The public buildings have one quality even rarer than tradition : they have architectural merit. The capitol building was designed by Thomas Jefferson after the model of the ancient Roman temple, the *Maison Carrée*, of Nunes, and the later additional wings have conformed to the same general type. All the public buildings in Richmond have, in fact, conformed to this adapted classical style, and the statuary commemorating notable men of yesteryear adds to this impression of Richmond as a classical American city. Prominent landmarks and historic buildings recall memories of Washington, Jefferson, Marshall, Madison, Lee, and a veritable host of men only slightly less famous. One cannot easily forget such names, or forget that in 1730 Richmond was known as "Byrd's Warehouse," or that once it was the capital of the Confederacy. But Richmond is sorely divided, one group feeling that memories can be bought at too high a price, and striving desperately for business growth ; the other prizing an older way of living that seems inevitably in conflict with modern progress.

"No city should be a museum, kept intact under glass." That statement was hurled at Richmond some years ago ; with even more justice can it be applied to Charleston. Although it has an extremely fine port and is an important commercial city, this phase of its life has been rather largely neglected. All historic places and features have been carefully preserved : the Battery, with its magnificent view of the harbor and of Fort Sumter ; wooded White Point Garden, with its monuments to great men of another day ; the Powder Magazine, the Slave Market, and the old residential houses that recall

days when Pringles and Heywards and Hugers ruled the community. Twelve miles from town are the Magnolia Gardens, perhaps the principal attraction to tourists, and certainly an integral part of the community. Like New Orleans, it possesses one of the few really important social events of the nation, but Charleston has retained for its St. Cecilia's Ball an exclusiveness that commercial prosperity has never tarnished. Here family is all-important, and relatives are counted to the "nth" generation; yet here, too, is a Gallic lightness of manner, and at times a fiery zeal bringing a recollection that Charleston is tempered with a large group of people of French Huguenot descent. That zeal once led the state into nullification and, again, led the South into a war. But today it seems dormant—primarily interested in preserving faded but imperishable glories.

Although Savannah was founded by James Oglethorpe in 1733, it seems to have less of history and somewhat more of humanity, than Charleston. The tang of the marsh is in the air, and the picturesque scenes native to any port town are constantly in view. For Savannah remains undeniably a small town, though an exceedingly busy port, and its air of leisurely dignity seems far more in keeping with Georgia than do the bustling ways of Atlanta.

Perhaps it is not by accident that two of our most prosperous cities have little connection with the agrarian South. Unlike Birmingham, Atlanta did not spring up overnight. Before the Civil War the first name of the village, Marthasville, was changed to Terminus, because increasingly the railroads centered round that town. And Terminus in due time became Atlanta, the central goal of General Sherman, who described it as "the wrist of a hand whose fingers reach the five principal ports of the Gulf and South Atlantic coasts." During the days of reconstruction, Atlanta became capital of the state; since that time, its valuable central location and its easy accessibility have made it, in sober truth, the "New York of the South." For Atlanta also is new, with broad streets and a metropolitan air, and it has become a center of manufacturing as well as of distribution. Rural Georgia has little tangible connection with it, save to supply it with food, and the city quite evidently is not proud of Georgia. All emphasis is thrown on its fine buildings and educational institutions, and, above all, on the fact that Atlanta is the metropolis of the South and, basically, a branch of New York. Although a leisureliness, an old-time courtesy and gentility, pervades the atmosphere, the casual visitor is rarely allowed to forget, in his business contacts, that this way of life is less important than the city's commerce.

Compared with Atlanta, Nashville seems an overgrown small

town, with narrow and out-moded streets, grimy old buildings, and the settled placidity of middle age. This, however, is only a half-picture. Once it was a frontier town, but those days are completely past, and long since forgotten ; today it is "the Athens of the South," boasting of fine educational institutions and of grand old days, yet reaching somewhat reluctantly for new commercial projects. It has Vanderbilt, Peabody, Ward-Belmont, and Fisk : the four extremes in modern education. For Vanderbilt represents the old-line classical college that has branched out into a large university ; Peabody, the modernized institution that believes men can be transformed into teachers if they are taught the correct methods ; Ward-Belmont remains an outstanding boarding school for well-to-do young ladies ; and Fisk is preëminent in the field of cultural education for Negroes. Here are four radically different schools, in a city that rebuilds the Greek Parthenon, and now puts on, through its Chamber of Commerce, a five-year plan to lure new industries from the North. A divided city, that prizes on the one side, Friendly Five shoes—and, on the other, the Hermitage. Like every southern city, it lives on inconsistencies : allows baseball on Sundays, yet forbids movies ; prides itself on culture, but has no decent theatre and is shunned even by road shows ; points with pride to historical tradition while it seeks the very things that, inevitably, must destroy the value and the validity of those traditions.

Memphis, like Atlanta, owes much of its development to the accident of location. It is the trade center for the upper Mississippi Delta and other less famous, but hardly less rich, valleys. Distinctly a river town in pre-Civil War days, Memphis retains a picturesque quality through its location on the bluffs of the Mississippi and the dock and river-boats that give it something of the appearance of a port town. No longer is the river an important commercial adjunct of the city, however ; but railroads have kept it a focal point for trade in the old Southwest. Unlike most cities today, Memphis is directly dependent on the surrounding country, for practically all of its commerce and industry revolve around cotton and hardwood. It is the largest inland market handling actual cotton in the country and the greatest center for the manufacture of cottonseed products. An open city, with wide streets and many handsome buildings, it has remained a type of the old plantation center—and its attempt to rival larger cities in the North and the West received one tangible check quite recently when its newest skyscraper was sold at auction under the bankruptcy law. When the surrounding country is prosperous, Memphis thrives ; when, as at present, the farmer and the planter are poverty-stricken, the city suffers in equal proportion.

There are other cities that might, with equal justice, be sketched in greater detail. The industrial cities of Chattanooga and Knoxville; the pleasant port of Mobile; the resort city of Asheville, and the tobacco town of Durham. But any sketches of this nature must be inconclusive and unsatisfactory. I have omitted, deliberately, the Texas cities, for Dallas and Fort Worth belong to the Southwest; and San Antonio, though a fascinating blend of Spanish, Mexican, southern, western, and military life, seems outside the scope of this discussion. For a similar reason, I have omitted Louisville, though it might well be labelled "southern"—but Louisville seems clearly comparable with St. Louis, and far removed, somehow, from Memphis or New Orleans. With equal arbitrariness I have neglected the tourist cities of Florida. They represent a transplanted East. Some day this culture may bulk large in a study of southern life; at the present moment it is quite negligible. These arbitrary distinctions were unfortunate, but necessary, in any attempt to describe or to analyze the southern city as a type that is representative and that has become, in some instances, a section within the larger section that is the South.

III

YET, WHEN ONE takes a wider view of this group of cities, these distinctions seem less important than certain other elements that lead inevitably to the conclusion that southern cities have much in common. And the elements of kinship, not the differentiations, give to all, in varying degree, a certain character that may be called "southern" and that separates these cities quite distinctly from cities in other sections.

Most important is the amazing homogeneity of the people. Without undue exaggeration, Konrad Bercovici could write a book that dealt with many close-knit tribes of men, and title it *Around the World in New York*. But foreign colonies of people as yet unassimilated boil down, in the South, to one race: the Negro. (It may be well here to qualify slightly this generalization; there exist, of course, a few colonies, such as the Spanish Ybor City in Tampa, the Greek settlement at Tarpon Springs, the Portuguese settlements along the Gulf Coast, and similar small but unassimilated groups. These colonies are too unimportant to influence any considerable portion of southern life.) And the Negro, though an integral part of the community life, does live, and apparently is destined for many years to live, in sections that are exclusively his own. The Negro has churches, schools, newspapers, of his own; to some extent, he has business houses that have strict regard for the color

line. Undoubtedly this is imposed upon him—quite often unfairly—by the white race; but the essential point here is that the Negro represents the one alien group of considerable size and influence in the South.

Only the Negro, however, constitutes a separate communal group within the larger community. The South remains predominantly Anglo-Saxon. This was not entirely through intention: for many years, after 1865, the various states made strenuous efforts to attract immigrants. Virginia sent recruiting agents to Great Britain and Germany; a Southern Immigration Society, organized in 1883, attempted to secure immigrants from European countries. Even Chinese coolie labor was tried, but soon abandoned. Perhaps the most outspoken advocate of this movement was Henry Grady, who desired for Georgia one hundred thousand immigrants—and seventy-five thousand of these men he would place in the factories. But immigrant wage-earners continued to prefer the North, and the movement failed completely. Today such movements work more indirectly, in the attempt to lure industries to this section; and it is not by accident that Birmingham, most industrialistic of our cities, has by far the largest number of foreign-born residents.

The inevitable result is that we continue to value, as no city save Boston or San Francisco does value, tradition and family. The power of wealth is rarely disregarded for long, even in Charleston, but each city has an aristocratic, though often poverty-stricken, set of old gentlemen and ladies who refuse flatly to countenance certain people. And men have been known, within the past five years, to build great sporting clubs, primarily for the purpose of showing these dowager duchesses that, whatever the South may think, the world has moved forward, and does regard great wealth with proper awe. Yet in the slow but inevitable course of time these sturdy exponents of aristocracy also seemed doomed; the entire course of life is set against them. They continue to exert, in some instances, a powerful influence; they add color and distinctiveness to a social life that is rapidly aping New York in flat monotony—even to the smart society columns in newspapers—but they are a remnant that soon will pass.

Included in this remnant is the one foreign element that has given something of tone and color to New Orleans and Charleston. In a sense, it is a mistake to think of the French in Charleston, or the French and Spanish in New Orleans, as foreign. They have been a part of these communities for always, relatively; they are quite unmistakably part of the grand tradition. Possibly for that reason these cities retain an element of light-heartedness that other cities

lack. Somehow (perhaps through the influence of our Biblical defense of slavery) we came to adopt the American tradition of "work while you work, and play while you play." This adage and others like it have led the southerner to feel ashamed of leisureliness—the trait most often assigned to us by outsiders—and to feel that haste is a necessary part of life. The man of business in New Orleans must have a leisurely cup of coffee; in Nashville or Atlanta, his cousin will gulp a coca-cola. The noon meal has become lunch, and must be eaten hurriedly, often at drugstores.

This change in superficial matters has carried over into larger and graver affairs. On Sunday a man must attend church or go to some opposite extreme, such as playing golf or getting drunk. No longer can there be a middle ground that affords ease and pleasure. We must work or play; attend church or dissipate; but rarely, now, do we consider that conversation is an art, and drinking only a nectar that adds sparkle to casual talk. Yet even in this respect, the South, I believe, has gone less rapidly than the nation. We have tried valiantly to be swift, but we are not swift enough. The force of family ties does much to hold back this breakdown of leisurely living. Father and mother may go to church, while son and daughter play golf—but many families continue to regard the Sunday dinner as a delightful obligation when all the members must be present. This is a momentary check, I fear, and one rapidly disappearing, but one may be grateful even for delay.

For the cities have become swift and pushing; they have long since abandoned leisure as an ideal, and would have abandoned it in practice save for the incurable habits of an outmoded generation. These men have left an indefinable stamp; they have remained unregenerate. But one gets back, sooner or later, to the reason for this attitude: that they are not by nature cosmopolitan creatures; they were part of an agrarian tradition, of a tradition that valued local sections and local affairs, and they have given to each southern city a remarkable individuality.

It is natural and inevitable that each city in the country should have local traits and idiosyncrasies. Less natural is the fact that the city should be governed and given character by the country immediately surrounding it. This seems to me the one important factor that differentiates southern cities. With the single exception of Birmingham, they belong to the general sectional environment, and could not be transposed without being uprooted. This statement would be equally true of any old-line city: of Boston or Philadelphia, or the semi-southern Indianapolis. But Akron or Chicago might easily be in Michigan, and Detroit in Ohio or Illinois.

The industrial city is a unit within itself. But the southern community has not yet been industrialized, and it retains the coloring of the surrounding section.

IV

FOR MANY YEARS, the growth of the city seemed the death-knell for the small town. Once a local craftsman made wagons for the surrounding farmers; a shoemaker made shoes; a miller ground the wheat. Gradually these, and many additional industries became standardized, until the local craftsman has practically disappeared. In the same interval, the city began to supply its inhabitants with electric lights, running water, sewerage disposal, and similar conveniences that made the small town appear, in contrast, glaringly backward and unprogressive. Today the processes of standardization have, strangely, made the town as modern as the city, for even the smallest places can have moving pictures, electric lights, radios, and filling stations. Usually, in farming sections, a single blacksmith shop remains, but it is dwarfed into insignificance by garages that repair farm tractors as well as automobiles. No longer is the small-town boy or girl subject to taunts on account of "country" clothes or manners. The town is no longer isolated. But this lack of isolation has resulted to economic disadvantage; men and women find it too easy to drive to the nearest city to shop, while they neglect the local stores. Boys continue to go to larger communities, because there is little chance for work at home.

Economically, the village has suffered, because it is directly dependent on the farmer. But it has suffered less than the city, because the floating population and, to a large extent, the laborers completely dependent on their salary checks, do not exist among them. Wealth may exist with less frequency than in the city, but poverty also is rarer.

The traveler in the South has a distinct impression that our cities are, in many respects, overgrown small towns, and this, as I have tried to show, is often a virtue rather than a defect. But the town has, in turn, aped the city, usually with disastrous results.

The ideal picture is one of wide and shady streets, with old houses in colonial style, of wood painted white, or of aged red brick with decorous white pillars and facade. Somehow the business district remains a little obscured, except in that city peculiar to the South, the county seat. In these towns the county courthouse, a rectangular two-storied red brick building, with a monument to the Confederate dead occupying a clear space in front, gives a dignity to the small stores that surround it on every side. Here, too, is a park with green

trees and grass, and inviting white benches on which old men sit and chew tobacco and spin long yarns of delightful yesterdays.

Too often this picture is ideal rather than real. The courthouse yard is likely to be littered with trash, the store windows to be dirty, and the goods displayed to be shoddy and ill-arranged. Too often the buildings in the business district are flat and tasteless, with a fourth of them derelict and deserted: the toll taken by concrete roads that lead with increasing swiftness and directness to better-stocked places in some neighboring city. And the townspeople tend, like the city folk, to huddle together on fifty-foot lots, in small white bungalows, or in garish little stucco and ornamental brick dwellings. By an adaptation of the classic style, architecture in the old South evolved a large house of great dignity and beauty, but so far the small one-story or story-and-a-half dwelling has, it would seem, defied successfully all efforts to give it charm and individuality. Yet most of these houses are screened by vines, and they present, except in winter, a not unattractive front.

Perhaps the most notable physical characteristic that differentiates these southern towns from those of any other section is the presence of the Negro. Each town has its Negro section, usually given such expressive names as "Black Bottom" or "Nigger Hill." These titles might imply that the Negro is badly treated, but this most certainly is far from true. He is segregated, socially, but in all other respects he is a normal and, generally, a happy part of the community, with his own school and churches. For the small-town Negro, also, is not philosophical, and he remains unworried over subtle distinctions of race equality or of right and wrong. Enough for him that he is treated as a human being, with a consideration and courtesy that is rarely bestowed, in larger centers, upon the poorer class of immigrants.

There is another type of southern town, which has exact counterparts in many other sections of the country. Although relatively few in number, these purely industrial small towns of the South have received far more attention than any other type. Little of good can be said for our Gastonias and Scottsboros and Old Hickorys, where men exist rather than live, where row after row of drab and practically uniform houses stretch into a monstrous eyesore, where even existence depends upon the whistle of the factory, and where, until recently, men labored for ten or twelve hours a day for meager wages, and returned home each night too exhausted to value the few moments of leisure allowed them. Under a new régime such towns may soon disappear; at present, they exist, and cannot, unfortunately, be forgotten.

The manner of living in the small town is less attractive than in more urban communities, but the way of life is simpler and, in many ways, more pleasant. Here leisureliness and neighborliness are vital and real. No man is too busy to stop and chat, to loaf in the drug-store or courthouse yard. Such talk deals in the main with tangible facts, with weather or crops or business conditions or sport. Gossip and discussion rarely aspire to the philosophical, though men at times are wiser than they intend to be. But at least the human relationship has never become mechanical.

In a novel that attacks the village, Sinclair Lewis describes a funeral where the corpse is taken to the grave in a wagon, attended only by a solitary mourner. The first part of that description might be true of a southern small town, and it need reflect no discredit on either family or community. But no family, however poor, would be thus neglected. Men and women would come to visit the sick, and to "sit up" with the dead body, until a decent burial had occurred. Sickness and death bring out the finest elements of small town people, for almost invariably they are kind and considerate.

The women have even greater leisure, and even greater preoccupation with small things. They are, in general, kindly to a fault, but they are concerned always with the affairs of other people. Gossip is ever among us, at the bridge table and the missionary society, and the person who strays in any manner from the conventional path is certain to furnish a topic of conversation—often condemnatory—to every inhabitant. Yet this gossip springs more often from curiosity than from malice. Recent novelists have tended to see too large the viciousness and meanness and lack of breadth of the small town, and too little its tolerant humanity. They have been impressed with the size of events, and have forgotten that the Fourth of July celebration, with its greased pig and amateur baseball game between two neighboring towns, is as important as the world series.

Unconsciously, our townspeople have made this distinction. Rarely are they troubled with great events. Life flows on quietly, yet not, for the most part, monotonously. The cares and concerns of little things, and above all of people, occupy the time of most of them. They have time to stand and stare, or to sit and chat. In a word, the life of the southern town is serene.

V

THREE YEARS of depression have served to emphasize the close resemblance, the essential kinship, between the city and the town. Hard times have sobered, at least temporarily, our city folk. No

longer do bulletins put forth proudly the population, wealth, industry, and, above all, the desirability of each city. Closed factories and shops, breadlines and threat of revolution, have caused instead some discussion of a "back-to-the-farm" movement that would deplete the urban community of its idle population. But this seems to be a temporary truce.

For complex forces are at work, and the cities are busily attempting to take full advantage of them. As I attempt a final revision of this article, late in the autumn of 1933, I can find relatively few certainties, either of fact or of prediction. The cities, long quiescent under the specter of depression, have begun to stir themselves and to put on new drives for outside industries of any nature. The insignias of the NRA, with its blue eagle, grace every factory and store, and men have begun to speak with optimism of the new day. But even the casual observer has noticed that in this period of depression the industrialistic cities, like Birmingham, have suffered most; they have lacked the greater reserve of the surrounding section to fall back upon.

And the NRA threatens to change the way of city life. Men who have rarely known leisure, save when penniless and jobless, have suddenly been thrown for hours each day upon their own resources. Although the city has not lagged in its new effort to secure, from any source and without regard to local need, any new business, the leaders in our cities have been remarkably negligent about planning ways and means to make the cities more attractive to this unprepared leisure class. Quite conceivably, this minor social revolution may result in a more beautiful and more pleasant community, with well-kept houses and lawns, and with men who are more contented than ever urban dwellers have been previously; more probably, it seems to promise only that men will scurry aimlessly hither and thither, in search of pleasant and effortless ways to kill time. Whether the city will provide suitable means of recreation, and a type of education that will help adults to enjoy leisure, is an unknown and doubtful question. At the moment, all men seem bewildered, and they neglect this greater problem for the more immediate one that deals solely with profits and dollars.

In the background, also, is the shadowy yet dominating skeleton of the Tennessee Valley Authority. What it may do, no man can predict . . . and it has, as yet, done nothing. Conceivably, once more, it may change the entire alignment of our cities, in more drastic fashion than did the Civil War, until small Florence will overshadow Birmingham; but this seems unlikely. Once again it is probable that new industries will come chiefly to the existing large

cities, that it will entrench and make more powerful such places as Knoxville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, and Birmingham. Meanwhile, newspaper editors predict, somewhat alarmingly, that we shall become "the Ruhr of America." They envision the South as a gigantic industrial factory in a time when our relatively small cities will rival and surpass the Detroits and Pittsburghs of other sections. More sober-minded folk hope to see a sane and well-regulated development, which will adapt itself primarily to local needs, which will give the vanishing small town a new means of sustenance without destroying its leisureliness or its integral dependence upon its own surroundings, and which will build toward the small local industries that supply basic and essentially local markets.

Whatever the result may be, the TVA has rendered it completely impossible to judge with any accuracy what our southern towns and cities, in the next ten years, may become. Only one generalization remains true. In no remote yesterday these communities were an integral part of this section, but the tendency of the past thirty years has been to make of the city a new section, with interests that were often inimical to the surrounding country. And the cities have been scenes of peaceful, though at times bitter, conflict between the forces of tradition and of progress. There is no reason to suppose that harmony will come. Every possible forecast implies that the continued growth of the city, with a concomitant advance of industrialism, will tend to standardize our cities, and make them more completely like all other American cities. But at present they remain a group apart, small and uncertain of their destiny, but stamped with the atmosphere of an old South that gives to each, in varying degrees, a character and individuality all its own.

FOLK-SONGS OF THE SOUTHERN WHITES

BY ARTHUR PALMER HUDSON

REGARDING SO SUBJECTIVE and personal a matter as the estimate of a people's culture, the testimony of a disinterested (but sympathetic) and intelligent foreigner is likely to be most objective. "The reason," says Cecil J. Sharp, the English folk-song specialist, "why these mountain people, albeit unlettered, have acquired so many of the essentials of culture is partly to be attributed to the large amount of leisure they enjoy, without which, of course, no cultural development is possible, but chiefly to the fact that they have one and all entered at birth into the full enjoyment of their racial heritage. Their language, wisdom, manners, and the many graces of life that are theirs, are merely racial attributes which have been gradually acquired and accumulated in past centuries and handed down generation by generation, each generation adding its quatum to that which it received. . . . I found myself for the first time in my life in a community in which singing was as common and almost as universal a practice as speaking. . . . In an ideal state of society each child in his earliest years would as a matter of course develop this inborn capacity and learn to sing the songs of his forefathers in the same natural and unselfconscious way in which he now learns his mother tongue and the elementary literature of the nation to which he belongs. . . . And it was exactly this ideal state of things that I found existing in the mountain communities."

Sharp wrote these words in 1918. He based his observations on fifty-two weeks' residence and travel in the mountain country, chiefly in Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. The printed result of his labors and those of Mrs. Olive Dame Campbell, who acted as his *liaison* officer and co-editor, was a volume containing the variant texts and tunes of 122 ballads and songs—a volume still, in many ways, the best of the many that have been published.

The special attention early directed to the southern mountain peo-

ple by such song collections, by folk-lore studies, and by the great stream of regional fiction that has flowed about them (in some cases drowning reality), has tended to obscure a large and important fact. That is the essential homogeneity of the people of the South as a whole. As between widely separated sections of the population, traits of similarity overwhelmingly outnumber traits of dissimilarity. In no element of the culture of southern people is this truer than in their folk-songs. It is a fact, no doubt, that in the mountains singing is more common and universal than in any other area of equal geographic size. But Sharp could have gone to many a neighborhood in middle Tennessee, or western Kentucky, or Mississippi, where singing occupied in 1918 as important a part in the lives of the country people as it did in the mountains. He cites one mountain woman from Hot Springs, North Carolina, who was able to sing to him sixty-four ballads and songs. Several years ago I read a manuscript collection of over one hundred traditional songs, every one of which was actually sung by an old lady in central Kentucky to her daughter. From an old lady in north Mississippi I got over fifty songs. In one evening I heard a woman who lives within twenty miles of Chapel Hill and within ten of Raleigh, in the eastern edge of the piedmont, sing a dozen. She said she knew scores more that she had never seen in a printed book.

Not only was the singing habit a widely and perhaps equally diffused one in the South as a whole; the songs sung over the South are much the same, irrespective of locality. For example, of the 122 songs included in Campbell and Sharp's collection, I have found versions or variants of over ninety in Mississippi, which is far from the mountains, and lacks even high hills as perches for the moonshiner and the ballad-singer. There are perhaps not twenty songs in this collection that I would not undertake to find in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, or Arkansas. Anyone who thumbs through the various state and regional collections published before and after Campbell and Sharp's—Perrow's, Cox's, Shearin and Combs's, Combs's, Richardson's, Bartholomew and Wetmore's, Wyman and Brockway's, Hudson's, and the like—is struck by the approximate identity or close similarity of the songs contained in them.

Another myth created by the special emphasis of the early song collections is the general notion that because these first gleanings were from illiterate people the ballads are the exclusive possession of the ignorant and the obscure. It is true, as Thomas Hardy remarks in *The Return of the Native*, that a traditional pastime is to be distinguished from a mere revival by the unweeding manner of

its performance, and, judged by such a test, the ballads in the South ring truest among the illiterate and ignorant. But, just as in England during the polished and sophisticated ages of Dryden and Pope many educated and literary Englishmen like Selden, Pepys, and Addison had a hankering for old ballads, so in the South such men as John Randolph of Virginia and Sidney Lanier knew them from the lips of their people and cherished them. Ballad-singers are not confined to one class. A Virginia collector writes: "An old lady whose home was once one of the famous houses along the James River sang me the fragments of a ballad her grandmother had sung to her. Another whose ancestors fought with the Stuarts repeated . . . three verses of 'Mary Hamilton.'" Of thirty-four ballad-singers from Campbell County, Virginia, listed by another collector in Davis's *Virginia Traditional Ballads*, only three are described as illiterate. Of the others, one is described as the widow of a general, one as the wife of a judge, one as a bank stenographer, and two are identified as teachers. Representative of ballad associations of many other old families in another southern state is this sentence in a head-note to "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet," in Reed Smith's *South Carolina Ballads*: "The ballad as I have written it off has been sung for at least a century in the Simons family of Charleston." In Mississippi my text of "The Mermaid" was sung in the parlor of a house that had entertained James K. Polk while he was visiting his Mississippi lands and friends. "Sir Hugh" was sung by an old lady who could trace a distinguished ancestry from the old Natchez district back to Virginia and England. Such evidence might be multiplied indefinitely to show that educated and socially prominent southerners, as well as members of the less favored classes, knew and loved the old ballads.

The reason is not far to seek. It is of deep cultural significance. The ballads and songs of the southern people are a racial heritage. For the most part, they are something remembered—and remembered by all classes—from the British and Irish background of a population that, according to United States Census Bureau estimates made in 1909, was of over ninety per cent British and Irish descent. They were remembered and integrated with life in America in much the same way that the language, the common law, the religion, the manners, and the customs of the race were remembered and integrated.

But between the folk-songs and the other cultural legacies mentioned there is an important difference in the manner of receiving them. Whereas the other legacies have depended for their perpetuation very largely upon print and formal education, the folk-songs

have been handed down by word of mouth. The folk-song, as it is conceived today, is of no known authorship, or of an authorship that has been forgotten, has been transmitted orally for a respectable period of time, and exists in numerous variants. In a sense "America," "Sewanee River," and "Dixie" are folk-songs, for they have been taken to the hearts of the people; but their authors are known, their authoritative texts are easily accessible, they have been printed thousands of times, and people are more or less formally taught to sing them. Not so the songs that constitute the subject of this chapter. The authorship of the vast majority of them is unknown and undiscoverable; many of them have scores of variant texts or versions, one of which is just as authoritative as another; and they have been perpetuated almost entirely by word of mouth, some of them for hundreds of years. They are a part of the racial memory.

ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH POPULAR BALLADS

THERE ARE, to begin with, the English and Scottish traditional ballads. Francis J. Child's great *corpus*, a sort of canon of the popular ballad today, contains 305, in hundreds of versions. Of these 305 about 100 have been found in America. Of these 100, according to Reed Smith's count in 1928, modified by recent publications, about 70 have been found in the South: 54 separate ballads in Virginia, 42 in North Carolina, 39 in West Virginia, 27 in Mississippi, 24 in Kentucky, 13 in South Carolina, 10 in Texas, 9 in Georgia, 8 in Tennessee. Disparities in the numbers given and the absence of some southern states from the list do not necessarily mean much; both are probably due to differences in the scholarly interest taken in ballad hunting and recording. Nor is it to be assumed from the figures that other sections of the country have few or no ballads. Barry, Eckstorm, and Smythe found over fifty in Maine; many have been found in the Middle West. But there is little doubt that in the South as a whole they have been diffused more widely and thickly than in any other major section.

These ancient old world ballads, many tracing back to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain, some telling stories that go back to the days of Chaucer, treat a number of themes throbbing with the life of bygone centuries, and are associated in the South with much that is closest to the hearts of the people.

"Sir Hugh, or The Jew's Daughter," a legendary ballad telling of the little schoolboy who was lured into a garden by wicked Jews, and cruelly slain and thrown "into a deep dark well, 'Tis forty fathoms deep," was sung nearly ninety years ago by a Mississippi plantation mother to her daughter, the "bloody part" being left

out in consideration of the child's tender sensibilities. That same little girl remembered, and now as a nonagenarian can sing, of the grief of Lady Annie, for love of whom George Collins died, and she pronounces the word "coif" in the good old way of her eighteenth-century English ancestors :

Lady Annie she sat at her window,
Plying her needle and coif;
She said, "There comes the prettiest corpse
That ever I saw in my life."

A ballad hunt in Virginia led along a logging road to a shanty where a cracked and quavering voice sang "The Devil an' Nine Questions," an ancient story of a clever girl who solved riddles and shamed the devil. The faith of old days returns to North Carolina cabins in "The Cherry Tree Carol," when the unborn Christ Child reproves suspicious Joseph and bids the cherry tree bow its red fruit to the Virgin Mother.

From Virginia to Texas, in cabin and parlor, these ballads of the dying and the dead are sung: "Lord Randall," whose hero's sweetheart fed him "eels fried in butter," or a "cup of cold pizen," or a "portion of poison," or what-ye-will, but who was "sick of the heart" just the same, left his sweetheart "a rope for to hang her on," and "freely lay down"; "Edward," whose hero approaches his mother with blood stains on coat and sword, says that it is the blood of "the old gray mare," then of his "fine gilligohound," and at last confesses that it is the blood of his brother, slain in a quarrel "About a holly bush that might have been a tree," makes his will, and says that having put his foot in a bottomless boat he will come back "When the sun goes down on yonders high hill, Which you know that never shall be"; "The Three Ravens," which started out in the old world telling a tender story of a lady's devotion to her "knight slain under his shield," was cynically parodied, and finally wound up in the South as a grisly dialog between old crows about breakfast on "an old gray horse just lately slain."

The stories told in a large group of these ballads are motivated by family troubles—jealousy between brothers or sisters, treachery or infidelity of mates in wedlock, cruelty of a stepmother, resentment of some member of a family against another who has neglected a family custom, rivalry between lovers of the same person, and the like. "Earl Brand (The Seven Brothers, The Seven Sleepers)" is the tragic story of an elopement. Earl Brand (or Sweet William) comes, in some versions boldly, in others clandestinely, to the home of his sweetheart and carries her away. The father and the seven

brothers pursue and overtake the elopers. In the ensuing fight the father and the brothers are slain, and the lover receives a death wound (in some versions, dimly remembered, because his sweetheart, forgetting his caution, "dead-names" him). In "The Cruel Brother" a bride, telling her family good-bye from her saddle, is slain by a brother because she had neglected to obtain his consent to her marriage. "The Two Sisters," the famous "Mill Dams of Binnorie" ballad, tells of a jealous girl who pushes her younger sister into the mill-stream because little sister has been favored by a lover. Floating down to the mill-dam, the drowned girl's body is recovered by a miller. In the older versions the miller works strange magic upon the various parts of the body, turning them into musical instruments which play weird music, as in Grimm's "The Singing Bones," denouncing the murderess. But most of the American versions have forgotten the magic; they know only that the miller was hanged and the cruel sister buried close by. This primitively tragic story has, in the South, been turned into a children's game:

Two little sisters walking by the stream,
 Sing ay dum, sing ay day.
 Two little sisters walking by the stream,
 Boys all bound for me.
 Two little sisters walking by the stream,
 The oldest pushed the youngest in.
 I'll be true to my true-love
 Because he's true to me.

The motive of "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet" is as ancient as the institution of matrimony. It is the social ill against which Tennyson inveighs in "Locksley Hall"—a parental attempt to order a match on prudential rather than humane or romantic considerations. As the "brown girl," heiress of "houses and land," walks into the hall on Lord Thomas' arm, the rejected Annet (Ellender) makes an innocent remark about the bride's complexion. The spiteful "brown girl" stabs Annet (Ellender) with her "little pen-knife." Lord Thomas

He took the brown girl by the hand,
 He led her through the hall,
 And with his sword cut off her head
 And stove it agin the wall.

He turned the handle toward the wall,
 The point toward him he prest.

“Here’s the end of three true lovers.

Lord take them home to rest.

“Go dig my grave,” Lord Thomas said;

“Dig it both deep and wide,

And bury fair Ellender in my arms

And the brown girl at my side.”

The beautiful old ballad “Lord Lovel” is the tragedy of the wife who waits in vain for the return of her husband from “a far journey, Some strange country for to see,” and is united with him at last in the grave and in the intertwining red rose and the brier. In “The Lass of Loch Royal” a girl, about to become a mother, goes to her lover’s home as her time draws nigh and is sent away to death by the man’s mother, who says he has gone to some far-off land:

Oh, who will shoe his pretty little feet,

And who will glove his hand

And who will kiss his rosy red lips

If he’s in that far-off land?

The mysterious ways of men with maids and the more mysterious ways of maids with men are the subjects of other love ballads uncomplicated by domestic issues. “The Bailiff’s Daughter of Islington” tells how the bailiff’s daughter rejected the love of “an esquire’s son”; how the latter’s friends, to save him from such humiliation, sent him to London, “An apprentice for to bind”; how the lady, after seven years, changed heart, disguised herself as a beggar, and set out for London, “Her true love to require”; how she met him on the road and tested his love by reporting that the bailiff’s daughter had died; and how, as a reward for his manifest fidelity, she revealed herself, and they were happily married. “Barbara Allen’s Cruelty” is known to practically every ballad-singer. Its old world theme of dying for love apparently has nothing strange about it; but a few southern ballad-singers are fond of a stanza, said to be wanting in the English and Scottish versions, which seeks to absolve Sweet William (or Sir John Graeme) of Barbara’s charge of unchivalrous treatment:

“Oh, don’t you remember the other night,

When at the tavern drinking,

You passed your health to the ladies all around

And slighted Barbara Allen?”

“Oh, yes, I remember the other night,
 When at the tavern drinking,
 I passed my health to the ladies all around
 And respected Barbara Allen.”

“The Maid Freed from the Gallows (The Hangman’s Tree)” gives the fifth act of a story the antecedent action of which is to be found only in foreign analogues. In the American survivals of the English ballad a girl, facing execution for an unexplained crime, and seeing her father coming toward her, stays the hangman’s hand. “Have you come to buy me free?” she asks the father, “Or have you come to see me hung upon the hangman’s tree?” He mournfully admits the latter. The same request to the judge or hangman, the same question to succeeding members of the family (to the *n*th degree if desirable), and the same reply, constitute the substance of succeeding triads of stanzas, all ending in disappointment to the maid. At last the lover appears, replies that he has gold to ransom her, and presumably puts up the cash. This ballad plays a heavy hand in the scholarly game of speculation about ballad origins; it could obviously have been made by a communal throng. In Mississippi the wife of a college professor says that as a child, the daughter of a Methodist preacher, she assisted many times in dramatizing the old ballad in various Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi neighborhoods, where it was well known. Other romantic love ballads are “The Gypsy Laddy”—a wife eschews the silken garments and featherbeds of her lawful spouse for rags and a bed of straw with Gypsy Davy; “The Brown Girl”—a man, rejected by his sweetheart, affably offers to dance on her grave, when, sick with belated love for him, she sends for him to cure her; “Young Beichan (The Turkish Lady)” —a young Englishman, captured and imprisoned by the Turks, plights his troth to the jailer’s daughter who releases him, and, later, sitting down to his wedding supper in merry England, addresses these words to his bride and father-in-law in favor of the suddenly arrived Turkish Lady:

Saying, “Farewell, my pretty Polly,
 Since my dear Susan crossed the sea.

“Sir, this day I married your daughter,
 And she is none worse by me.
 She came here on a horse and saddle;
 She may go away on a coach and three.”

In the South the need for the last rhyme is not always enough to

support the strange "coach and three" against the more sensible "coach and train."

Of the ballads treating the supernatural a few examples may be cited. Best known is "Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight (Pretty Polly, Seven King's Daughters)." A knight persuades a maid to take two of her father's horses, some of his gold, and a part of her mother's fee, and elope with him. When they reach the sea, the thrifty knight bids the maid disrobe, to save her finery, telling her he has already drowned six king's daughters and the seventh she shall be. She apparently has no objections to drowning. But while the knight, in deference to her quite natural modesty ("It don't become a rebel like you To look on a naked lady"), turns "to view the leaves on the tree," the lady makes a flying tackle, spills him into the sea, and drowns him. Returning home just at daybreak, like a modern flapper, she bribes her parrot to hold his tongue about her wild ride, and tells her father and mother, the old king and queen, a likely story. In American versions, the other-world character of the knight tends to fade out. The supernatural is well preserved, however, in "Fair Margaret and Sweet William," in which the ghost of the rejected Margaret stands at William's "bed feet"; in "The Wife of Usher's Well (Three Little Babes)," in which three sons swept away by a plague or drowned at sea return at Christmas time to sleep in the back room under the golden spread, only to depart at cock-crow for the other world, complaining that their mother's tears have wet their winding-sheets; and in "The Demon Lover (The House Carpenter)," in which a long-absent lover returns to claim the love of a woman now married, persuades her to go away to sea with him, leaving the father to mind the baby, points out to her homesick gaze the hills of heaven where she will never go and the hills of hell whither they are both bound, and sinks her, ship and all, in the sea.

A few traditional ballads of the sea have survived in the South. "The Golden Vanity (Blessed Trinity, Lowlands Low)" goes back, perhaps to "Sir Walter Raleigh sailing in the lowlands low." It tells of a little cabin boy who for a promised reward of gold and the captain's daughter, "with a little insterment jest fitten fer the use," bored holes in an enemy vessel ("the Turkish *Golden Willow Tree*," "Turkey *Trixatee*," "Boat-o-Robberree"), claimed his reward, was double crossed, but chivalrously spared his own ship "for the love I had for your own men," and "turned upon his breast and down went he, But O the lowlands lies so low." In "The Mermaid," soon after the captain has spied a mermaid, the ship goes down with the captain, the mate, the cabin boy, all hands, and the cook, all

bewailing wives or sweethearts left in London or in Salem town.

High-spirited as most of the ballads are, and unconsciously humorous as some strike us, a few are intentionally and uproariously comic. Such is the medieval tale, told in "The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin (The Old Man Who Lived in the West)," of a husband who avoided retaliation from his shrewish wife's kinsmen by whipping her in his "own wether's skin"; the ribald "Our Goodman (Parson Jones)," which contains the scornful explanations given by an unfaithful wife, caught *in flagrante delicto*, to her wittol husband; the brisk "Get 'Up and Bar the Door," which starts with a quarrel about who shall shut the kitchen-door, turns into a silence contest between husband and wife with shutting the door as penalty for the loser, and comes to a climax when ruffians enter the kitchen, eat the old man's pudding brew, drink his ale, and kiss his wife; and "The Grey Cock," a North Carolina sole traditional survival of the pagan *aube*, which tells how two illicit lovers set cock-crow as the signal terminating their amours.

But him a-being young, he crowed very soon,
He crowed two long hours before day;
And she sent her love away, for she thought
'twas almost day,
And 'twas all by the light of the moon.

A few ballads illustrating other theme types have survived in the South, e. g., "Johnie Cock" and three Robin Hood ballads of outlaws and greenwood life, in Virginia; "The Hunting of the Cheviot," famous old chronicle ballad, also in Virginia; but the pieces mentioned in some detail are fairly representative of the seventy traditional English and Scottish ballads sung below the Potomac.

A rich and noble heritage from the old world are these ancient ballads. They are a living tie with scenes and manners and people and ages otherwise long gone out of mind. What echoes of "old, unhappy things," of "natural sorrow, loss or pain," of ancient humors and antique splendors they sound in the thoughtful modern mind! Of their ethical significance Sidney Lanier has eloquently said: "I know that he who walks in the way that these ballads point will be manful in necessary fight, fair in trade, loyal in love, generous to the poor, tender in the household, prudent in living, plain in speech, merry upon occasion, simple in behavior, and honest in all things." Of the artistic value of their tunes the English musician Sharp writes: "It is my sober belief that if a young composer were to master the contents of this book, study and assimilate each tune with its variants, he would acquire just the kind of education that

he needs, and one far better suited to his requirements than he would obtain from the ordinary Conservatoire or College of Music." Whether consciously or unconsciously following Mr. Sharp's advice, a recent winner of the Pulitzer prize in music, a native of a singing North Carolina community, did something of this sort.

He who reads the various southern collections of these ballads is impressed by the fact that the singers have made them their own. The variations in wording, in ideas, in sentiments, and in the conditions of life reflected show that the people who preserved them loved them well enough and lived with them intimately enough to make them fit into the scheme of life that transplanted Europeans in part found and in part have made in America. Elaborating a remark made by the late C. Alphonso Smith, A. K. Davis declares, without exaggeration, I think: "The English and Scottish ballads are as American as anything of tradition can be. By long adoption, by adaptation, sometimes by almost complete re-creation, we have made them as truly American as anything old that is not Red Indian." The people of the South, as Americans, had and still have need of many things in the rich imaginative inheritance from the old world. It is characteristic of them that in their scheme of life they have found something satisfying in the knightly splendors and the feudal passions of ballads like "Lord Thomas and Fair Annet," "Young Beichan," and "Fair Margaret and Sweet William"; in the never blunted poignancy of "Edward"; in the simple pathos of "Sir Hugh"; and in the homely humor of "The Wife Wrapped in Wether's Skin" and "The Farmer's Curst Wife." While making these quaint old heirlooms at home by cradle and fireside, in field and wood, in cabin and manor, they have patched worn finery with homespun and cut the rich old cloth into new world patterns.

All this is evident to the eye alone. How much more deeply and harmoniously it impresses all the senses only those can testify who know the ballad as a living thing, not impaled as a butterfly but vitally issuing from the lips of a ballad-singer in the perfect union of words and music, humanized by the voice and facial expression and emotion of the singer. Incapable of demonstrating in print this aspect (perhaps I should say this totality of impression) of the old ballads, I refer the musically trained reader to the tune notations in collections like Campbell and Sharp's or Davis's. Let him play them on a piano and then sing them.

LATER SONG IMPORTATIONS

THE TRADITIONAL English and Scottish ballads, just discussed at some length, are the best but by no means the largest song bequest

from the old world to the South. As a matter of fact, British ballads emanating from the broadside presses within the past two or three hundred years are more current than the older anonymous legendary and romantic ballads. Between these later songs and the old differences are many and striking. Differences of structure and style are more easily felt in their effects than explained in themselves and belong to technical exposition rather than to an article of this sort. More obvious and interesting are those of atmosphere and social tank reflected. In the old ballads we have, for the most part, the externals of the lordly and feudal life of the Middle Ages, or of the manners and sentiments of the Tudors and Stuarts; in the later, the characters and the vague commonplaces of middle- or low-class modern life. But the difference that impresses one most strongly is that between the forthright, objective, primitively energetic spirit of the old ballads and the flaccid sentimentality and the tawdriness of most of the later. It is the difference between genuine Chippendale and factory Chippendale; between the old houses sitting among the groves of Alexandria or Charleston or Natchez and the jig-saw, scroll-work nightmares bequeathed to the same towns by the eighties or nineties. This generalization is not meant to be sweeping, for there are some quite delightful examples of the later ballad which were artlessly and modestly conceived and were handed down so long and so much that they acquired the feel of the folk. Interesting minor differences are the almost complete disappearance of the supernatural—"Molly Bawn (Shooting of His Dear)" is one of the few exceptions—and the similar disappearance of primitive beliefs in the transformation of human beings into animals, or vice versa, in talking birds, in witchcraft, and the like.

Compared as to themes, the older and the later ballads have many similarities. As with the older, so with the later, the sensational song story has won greatest currency. An example, and one of the oldest broadsides, is "The Death of a Romish Lady," referred to in Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (ca. 1607). It relates a harrowing story of religious martyrdom taking us back to the days of bloody Mary. "Give Me Three Grains of Corn, Mother," perhaps an Irish propaganda song, dates presumably from the Irish famine of the mid-nineteenth century.

Most of them treat the love theme in many of its countless mutations. One, "The Wexford Girl (The Cruel Miller)," is typical of many stark confession ballads relating the brutal murder of a girl by her jealous sweetheart:

We walked along, we talked along
 Till we come to Oxford town,
 And there I upped with a heavy wood stick
 And knocked that maiden down.

* * * * *

I picked her up by her lily-white hand,
 I slung her round and round,
 I pitched her in the river stream
 That flows through Oxford town.

A second, "Caroline of Edinburgh Town," tells the story of a man's betrayal and neglect of his sweetheart and of her consequent death. This ballad solaced yellow fever refugees in a camp near Yazoo City, Mississippi, in the eighties or nineties. "Vilikins and His Dinah" is about a girl who preferred suicide to a venal marriage :

As Vilikins was walking his garden around,
 He found his dear daughter lay dead on the ground.
 A vile of cold pizen was there by her side,
 And the billy-ducks [billet-doux] said 'twas from
 pizen she died.

These are examples of the tragic issues of love.

One popular variation of the love theme is the separation and reunion of lovers. Girls disguised as hunters or sailors or soldiers in pursuit of errant lovers, the lover coming back as a beggar or a cripple or a blind man to test his sweetheart's fidelity, the exhibition of a "broken token" that identifies the betrothed—these motives are illustrated by such ballads as "The Golden Glove," "The Silk-Merchant's Daughter," "The Wars of Germany," "A Pretty Fair Maid," "The Banks of Clowdy," "Mary and Willie," "Early in the Spring," "Young Johnny," "Pretty Peggy O."

Similar in tone and spirit are the song dialogues. "The Drowsy Sleeper" seems to be a modern contamination of an old English "song of the night visit," which goes back to pagan trial marriages. A purer example of the dialogue is "Madam, O Madam, I Have a Fine Horse," a debate, in which a man woos a woman, and the woman replies with satirical remarks about his habits. In the South it has been sung dramatically by sweethearts or husband and wife.

Of the humorous song-stories, "Father Grumble" and "The Holly Twig" are well known examples. Well known, also, is the exaggeration-ballad "The Ram of Derby" :

CULTURE IN THE SOUTH

The horns upon his head, sir,
 Were higher than I could reach
 They built a pulpit up there
 For the Campbellites to preach.

Besides these song-stories are many imported lyrics, pure and simple (in the non-qualitative sense), with little or no narrative or dramatic elements. "The True Lover's Farewell" is a folk survival of the old Scots song that Burns lifted into glory as "A Red, Red Rose." "Killiecrankie" is an old Jacobite song. "Jimmy (The Cuckoo)" is a lilting song from English lanes, warning fair maidens not to "place their affections on a sycamore tree." To the same purport is "Little Sparrow." Many of those which from local allusion seem to be of American origin turn out, on investigation, to be derivative. For example, the well known song beginning, in one version,

On top of Old Smoky, all covered with snow,
 I lost my true lover by sparking too slow,

and in another,

In old North Carolina I was bred and was born,
 And in my own country I was a great scorn,

is an English folk-song known as "The Wagoner's Lad." Most of the songs used in games, to be noted later, are likewise importations.

These later song importations on the whole show much less effects of adaptation to the southern scene than do the older traditional ballads. Arising in periods of time and conditions of life more nearly approximating those of American history, they did not have so much to be forgotten or transformed by reason of its strangeness, and have not been subjected to so long a process of oral transmission to modify texts and tunes. Most of them, having journalistic origins, addressed themselves to minds more or less accustomed to journalistic modes of expression, and were likely to be remembered better. Many of them were often reprinted, so that the burden of perpetuation did not rest so heavily on oral memory. What these later ballads and songs chiefly tell us about the people who knew them is what their tastes were on certain levels.

NATIVE AMERICAN

THE TRADITIONAL Democratic doctrine of free trade has been much more successfully practised in cultural than in economic exchange. Having to pay no tariff on orally conveyed song imports, the people of the South, along with their fellow-countrymen, have been largely

content to revamp their heirlooms and to accept new song importations from overseas. They have exchanged songs freely with their neighbors of the North and West, giving as much as they received, if not more; but since, until recent years, the native American product has been comparatively slender, they have neither borrowed nor lent much that is indigenous. Even that which is indigenous is largely derivative and imitative. These generalizations are even true in some measure of what are regarded as the most distinctive southern types—the Negro, or pseudo-Negro, the plantation, and the religious folk-songs. They are becoming less true, no doubt; but they still hold good.

Genuine historical folk-songs are few and inferior. Nothing native survives from colonial times or the Revolution. A fairly good ballad, "The Battle of King's Mountain," had, it is said, considerable popularity around campfires and firesides during the latter period, but the folk have forgotten it. "Yankee Doodle" is of course well known in the South. It has often been revamped to express sectional sentiment and prejudice, but it is originally an Irish air, and it has owed its popularity more to print than to word of mouth. Country school children unconsciously commemorate a campaign in "We're Marching to Old Quebec." Another echo of the War of 1812 is heard in the old fiddler's favorite "Eighth of January," celebrating Old Hickory's victory over Pakenham at New Orleans, but the words have not stuck as well as the tune. "The Pioneer Preacher"—

I'm bound to preach, and may it be
To the Indian tribes of Tennessee—

and "The White Pilgrim," connected with a real preacher known to Virginia and North Carolina tradition, suggest lyric fragments of the great unwritten Acts of the Apostles in America. The Mexican War left us a swinging game song picturing a nineteenth-century Valhalla where

The streets are lined with ten-dollar bills,
The girls are sweet as candy,
Coffee grows on white-oak trees,
And the rivers run with brandy.

The presidential campaign of 1844 or 1848 bequeathed

Henry Clay he climbed a tree
And stuck his bill in for to see.
The lizards caught him by the snout,

And he hollered for the coons to pull him out.
 Get out of the way, roll on lucky,
 Clear the track for ol' Kentucky.

During the Civil War there was an immense amount of song-writing and singing on both sides. But the vast scene of action, the great issues, and the millions engaged did not inspire anything that compares in beauty and energy and memorableness with hundreds of Scotch-English songs celebrating a border brush in some ten-acre corner of the Cheviots. Turning to the song books of the period, we find whole battalions of patriotic sentiment, political opinion, and denunciatory apostrophe, marshaled by "O's" and "Ah's" and "Ye's" and "Hark's" and other officers of rhetorical dress parade. But they will not sing. And they seem to have been written by arm-chair patriots. There is little of such details as hardtack, beef, whiskey, rough-and-tumble fighting, slang, camp women, sore feet, empty bellies, and other staples which have come down to us in the racy oral yarns of the old soldiers or in fugitive unprintable ribald songs. There are a few surviving traditional exceptions. Some deal with the soldier's life and mind more or less humorously and realistically. "A Hungry Confederate Song" pleads for the lady's love and sympathy, but above all for hot stew, a pone of cornbread,— "Open your cupboard to me,"—and a feather bed. "I'll Eat When I'm Hungry, I'll Drink When I'm Dry" is a ribald fragment to the tune of "Old Hundred." "O Lillie, O Lillie" is the light-hearted farewell of a "rambling soldier from Dixie" to his lady, indicating that beefsteak, whiskey, and Jack o' Diamonds have more to fear from him than have the Yankees. "I'm a Good Old Rebel," of known origin but transformed by word of mouth into a genuine folk-song, is the defiant and blasphemous stirrup-cup of an "unreconstructed" off to Mexico. A few songs—"Shiloh Hill" and "Vicksburg Soldier," both crude imitations—deal less successfully with battle. A few more are happier in their treatment of home sentiments. "I Would Not Be Alone"—

I wouldn't be a nurse and hear the children squall,
 I'd rather be a soldier and face a cannon ball—

is the high-spirited admonition of an Amazon to laggards and slackers. "The Homespun Dress," a general favorite in the South, is the genuine voice of a true woman, "speaking for her sisters in their homelier trials, as well as in their deeper emotions." "The Faded Coat of Blue," caught far south of the Potomac, south even of "the flow of the inland river, Whence the fleets of iron had fled," from

the lips of living singers, is as eloquent of reunion for its being there as Judge Finch's fine poem. It is a pity that there is nothing in folk-song so good in its own way as "Little Giffen" is in art poetry; that Little Giffen's folk, who breasted the thing itself, shied off from the phrase "focal and foremost fire."

Much like the British broadsides which we have noted, though simpler in plot and less mannered in expression, are many native American songs of no special southern historical associations. "Young Charlotte" and "Springfield Mountain," two of the very best American popular ballads, both originated in New England. The first, working its way down from the Middle West, where it had followed Mormon migrations, tells with a skill different from that of folk narrative art the story of a young girl's freezing to death on a sleigh ride with her lover (some versions are burdened with a moral to young ladies about wearing plenty of clothes). "Springfield Mountain" is about the death of a young man bitten by a rattlesnake.

Among the ballads treating the love theme there is a striking preponderance of those recounting stories of murder and treachery, in the manner of the British broadsides,—"The Jealous Lover," "The Silver Dagger," "Poor Omie," "The Ellen Smith Ballet," and the like, which have a wide sectional distribution, and countless local ballads. Such ballads retail their horrors in a naïvely crude manner which excites the risibilities of the sophisticated reader, but is taken seriously by simple singers and is not so apparent in actual singing. "Frankie and Albert," in which Frankie gets her man, "who done her wrong," is the most eminent example of the shocker ballad of low life. "Fuller and Warren (Ye Sons of Columbia)," alluding in some versions to "events of late in Indianny State," tells rather artificially of the rivalry of two pals for the favors of a light lady, of a pistol argument between the two, and of the hanging of the winner:

But the corpse was cut down, and the grave took its own.

Oh, that harlot was bribed, I do believe.

Bad women have been the downfall of men

Since Adam was beguiled by Eve.

The lachrymose "Fatal Wedding" (the ceremony should have been headed off at the reading of the banns) is still going strong.

Song characterization, comical and heroical, is a fairly common theme. "Tocowa," satirizing an Arkansas hotel-keeper,

He fed me corn-dodgers as hard as a rock,

Till my knees began to shake and my teeth to knock,

is a fragment of the long and varied Arkansas Traveller cycle. "Sil-

ver Jack," smartly slangy and journalistic in its technique, tells how the hero fistically vindicated his mother's religion against an infidel. "Jack o' Diamonds" is the defiant and reckless *apologia* of a gambler and rounder. "Casey Jones" is the lay par excellence of "the brave engineer." Of established southern origin, it is the model of scores of other railroad song sagas of races against time and lurid wrecks, "The Wreck of the C. & O.," "The Wreck of the Ninety-Seven," and so forth.

The homespun American muse is most felicitous, perhaps, in the humorous ballad. "Johnny Sands," "Joe Bowers," "I Wish I was Single Again," "I'll Not Marry at All," and "The Bald-Headed End of the Broom" all exemplify the domestic theme. The first, a song hit popularized about a hundred years ago by a band of itinerant singers, tells of the clever ruse by which Johnny tricked a scolding wife into self-destruction. "Joe Bowers" is one of the Pike County ballads, for the origination of which Bret Harte and John Hay have about equal claims. It is the wryly humorous story of an accepted lover who gold-rushed to California to make his pre-nuptial stake, only to be informed after success in that enterprise

That Sally had married a butcher,
And the butcher had red hair;
And what was worse than that—
I almost wisht I was dead—
That Sally had a baby,
And the baby's hair was red.

Redolent of the farm are "Davy Crockett," "The Man That Wouldn't Hoe Corn" (modeled after an English song, "Harm Link"), the cotton patch classic "Mister Boll Weevil," the socially satirical "Turnip Greens," "Old Blue" and numerous other songs about dogs,—fice-, hound-, 'coon-, bear-, 'possum-, and whatnot,—and songs about their brethren and "sisteren," the old gray mare, the mule, the ox, the 'coon, the 'possum, the jaybird, and the buzzard.

BALLADS AND SONGS OF THE WEST

FOR A LONG time regarded as the most distinctively American and sectionally original, the ballads and songs of the West have, upon investigation, turned out to be mostly imitations in their texts and adaptations in their tunes of old world or older American models. Most of those printed in such collections as Lomax's *Cowboy Songs*, and *Songs of the Cow Camp and Cattle Trail* are well known throughout the old South. Their presence in the older states is a record of

the westward migration and return of thousands of southerners. The movement began several decades before the Civil War.

Many of the songs are concerned in one way or another with the theme of death. "The Dying Californian" expresses the final emotions and desires of one of the gold-rushers overtaken by death at sea. "O Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie," similar in theme, plan, and tone, has been shown to be an adaptation of the once popular "Ocean Burial" (also known in the South). "The Dying Cowboy" is likewise an adaptation, going back to an Irish song, "The Unfortunate Rake," and retaining in the chorus incongruous traces of a military funeral ("Beat the drum slowly, play the fife lowly"). "Utah Carroll" is a long ballad about a cowboy who, at the sacrifice of his own life, saves his boss's daughter from a stampeding herd. Out of the cow country, in the cotton or cane country, its cowboy lingo undergoes sea-changes into something strange if not rich ("rode the reins together"). "The Cowboy Song (Cowboy Meditations)" is the religious musings of a lone range rider, patterned after "The Sweet By and By."

"The Jolly Cowboy" and "The Gal I Left Behind Me" are concerned with the more characteristic details of occupation and sentiment and have therefore obtained a wider currency than "Whoop Ti Yi, Git Along, Little Dogies," which goes best on its native prairie. "Mississippi Girls (Cheyenne Girls)" is a bit of regional feminine satire. "The Texas Cowboy" treats a theme on which American folk-song, strangely enough, when its possibilities of romantic appeal and its successes in fiction and art poetry are considered, is almost silent—that is, the dangers and terrors of Indian warfare.

In their relation to the people of the South, these western pieces are lyric glosses to the obscure and unchronicled odysseys of thousands of humble folk who went West and came back to God's old country.

OUTLAWS, FEUDISTS, AND VAGRANTS

THE BALLADS of Robin Hood of England and the Scottish rieviers have practically passed out of the American folk memory. A few English broadside pieces of much later date, about such outlaws as Dick Turpin, are known, and a few others have served as models for American adaptation. On the whole, Americans have relied on the home productions of the species, which are concerned in the main with local heroes and which have rarely achieved wide popularity. "Jesse James," poor as it is in comparison with the best Robin Hood ballads, is the best of the lot, and

The people may forget a lot of famous names,
But every nook and corner knows of Jesse James.

"Kidd's Lament" represents the famous pirate of that name in a repentant and homiletic mood ("Don't for the sake of gold lose your souls, lose your souls"). "Jack Donahoo" is a stray from Australia. The assassination of President Garfield is commemorated in "Charles Guiteau," with its lugubrious gallows and black-cap refrain. "Sidna Allen," relating with a fair degree of fidelity to fact how a Virginian desperado shot up a court, is sung from the Potomac to the Mississippi. "Kenny Wagner," less than ten years old, has hitchhiked from its birthplace in Mississippi to North Carolina. "The Vance Song," not technically an outlaw ballad, perhaps, is the prison meditations of a professedly wronged man (identified in actuality). "Zeb Tunney's Gal" is a feud ballad of spirit, sung by Tennesseans, Alabamians, and Mississippians utterly ignorant of its antecedents. "Youth's Companions," a confession,

'Twas on one moonlight evening,
The stars were shining bright,
I threw a fatal dagger
That blighted out her light,

is on the fringe of outlawry.

Countless other songs deal, sometimes lachrymously, sometimes comically, with burglars ("The Boston Burglar"), hobos ("The Dying Hobo"), and bums. Judged by continued fecundity and widespread popularity, this species of folk-song is the most vital today. Its pattern is simple and clear. The parts are standardized. It is as easy to make over or repair as the old T-model Ford. One, patched out of numerous pieces in a Mississippi jail as late as 1929 by a woman who murdered her husband in bed,—

The time has come, my darling,
When you and I must part.
The bullet of that forty-five
Has surely plunged my heart,—

several growing out of the recent North Carolina textile strikes—these are on their way to a temporary local popularity. A story, "Curtains," by Fiswoode Tarleton, in *Bloody Ground, a Cycle of the Southern Mountains*, graphically (if imaginatively) illustrates the process by which a fight in a hill village is transformed into a ballad. Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan, in *Call Home the Heart*, describes the spontaneous generation of a ballad out of a fight at a North Carolina country church.

NURSERY AND NONSENSE SONGS

CLOSE TO THE heart of a people are those songs that mothers and fathers sing to childish ears, and those nonsense ditties with which whimsical lovers tickle their sweethearts' fancies or humorsome rural minstrels beguile the hours on the cross-roads store porch. They are a heterogeneous group, but there is in all of them at least one common quality, the waywardness of folk fancy. A few are native, but most of them are inherited from Europe, more specifically from England.

An old woman, leaning on her hoe in a bean patch in Mississippi, sang "Old, Blind, Drunk John," which she had learned on the knees of her father, whose family had brought it from the Carolinas, and which, G. L. Kittredge has shown, goes back to a lying-song of the sixteenth century. The same singer sang "Shule Aron (Snail, snail, come out of your hole)," parts of which were known in English nurseries and have their analogues in French songs. "To London I Did Go," a versified Jack the Giant-Killer, is known from Maine to Mississippi and perhaps points west. "Paper of Pins" is the old English "Keys of Canterbury." "The Milkmaid," another English dialogue piece, is one of the best known songs in America. "Billy Boy," almost as popular, has been enriched by the whimsicalities of generations. Among the daintiest bagatelles of the folk fancy is "The Frog's Courting," which shows details of adaptation, like "black-gum tree" and "black-eyed pea," suggesting the southern scene. "Crows in the Garden" carries one college professor of the lower South back to a Virginian father singing his little boy to sleep, but not too preoccupied to miss a homely satirical analogy.

O this old world is full of crows ;
Just keep a-napping, away it goes.

"Babes in the Wood," which Addison caressed as "one of the darling songs of the common people . . . and the delight of most Englishmen in some part of their age," has a charm that centuries have enriched. "Sourwood Mountain," apparently as racily autochthonous as "Turnip Greens" or "Bile 'Em Cabbage" or "The Ground Hog," is from an English stock and has scattered seedlings from the Smokies to the Ozarks.

GAME SONGS

THE RELATION of the ballads and songs to the dance and to folk games is naturally close. The American history of many of the old songs substantiates Franz Boehme's generalization that "in the be-

ginning there was probably no poem that was not sung, no song that was not danced to, and no dance that was not accompanied by a song." It has been remarked that in the South "The Two Sisters," "Barbara Allen," "The Hangman's Tree," and "The Jew's Daughter" have come full cycle—that is, gone back to singing and dancing games. But a large body are still primarily connected with games, not the games taught them by "teacher," who, if she were a "furriner" or college graduate, may have learned them as folk games or dances in some gymnasium or public playground, but the games handed down by one school or neighborhood generation to another. Most adult southerners of rural origin and schooling have played them at recess on some bare school yard or in the shade around the schoolhouse spring, or at play-parties, which their Methodist or Baptist or Presbyterian parents preferred to the square dances.

The singing games are closely bound to other games which employ unsung rhymes or jingles. Such are Chikama Craney Crow, William Come-Tremble-Toe, Club Fist (Sacks), Horny Cup, Molly Bright. For some of these a preliminary ritual called counting-out is employed to determine who is to be "It"; for example,

One zoy, two zoy, zicka zoy zan,
Bob-tailed Dominic, little toy tan.
Virgin Mary, hail 'em, scale 'em,
Ringlum, zinglum, Bawley, Buck.

In none of these does the manner of utterance approach nearer to music than a chant. In most of them there is an element of roughness. They are played more often by unmixed groups of boys or girls or by mixed groups in which the girls are more or less hoydenish. Since they are almost devoid of sex interest, they do not appeal strongly to older children. These games, with their jingles, belong to folklore in general rather than to folk-song.

In the real singing games the words are sung, there is ordinarily little roughness, and the actions which accompany the songs simulate, if they do not actually express, the immemorial interests of wooing, mating, bride-stealing, and the like. In still others such primal traditions as wars and funerals are commemorated. Most of them involve some sort of dancing.

"Marching Round the Levee," popular from Virginia to Texas, is typical, involving a dance or march, choice of lovers, wooing, parting:

1. We're marching round the levee [*thrice*],
For we have gained the day.

2. Go out and in the window.
3. Go forth and choose your lover.
4. I kneel because I love you.
5. Good-bye, I hate to leave you.
6. I measure my love to show you.
7. I'll take a kiss and leave you.

Love and war are intertwined in "Had a Big Fight in Mexico":

Had a big fight in Mexico,
Sent for the boys and the girls would go,
Sing far away, sing far away, sing far away.

Come to the place where the blood was shed,
Girls turned back and the boys kept ahead,
Sing far away, etc.

In the game as I remember it, the second stanza often ended in a war of the Amazons, the girls insisting upon transposing the rôles of "boys" and "girls." Stage business of the last stanza, about hugging and kissing and sparking a week, varied with circumstances. Of the same general character as the two preceding are "King William," "Little Sally Walker," "Needle's Eye," "Threading the Needle," "Frog in the Mill Pond," "Frog Went a-Courting," "Green Gravel," "The Lily Bud Bush," "Charlie," and "Rickety Jig."

Another large group of games has been preferred by the "young folks"—that is, lads and lassies old enough to go to the play-parties or square dances.

In the South as a whole the square dance has not withstood the sophisticating influences of movies, radio, phonographs, rural free delivery, school consolidation, good roads, and cheap cars as well as have the play-parties. Many of the dances still survive, however, in the more stable back-country districts, or in districts enlightened enough to consider them quaint. Many of the old fiddlers still play "Bear Creek," "Frog Mouth," "Rats in the Meal Barrel," "Nigger in the Woodpile," "Guinca in the Pea-Patch," "Arkansaw Traveller," "Leather Breeches," "Hell Amongst the Yearlings," "Give a Nigger a Chaw of Tobacco," and hundreds of other lively tunes, helping to keep the old music alive. The old fiddlers conventions, held annually in many southern counties, have, if anything, tended to corrupt the old music. Besides the fiddle pieces (with or without straw-beating), the square dance has a few more or less special songs which, in lieu of instrumental music, though sometimes with accompaniment of fiddle, banjo, and guitar, the dancers or spectators

sing to mark the rhythm. Such are "High Up in the Cherry Tree" and "Po' Leetle Kitty Puss." The set calls, too, constitute a large body of racy doggerel :

All the way to Arkansaw
To eat cornbread and 'possum jaw.
Men swing two and then swing fo',
Back step a little an' don't jump Joe.

Women swing hard, men swing harder,
Swing that gal on a buckskin garter.

Men ketch hands an' women to the center,
Watch yo' step an' don't ketch a splinter.

In most southern rural communities the square dance has always had enemies which looked tolerantly, if not smilingly, upon the play-party. By the more orthodox and the more respectable or sophisticated, socially, it has often been frowned upon or prohibited. It has been associated by its opponents with drinking, rowdyism, and other kinds of reprehensible conduct, or stigmatized as "tacky." The churches have been known to "church" members who yielded to its seductions. With card-playing and drinking it has occupied in pious imaginations an evil eminence corresponding to the seven deadly sins in the Middle Ages. Yet card-playing has always meant playing with "spot" cards only. And dancing has meant only the square dance or the "round" dance, never tripping, skipping, sliding, or scuffling to the time of a song sung in a game. Nor has opinion banned a reasonable degree of embracing and hand-holding accompanying these games. Young people have been free to kick their heels to their hearts' content at a play-party.

The games played at these parties are thoroughly folksy and largely traditional. Some of them, like Fishing for Love, Promenade, and Shadow, are merely devices for choosing partners, and have no songs accompanying them. The end in view has always been a stroll outdoors in the dark or a tête-à-tête in a buggy (latterly a car). The singing games are dancing games of a sort, in which a ring or procession of the players sings the verses and carries out the directions given in the various stanzas—choosing partners, jigging, marching, skipping, curtsying, kissing (rarely), and so forth. "Swine-Herders (Hog Drovers)," a version of the old English folk-game "Three Sailors (Three Dukes)," is a song dialogue between the swine-herders, who march around the "old man" and his daughter asking for lodging and then for his daughter, and the old man, who at first refuses, then grants both requests. It is really an elaborate and lively

game for choosing partners. So is "Under the Juniper Tree." "Shoot the Buffalo" is essentially a song dance, the words in the directions to the dancers vigorously reflecting pioneer life. "Rally, Boys, Rally" is a less racy song dance. "Skip to My Lou (Tumptomalooloo)" involves stealing partners. "The Jolly Miller" is an old ring game. "Coffee Grows on White-Oak Trees," "Texas," and "Roll Them Simelons (Simlins)" are spirited marches or dances (as you will).

The few singing games mentioned, representative of a large body of such, illustrate the ways in which the pastimes of unspoiled childhood and youth in the South have twisted the golden threads of old tradition with the buckskin strings of pioneer manners.

THE RELIGIOUS FOLK-SONG

THE FIELD OF secular folk-song has been vigorously and competently cultivated by scholars in the South for over twenty years. The gleanings have been large and significant. For some time we have known a great deal about the secular song.

Until quite recently this situation has not been true of the religious folk-song. The published collections of the species as it has been known among the whites have been few and inconspicuous; the standard general collections from the South do not contain many examples. Most of the references to it, and the texts printed, have been ancillary to arguments on the vexed questions concerning the origins of the Negro spiritual and the popular ballad.

The last year, however, has seen both a clearing up of the general obscurity of the subject and the publication of a large body of the songs. This double service has been rendered by George Pullen Jackson's *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands*, *The Story of the Fasola Folk*, *Their Songs, Singing, and "Buckwheat Notes"* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1933).

The term "fasola" in the title, Mr. Jackson explains, "is made of the names of those three musical notes with which the common major diatonic scale began in the time of Queen Elizabeth." Beginning with a revival of singing from the arid austerities of Puritan New England worship, group singing, accelerated by two tune books published in Boston in 1721 and by shape-note singing schools, spread into the Shenandoah Valley, then into Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the deep South. In Georgia the movement received its greatest impetus from the *Sacred Harp*, produced in its first edition by B. F. White and E. J. King at Hamilton, Georgia. This book and its succeeding editions (the last published in 1911) became in the South a name, a song *corpus*, and a complete manual for generations of singers. Mr. Jackson's account of the contents of this book

—both the character of the music and that of the texts—and of “Fasola Offspring, the Dorayme Folk” constitutes the most complete treatment of the religious folk-song as it is known in the South.

The body of religious songs as popular and traditional in their origin and mode of dissemination as the secular songs is enormous. Many, perhaps most, of them, as Mr. Jackson has shown, are ultimately traceable to some obscure hymn book of the eighteenth or nineteenth century. But living singers of them today know little of the hymn books (the *Sacred Harp* excepted) and less of the authors, and they sing the hymns in countless variants. They got them by word of mouth from ancestors who had them the same way. One of my former students, George Francis Swetnam, found over fifty with such a history in his own family, which has Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi associations.

Among the ballads of sacred legend without recent special ecclesiastical associations, “The Cherry Tree Carol” has already been mentioned. “Sir Hugh (The Jew’s Daughter)” may have started out as a *miracle de Notre Dame* (as Chaucer’s Prioress tells the story), or as a vessel of anti-Semitic propaganda; but in either case it has lost that significance. “Dives and Lazarus” has been found in Tennessee and Virginia. All three of these ballads are of the Child type.

“The Death of a Romish Lady,” originally an anti-Catholic ballad, has been mentioned. “The Little Family,” telling the story of the miracle at Bethany, is probably later, but has an artless charm savoring of the old ballads. “The Three Ships,” “The Ten Commandments,” and “The Twelve Joys” are old English carols known among southern white people.

All of the preceding, recovered from oral circulation among white folk, have been printed in well known folk-song collections, some of them many times. They are not specially associated with religious worship.

Until Mr. Jackson’s book appeared, the vast body of religious folk-songs used in backwoods churches and camp and revival meetings had no such history. Only a few of them have been published in traditional form, e. g., “The Ship That Is Passing By” and “We Have Fathers Gone to Heaven,” both known to Mr. Swetnam’s family, which have been published by Combs.

These two songs belong to a peculiar type which Mr. Swetnam called the family song. To illustrate, one of them runs thus :

Father, seek a home in that new bright clime [*thrice*],
O father, seek a home in heaven.

By the grace of God you may live always,
O father, etc.

I didn't come here for to stay always,
O father, etc.

This triad is repeated for "mother," "brother," "sister," and every other member of the family, on the plan of the old secular English ballad "The Hangman's Tree." Less repetitious is "The Gospel Ship."

The gospel ship is a good old ship,
She is both safe and sound.
Oh, who wouldn't sail on the gospel ship?
For the glory land she's bound.

Our fathers walked in the good old way,
The way is easy found.
Oh, who wouldn't sail on the gospel ship?
For the glory land she's bound.

Nineteen family songs were known by the Swetnam family.

There is a variety of other types. "See the Eternal Judge Descending," "And Should You Lie Down This Night," "When Beauty and Youth Are in Their Full Prime," "The Old Church Yard," and "Time Is Winging Us Away" lack choruses and on the whole are moralistic. Another group is composed of pastoral farewells. "The Hebrew Children" and "My God, What a Morning" are of the Negro spiritual type. Coming from a family that learned them in predominantly white communities half a century ago, when they were already traditional, they tend to substantiate Guy B. Johnson's contention that the Negro got his spirituals from the white man. "When the Bridegroom Comes," another spiritual-like piece, pictures Christ coming with forty white horses and forty golden chariots. "Down by the River," a group song with choruses, pictures the Baptists and the Methodists shouting and fighting together in amity, perhaps an ideal rather than an actual condition. "Then Hoist Every Sail," one of the pieces known only as choruses, was associated, Mr. Swetnam says, with a Kentucky preacher who changed churches so frequently that someone remarked of him, "He went from the Christian Church to the Methodist Church, and from the Methodist Church to the Church of God, and from the Church of God to the Devil." Another, "Oh, Let Me Live Holy," was associated with the Methodist "class meeting," a sort of experience meeting held before

regular morning worship. "Hardshell songs" and "Methodist jigs" were terms applied to various groups of such songs.

Whether these songs worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness or not, they are fraught with associations of the deepest, most sacred emotional and spiritual experience of our people.

* * * * *

The rich and abundant vitality of the folk-song, secular and religious, in the cultural life of the South has been amply demonstrated in more or less scientific fashion by scores of folk-song scholars. Drawing in part on these records of actuality and in part, no doubt, on first-hand personal observation, novelists and short story writers have made folk-singing an integral part of their picture of the southern scene. One of the first significant southern regionalists, Charles Egbert Craddock (Mary Noailles Murfree), in *Down the Ravine* (1885) and *The Young Mountaineers* (1897), tells stories of the Cumberlands, with songs and descriptions of the circumstances of the singing of them, which are of absorbing interest to the reader. Since then the writers of fiction of southern life, whether historical, romantic, or naturalistic, have made increasing use of the songs of the people. Sherwood Anderson, James Boyd, Roark Bradford, Maristan Chapman, Olive Tilford Dargan, Fiswoode Tarleton, Lucy Furman, Paul Green, DuBose Heyward, Mary Johnston, Harry Harrison Kroll, Rose Wilder Lane, Elizabeth Madox Roberts, Dorothy Scarborough, T. S. Stribling, Thomas Wolfe, Stark Young—these names are but part of the bead roll of contemporary fictionists who present the singing South. A proportionately significant list might be drawn from the dramatists and the poets. With most of these writers the folk-songs are not mere atmospheric elements of the scenes presented or lyric glosses to the prose tales told, but integral parts of their imaginative vision because they are integral parts of the lives of their subjects.

The Bible, Blackstone, and the ballad : these have been literature and law, testament and tradition, music and manners, grace and grandeur for millions of southerners. And the ballad has been kept alive singing in the heart.

NEGRO FOLK SONGS

BY GUY B. JOHNSON

WHATEVER ELSE the southern people have thought about the Negro they have been fairly unanimous in their praise of his musical achievements. That glamorous and sentimental tradition which has sprung up around the old plantation is at its best when it is imaged against a background of "darkeys," banjos, and plaintive harmonies. People who believe that the Negro is little more than a brute and that his presence here is a horrible menace to white civilization will tell you that the Negro's natural gift for music is positively amazing. It is interesting to speculate on what southern history would have been if the Negro had not been a singing race.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO SONGS IN THE SOUTH

THE HISTORY of Negro folk songs in this country is little more than the story of the growth of our interest in them. It is regrettable that we have no data for a history of Negro songs for the 200 years following the arrival of the first slaves. Here and there someone mentions the fact that Negroes sang or that they had an excellent ear for music, but no one went to the trouble to record their singing or to comment at length upon it. Of course, the South has never been especially zealous in the matter of preserving history, but it does seem that we have a right to suppose that if Negroes were building up a notable or distinctive body of folk songs, someone would have taken the time to observe and record it for posterity. The absence of such data makes it fairly safe to assume that the Negro, with his excellent ear for music, was doing rather successfully the prosaic thing of taking on the folk-song culture of the dominant race.

In the early nineteenth century we begin to hear more about Negro songs, especially in the works of travelers from the North and from abroad who came to see the South's "peculiar institution" in operation. This was the era of camp-meetings and revivals, and it was

not unusual for a traveler to comment upon the fervor with which the slaves sang the Methodist and Baptist songs, yet there was no extensive interest in these Negro songs.

The first wave of popular interest in Negro songs grew out of the Negro minstrel show. The prelude to the minstrel came about the opening of the nineteenth century in the form of occasional songs and dances performed by real Negroes on the streets or in theatres and circuses in the North and East. Some of these early minstrel songs were probably genuine plantation Negro songs, but soon white men took up the idea and exploited it. From about 1840 until after the Civil War the country was flooded with "Ethiopian" minstrel troupes, most of them composed of white men. They gave blackface dialogues, plays, and songs, which were written by white men. The minstrel was farce and caricature pure and simple, yet many people seriously believed that it was giving them real Negro plantation songs. And what is more ironical, thousands of southern Negroes today sing stanzas of these ludicrous Caucasian minstrel compositions as if they were the cherished products of their own race. The minstrel is a good example of the white man's readiness to exploit the Negro and of the Negro's willingness to accept the exploitation good-naturedly. As Newman I. White says in his *American Negro Folk-Songs*, "Beyond doubt, the Negro minstrel song, like many novels of ante-bellum southern life, was commonly used as an instrument of propaganda against the interests of the Negro himself." More recently we have seen the exploiters turn simple folk blues and rhythms into the monstrosities of Broadway blues and jazz.

During the Civil War came the discovery of the spirituals. I say discovery because, although the South must have been aware of the existence of these songs for a generation or more, the North seemed to have been blissfully ignorant of their existence, and it was northern men who first collected them and attempted to interpret their meaning to the world. During the war articles began to appear in the northern magazines about the Negro's religious songs, and in 1867 Allen, Ware, and Garrison published their *Slave Songs of the United States*, a book which continues to be a very valuable source of information on the spirituals. Then followed other works devoted in whole or in part to the spirituals, such as Colonel Higginson's *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (1870), Pike's *The Jubilee Singers of Fisk University* (1873), Armstrong's *Hampton and Its Students* (1874), Fennner's *Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung by the Hampton Students* (1877), Marsh's *The Story of the Jubilee Singers* (1877), and Barton's *Old Plantation Hymns* (1899).

The earlier writers like Allen and Higginson were closely associ-

ated with Negroes during the war. With hearts full of pity and sympathy for the freedmen, they wrote about the spirituals with more enthusiasm than accuracy. The later writers were content to accept their evaluations and to enlarge upon them. Typical was Colonel Higginson's opinion that there was "no parallel instance of an oppressed race thus sustained by religious sentiment alone. These songs are but the vocal expression of their faith and the sublimity of their long resignation." Thus began ideas on the origin and function of Negro spirituals which, as I shall show later, have only recently come in for critical examination by unbiased students.

The Negro gained much from this appreciative atmosphere, however, for instead of forsaking his old songs as he was inclined to do, he began to take pride in them and to strive for their preservation. Newly founded schools like Hampton Institute and Fisk University put singers on the road, and, through the emotional and artistic appeal of the old slave spirituals, they reaped a harvest of good-will and financial support. Old Jubilee Hall at Fisk University still stands as a monument to those days. It was built by funds raised by the Jubilee Singers here and abroad. Today the spirituals need no white man's encouraging hand. Today no Negro leader suggests that they should be abandoned, and no one champions them more fervently than the race-conscious militant Negroes, some of whom call them the only distinctive folk music which America has produced. As in the case of the minstrels, there has been the inevitable exploitation of the spirituals by Broadway, but the spirituals are too deeply rooted to be shaken by it.

The secular songs of the Negro were unfortunately neglected until long after the Civil War. Such genuine seculars as made their way from plantation to public were largely swallowed up in the wave of minstrel song nonsense which swept over the country just before the war. Then, too, the increasing power of the Negro churches had a strong repressive effect upon the singing of seculars by church members. They were not driven out of existence, of course. They retained a firm grip on the folk-song traditions of the Negroes in spite of the preachers and their theology, but they had no champions to campaign for their preservation. Not until 1911, when Howard W. Odum published his articles on "Folk-Songs and Folk-Poetry as found in the Secular Songs of Southern Negroes," did these songs begin to get serious attention. Contrary to the usual opinion, they have turned out to be more numerous than the religious songs, and they undoubtedly come nearer reflecting the everyday life and thought of the common Negro than the spirituals do. Ballads, blues, work songs, and social songs have been prominent in the recent

Negro song collections such as Odum and Johnson's *The Negro and His Songs* and *Negro Workaday Songs*, Dorothy Scarborough's *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*, and Newman I. White's *American Negro Folk-Songs*.

Since the World War there has been a veritable flood of literature on Negro Songs. There are some significant things about this great interest in Negro songs. For one thing, there has been this tremendous growth in the collection and study of Negro secular songs. Furthermore, Negro scholars and musicians themselves have begun to take more than their accustomed sentimental interest in the songs of their race, while the sentimental interest of white authors is giving way to more objective viewpoints. Questions of the origin of Negro songs, of the relationship of white and Negro songs, of methods of recording songs accurately, and of the sociological importance of the songs have lately assumed considerable importance.

THE RELATION OF NEGRO AND WHITE SONG TRADITIONS

IN SPITE OF a great deal of sentimentalizing about the romantic and unique origins of Negro folk songs, the fact remains that they are of the same breed as our white folk songs. Just as it was once thought that certain songs were peculiar to our white mountain folk, so was it thought that the Negro, with his African background and his long experience with slavery and oppression, had produced something unique in American song. Now, as I shall point out in a moment, there are certain ways in which Negro songs, even those borrowed from white people, are entitled to the claim of uniqueness, but that uniqueness does not arise to any great extent from the origin, subject matter, or functions of Negro songs, as has been so frequently claimed. After all, the Negro is thoroughly American. His culture is really more deeply American than is the heritage of millions of our white Americans, for his history began to entwine with ours at Jamestown in 1619. His folk songs, music and all, are fundamentally European and American rather than African. There is scarcely a white folk song in the South which has not been sung by Negroes, and many Negro songs have been sung by whites. Naturally there has been borrowing both ways, but the cultural position of the Negro, entailing as it did the loss of his African languages and folk songs, made it inevitable that the Negro do by far the larger part of the borrowing.

The fundamental unity of white and Negro songs is nowhere more clearly shown than in the case of the spirituals. Until recently the prevailing opinion was that the spirituals were, of all Negro songs, the most distinctive, because they grew out of the Negro's trials and

tribulations in slavery. There has been much written about "the miracle of the creation of the spirituals," of their having sprung "full-grown from the white heat of religious fervor," and of their being "America's only indigenous folk-song." Now it has been discovered that the structure, the ideology, in fact, the whole complex of factors making up the spirituals, were borrowed from the revival songs of the common white people.

Mr. White, in his *American Negro Folk-Songs* (1928), demonstrated the indebtedness of Negro folk songs to white song traditions and particularly the indebtedness of the Negro spiritual, in structure and subject matter, to the revival and camp-meeting songs of the whites. But there was still another refuge for those who doubted—the music. Since the publication of the late H. E. Krehbiel's *Afro-American Folk-Songs* (1914) it was generally supposed that the music of Negro songs could be accounted for only by reference to African music. In my *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* (1930) I took up the question of the relation between the music of the spirituals and the white religious songs. I was able to show that (1) most of the so-called African traits in the music of the spirituals are found in the folk music of the white people of the South and (2) that some of the best spirituals were borrowed outright from the revival songs of the whites. Professor George P. Jackson had come independently to a similar conclusion, and in his book, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (1932), he presents an interesting chapter on the Negro spiritual which clinches beyond doubt the fact that the Negro spiritual originated in the religious songs of the whites. This same process of borrowing accounts for the presence among Negroes of many of the English and Scottish popular ballads, ballads of native white origin, of white minstrel songs, and of hundreds of other secular songs of white origin.

I would not be understood as meaning that Negro songs, because they owe a great deal to white songs, are any the less significant, interesting, or distinctive. Two points need to be emphasized. The first is that the Negro has not been solely a borrower. He has created songs of his own, songs as good as, or better than, anything he has borrowed. The second is that it is no sin to borrow. Do we go around lamenting the debt which our English language owes to the Latin and Teutonic tongues? Do we apologize for the fact that much of our folklore, our music, and our folk song derives from non-English sources? Our most prized white American folk songs, namely, the English and Scottish popular ballads, came from across the water with us, and we have not yet produced anything quite so good on this side, although we have had 300 years to do it in. It would be

stupid, then, to speak disparagingly of Negro songs merely because they have been borrowed.

But what is more important, when one race or group borrows the folk songs of another group it adapts them, remakes them, invests them with its own mental, emotional, and vocal mannerisms. And it is just here that the distinctiveness of Negro songs has its basis. When a song crosses the color line, it is white only in the sense that its origin, form, tune, etc., were white. When the Negro adopts the song, introduces a little variation here, a little improvisation there, and sings it with his own emotional intonations and rhythms, he has made it his own. The question of origin ceases to be important except as something which interests the scholars.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO SONGS

WHILE THE TRAITS of Negro songs are much the same as the traits of white folk songs, there are certain ones which seem to occur more abundantly in the Negro songs. Improvisation, for instance, is common in folk singing, but it is probably much more common in Negro songs than in white songs. With his illiteracy and his imperfect knowledge of English, the Negro folk singer has frequently been forced to improvise or to forego the pleasure of "catching" a song from some other person. Sometimes the improvisation is a positive improvement. For example, an old Negro woman on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, had heard a hymn beginning,

You Publican, you Pharisee,
You feed amongst the swine.

Taking her clues from the general sound effects of the first line, she evolved this line,

You're public in your fiery sin!

Closely akin to improvisation is variation, which is very common in Negro singing. Since most Negro songs are of very simple structure, the changing of a word here or a phrase there works wonders. Variation also extends to the *way* of singing, for tunes may be varied as easily as words. No two persons sing the same song alike. Indeed, it has been frequently pointed out that even the same person rarely sings a song the same way twice. There is scarcely any such thing as a standard version of a Negro song. The unit of song is often merely a phrase or a short stanza. Like certain modern household appliances, which are "guaranteed to fit any standard fixture," these stanzas are available for adoption into any song into which they happen to

fit. Refrains and choruses are notoriously given to migrating from one song to another.

Still another trait which stands out in Negro songs is the emphasis on rhythm. Words and phrases are amazingly drawn out or shortened in order to fit the rhythm. Anyone who has heard the old-time singing with its accompaniment of swaying bodies, patting feet, and clapping hands knows that the only way to describe it is by the word *irresistible*.

Other traits which are frequent but of lesser importance are the large use of refrains and choruses, the intrusion of various exclamations or interjections in group singing, and the occurrence of a plaintive self-pitying tendency, particularly in the secular songs.

Overlaying all of these traits is the subordination of meaning to feeling. This is particularly characteristic of the old-style unrestrained singing of the spirituals. To be lost in an ecstasy of rhythm and emotion was an end in itself. As White says, the Negro "goes by the general feel of the song (words and music merged) and not by precise rules of English. Thus it makes little difference to the singer of spirituals whether all God's chillun got shoes or all 'at's got chillun got shoes; whether Sister Mary wore three links of chain, wove three links of chain, or merely had three links of chain." A Negro woman in Alabama was writing her favorite song for a collector. It was "Leaning on the Everlasting Arms," and the line beginning "safe and secure" was to her, "say fancy cure."

GLIMPSES OF SOME TYPICAL NEGRO SONGS

THERE IS NO such thing as getting the "feeling" of folk songs without actually hearing them sung by folk singers, and the examples of Negro songs which I am presenting next are a very poor substitute for the real thing. If the reader *must* get his knowledge of Negro songs second-hand, then I recommend one or more books containing tunes. For the spirituals, one may refer to one of the earlier books already mentioned, or to James Weldon Johnson's *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* and his *Second Book of Negro Spirituals*, William Arms Fisher's *Seventy Negro Spirituals*, Ballanta-Taylor's *St. Helena Island Spirituals*, Nathaniel Dett's *Religious Folk-Songs of the Negro as Sung at Hampton Institute*, Emmett Kennedy's *Mellows*, Mary Grissom's *The Negro Sings a New Heaven*; or the spirituals collected by members of the Charleston Society for the Preservation of the Spirituals and published in *The Carolina Low-Country*. For the seculars, one must be content to pick up a few tunes here and there, the best sources being Natalie Curtis-Burlin's *Negro Folk Songs, Hampton Series*, Dorothy Scarborough's *On the Trail of Negro Folk Songs*,

Odum and Johnson's *Negro Workaday Songs*, and Newman I. White's *American Negro Folk-Songs*.

The classification of folk songs, and especially of Negro folk songs, is always something of a problem. Most writers resort to a simple subject-matter classification, with apologies for all sorts of overlapping, and that is what I am doing here.

SPIRITUALS

THE SPIRITUALS have earned a high place in the affections of our people, and in Europe they are almost the only American folk songs known. Who does not know and love the plaintive sweetness of "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," the rhythmic swing of "Roll Jordan Roll," and the stately sadness of "Go Down Moses?" They are not only interesting as folk songs; many of them are excellent as art songs, and musicians are finding in them motifs for symphonies and other works.

The words and tunes of something like three hundred spirituals have been recorded, and no one knows how many have been lost or have not been collected. As might be expected, there is a great deal of repetition of stanzas and refrains, so that few spirituals make interesting reading when printed *in toto*.

The repetitive tendency also occurs in tunes to a greater degree than one might suspect. As I have shown in my *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island*, the Negroes of one community may sing three or four different songs to tunes which are strikingly similar without recognizing the similarity themselves. Folk songs have a penchant for making a few tunes go a long way, and the spirituals are no exception. Yet the effect of hearing twenty or thirty of them in succession is rarely monotonous, thanks to slight variations in tempo, rhythm, and melodic intervals. If the reader knows the tunes of as many as fifteen spirituals, the chances are that he will find three or four instances of recurring motifs in what he thought were fifteen distinct tunes. How many of us, for example, realize that the tunes of the chorus of "Roll Jordan Roll" and "I Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray" are almost identical?

Spirituals present a wide range of types. Some are joyful and exuberant, some are tauntingly plaintive, some are stately, some are pathetic, and some are positively humorous. Some of them, notably the "shout songs," are as weird as the African jungles, some sound like Moody and Sankey Sunday School Songs.

The "shout songs" are fascinating but little known. They are now sung only in the sea-island and tidewater section of South Carolina and Georgia. They are characterized by simple and monot-

onous music, insistent rhythms, and a shuffling movement by the singers. The benches in many a sea-island "praise house" are built so that they may be lifted up and set in slots along the walls so as to give clear room for shouting. Typical "shout song" lines are :

Leaders : I'm a soldier.
 All : In de army of de Lawd!
 Leaders : I'm a soldier.
 All : In de army of de Lawd!
 Leaders : Jesus is de cap'n.
 All : In de army of de Lawd!

With simple variations this may go on for fifteen or twenty minutes while the singers shuffle slowly round the room. Sometimes the tempo will quicken while all join in a rousing chorus, then it will drop back to the monotonous shuffling pace. Sometimes the song is a sort of narrative, as in the following example :

Mariah got a letter,
 Lawd, Lawd,
 Mariah got a letter,
 Lawd, Lawd.

Mariah could not read um, *etc.*
 Took um to Buh Sancho, *etc.*
 Buh Sancho could not read um, *etc.*

Mariah tried numerous people, but no one could "read um." Finally she "took um" to the right person, and

Dat letter say get ready, *etc.*
 Ready for de judgment, *etc.*

Two musical phrases make up the tune for this shouting song. With the clapping of hands and the shuffling and patting of feet, it takes on the insistent monotony of a tom-tom. It is literally true that these shouts sometimes "bring the house down." I believe that in these songs, now almost extinct, the Negroes have something which is closer to their native African music than any of their other music is. These songs were probably once widespread among Negroes, but in most places they have given way to the more Caucasian type of singing which we hear in the average spiritual.

Many of the lines in the spirituals make dull reading, as I have said, but there are many brief passages which rank high in aptness of expression or brilliance of imagery. Here are a few chosen at random :

CULTURE IN THE SOUTH

I wrestled wid Satan and wrestled wid sin,
I stepped over hell and come back again.

Upon de mountain King Jesus spoke,
Out of his mouth came fire and smoke.

My Lawd God A'mighty come a steppin' down,
Come a steppin' down on a sea of glass.

My Lord calls me
He calls me by the thunder.

Oh, hell is deep and hell is wide,
Oh, hell ain't got no bottom or side.

I looked toward dat northern pole,
I seed black clouds of fire roll.

Sometimes I hangs my head and cries,
But Jesus goin' a-wipe my weeping eyes.

Some o' dese mornin's bright and fair,
Goin' a-hitch on my wings and try de air.

Sometimes I feel like a motherless child
A long ways from home.

Tremblin' woman an' a tremblin' man,
God gwine a-hol' you wid a tremblin' han'.

They nailed him to the cross,
An' he never said a mumblin' word.

It is regrettable but true that the average small Negro church in the South is not singing spirituals to any great extent. The masses have never felt the importance of preserving these songs. That feeling seems to reside among folk song collectors and Negro leaders. The folk who produce songs are human. They crave the thrill of the new as well as the refuge of the old, and so we find rural Negro church choirs spending much more time struggling with the nauseating productions of modern low-brow hymn writers than in singing spirituals. In the larger city churches we find the singing of spirituals limited to an occasional special solo or quartet rendition.

The spirituals are still sung, of course. One finds them in the out-of-the-way places where illiteracy is still high and in the Negro schools where it is a point of pride to sing them. They are in no immediate danger of extinction.

THE BLUES

THE SPIRITUALS have been called the "sorrow songs." The term may be just as aptly applied to the blues, for they are the sorrowful songs of the workaday Negro and they are probably about as old as the spirituals. Like the spirituals they are strong on feeling and weak on logical ideas. Titles mean little and stanzas are almost as interchangeable as the stanzas of the spirituals.

It is known that Negroes in the South were singing folk blues long before the wave of popular blues writing set in. These folk blues were not so much a definite type of song as they were states of mind—loneliness, homesickness, jealousy, disappointment, self-pity—expressed in brief bits of song. Lines like the following are typical :

I got the blues, but I'm too damn mean to cry,
Oh, I got the blues, but I'm too damn mean to cry.

Went to the sea, sea looked so wide,
Thought about my baby, hung my head an' cried,
Oh, my baby, won't you come home?

Well, I started to leave, got 'way down the track,
Then I thought about my woman, come a-runnin' back.

I laid in the jail, my back to the wall,
A brown-skin gal was the cause of it all.

I hate to hear my honey call my name,
Call me so lonesome and so sad.

I'm goin' away to leave you, ain't comin' back no mo',
You treated me so dirty, ain't comin' back no mo'.

All I hope in this bright worl' :
If I love anybody don't let be a girl.

I'm out in this wide worl' to roam,
Ain't got no place to call my home.

I wish to God some old train would run,
Carry me back where I came from.

It is significant that the first popular blues composition was the work of a southern Negro, W. C. Handy. It was "Memphis Blues," published in 1910. Handy is also the author of "St. Louis Blues," "Beale Street Blues," "Joe Turner Blues," "Yellow Dog Blues," and many others. Later composers, black and white, took up the

blues idea and turned out literally hundreds of songs which they called blues. From the stage, from cabarets, from nickel-in-the-slot pianos, from phonographs came blues and more blues. There were blues for every state and nearly every city, blues for nearly all possible occasions and feelings. There were "Crazy Blues," "Poor Man Blues," "Through Train Blues," "Sinful Blues," "Don't Care Blues," "Salt Water Blues," "Basement Blues," "House Rent Blues," "Chain Gang Blues," "You Don't Know My Mind Blues," and even "A to Z Blues." For a while it looked as if any song with the word blues in the title was sure to sell.

Of course, all this exploitation strayed far from old-time Negro folk blues. There was one redeeming feature, however, and that is that Negroes themselves composed and sang the best of the blues. The phonograph record companies employed colored blues singers and specialized in the sale of "race records" to Negroes. These records became as popular with white people as with Negroes, and it has been estimated that the three largest record manufacturers sold five or six million records a year in the days before the depression. Blues artists like Bessie Smith, Clara Smith, Ethel Waters, and Ma Rainey were known throughout the land, and some of their work was true to the spirit of the old-time Negro blues. Many a line in their blues came from the cotton fields or river steamboats or low-down joints of the South. Stanzas and lines like these might have been born in the South :

You don't know my mind,
You don't know my mind.
When you see me laughin',
I'm laughin' to keep from cryin'.

I love my man better than I love myself,
Oh, I love my man better than I love myself,
And if he don't have me, he won't have
nobody else.

Ashes to ashes and dust to dust,
Show me a woman that a man can trust.
Oh, tell me how long will I have to wait,
Can't I get you now, or must I hesitate?

Thus once more did a type of Negro song become the basis for commercial exploitation, but this time the Negro took a hand and came off with the lion's share of the honors. He borrowed from his storehouse of folk blues, shaped up his blues "hits," and turned them back to the folk with interest. It is all a bit confusing to the

folk-song collector who tries to keep origins and paths of diffusion straight, but to the folk it makes no difference. The phonograph and radio blues are rapidly becoming at home in the folk tradition.

BAD MAN STUFF

THE SECULAR SONGS of the Negro have a great deal to say about "the bad man," "the hot stuff man," or the "rough stuff man." The really bad men probably do not do much singing about their badness, but the ordinary folk seem to enjoy singing about the bandits and gun-toters. The folk like for their heroes to be strong and tough—men who "won't take nothin' off-a nobody." A Negro preacher was once heard describing Christ as a man who "wouldn't stand no foolin' wid. Why, he could pop a lion's head off jes like he was a fryin'-size chicken."

Songs about Jesse James, Railroad Bill, Desperado Bill, and other notorious bad men are still popular among Negroes. There are also several songs about one Lazarus, probably a real character, who came to a bad end. It seems that he was working on a construction job and had been paid off, but

Oh, bad man Lazarus,
Oh, bad man Lazarus,
He broke in de commissary,
Lawd, he broke in de commissary.

The commissary man got the sheriff on Lazarus' trail, telling him to bring him "dead or alive." The sheriff finally spied him "way between Bald mountain." The outcome was that poor Lazarus was "blowed down" with a "great big forty-five." And then comes the poignant finale:

Lazarus tol' high sheriff,
'Please give me drink o' water
Jes befo' I die,
Lawd, befo' I die."

One of the best of the bad-man songs is a ballad known as "Stagolee." Whether Stagolee was a real man and whether he was black or white, I do not know, but it does not matter.

Stagolee was a bully man an' everybody knowed
When dey seed Stagolee comin' to give Stagolee de road.
Oh, dat man, bad man, Stagolee done come.

When anyone asked Stagolee where he had been, he would say,

"I been out on de battle fiel' a-shootin' an' havin' fun." Such a rounder was bound to get into trouble. One day

Stagolee started out, he give his wife his han',
 "Goodbye, darlin', I'm goin' to kill a man."
 Oh, dat man, bad man, Stagolee done come.

Stagolee killed a man an' laid him on de flo'.
 What's dat he kill him wid? Dat great big forty-fo'. *Etc.*

Out of de house an' down de street Stagolee did run,
 An' in his han' he carried a great big smokin' gun. *Etc.*

After more such details comes the court scene, which, however, leaves us in the dark as to Stagolee's fate :

Stagolee cried to de jury, "Please don't take my life.
 I've got three little chillun an' one little lovin' wife," *Etc.*

A few other stanzas selected from various songs will finish off the picture of the bad man.

I'm de rowdy from over de hill,
 I'm de rowdy called Roscoe Bill,
 Roscoe Bill, Roscoe Bill.
 When I shoots, I shoots to kill.

I'm Roscoe Bill,
 De man of might,
 Plum tickled to death
 When I raise a fight.

When at night I makes my bed
 When at night I makes my bed,
 When at night I makes my bed,
 Puts my feet up to de head.

If dey hunts me in de night,
 If dey hunts me in de night,
 If dey hunts me in de night,
 I am ready for de fight.

I sleeps wid one year out,
 I sleeps wid one year out,
 I sleeps wid one year out,
 Got to know when dem rounders about.

Went up town wid my hat in my han', dis mornin'.
 Went up town wid my hat in my han', dis mornin'.
 Good mornin', jedge, I done killed my man,
 Dis mornin', dis evenin' so soon.

I didn't quite kill him, but I fixed him so, dis mornin',
 I didn't quite kill him, but I fixed him so, dis mornin',
 He won't bodder wid me no mo',
 Dis mornin', dis evenin' so soon.

Oh, Lawd!
 Shot my pistol
 In the heart o' town.
 Lawd, the big chief hollered,
 "Don't you blow me down."

Dere's a nigger on my track,
 Dere's a nigger on my track,
 Dere's a nigger on my track,
 Let de undertaker take him back.

I'm a man shoots de two-gun fire,
 I'm a man shoots de two-gun fire,
 I'm a man shoots de two-gun fire,
 I's got a gal who's a two-faced liar.

When I shoots I shoots to kill,
 When I shoots I shoots to kill,
 When I shoots I shoots to kill,
 Dat's why dey fears Shootin' Bill.

MEN AND WOMEN

EVER SINCE EVE ate the apple, the woman has been "the cause of it all." There is no theme which is more frequent in Negro songs than the relation of man and woman. It is the soul of the blues, and it runs through all other types of Negro songs as well.

The Negro man runs true to masculine form when he has difficulty getting along with women. He declares his sentiments in such lines as these:

Woman is a good thing an' a bad thing, too.
 They quit in the wrong an' start out bran' new.

Don't never git one woman on your min'.
 She'll keep you in trouble all your time.

The following song was taken from the singing of a Negro worker on a construction gang :

Lawd, Lawd, she keep on worryin' me,
Lawd, captain, she keep on worryin' me.

Lawd, she cry all night long,
Lawd, Lawd, she cry all night long.

• Mama, the mo' I pet her, Lawd,
The mo' I pet her the mo' she cries.

Lawd, I gonna give her mouf full o' fist
An', Lawd, she won't cry no mo'.

Captain, captain, I don't bother nobody,
Works every day as bes' I can.

Captain, look like you could make her,
Lawd, leave me alone.

Captain, she say she love me
Like school boy love his pie.

Lawd, she say I leave her alone,
Lawd, ain't got no friends at all.

Stanzas taken at random from other songs will illustrate the range of sentiment on the subject of women :

I's a-havin' a hell of a time,
I's a-havin' a hell of a time,
I's a-havin' a hell of a time,
Livin' wid dese two women o' mine.

Some o' dese nights
An' I don't keer,
Mammy gonna want me
An' I won't be here.

Some o' dese days
While I's here to home,
Better feed me an' pet me—
Don't, I'm gonna roam.

De gal love de money,
De man love de gal ;

If dey both don't get what dey wants,
It's livin' in hell.

My Jane am a gal dat loves red shies,
My Jane am a gal dat loves silk clo'es.

My Jane am a gal loves to frolic at night,
Won't cook for a feller, not even a bite.

My Jane's a gal gits all she can,
If you ain't got it, she hunts another man.

A sarpent crawls on his belly.
A cat wallers on his back.
De meanest varmint in dis worl'
Is de creeper in my shack.

My woman say hit's her brother,
Den say hit's her daddy, too.
If dat creeper don't stay away,
I knows what I's gonna do.

My black baby, you got no wings,
But, my black baby, you got better things.

The woman has her side, too, although songs of women about men are not quite as numerous as the men's songs. They have also been influenced considerably by the popular blues, because the majority of these blues were sung from the standpoint of the woman. Typical stanzas follow :

When I gets to heaven, don't wanta stay
Widout my Black Jack live out dat way.
Black Jack's a rounder, but I don't keer,
All us needs to be happy is a bed an' a chere.

I got a man an' a sweetheart, too.
I got a man an' a sweetheart, too.
I got a man an' a sweetheart, too.
Dere's misery in dis lan'.

Can't please my man an' my sweetheart, too, *etc.*

My man makes money an' my sweetheart makes none, *etc.*

My sweetheart makes love an' my man makes none, *etc.*

Dat sly gal,
 Oh, dat sly, lyin' 'ceitful gal.
 She lead dat long tearful prayer
 Wid her head propped on my chair.
 She stole my man away,
 Yes, Lawd, she stole my man away.

I's dreamin' of you,
 I's dreamin' of you,
 I's dreamin' of you,
 Every night.

I's thinkin' of you,
 I's thinkin' of you,
 I's thinkin' of you,
 All right.

I's wantin' of you,
 I's wantin' of you,
 I's wantin' of you,
 Day an' night.

WORK SONGS

THE NEGRO HAS long been accustomed to sing at work, especially in gang work, and whoever has not seen a group of Negroes swinging picks in perfect rhythm and heard them singing with utter abandon has missed one of the best scenes in the folk field. Work songs, like the tasks which they accompany, are of many kinds. Their tunes may range from an old spiritual to the latest blues hit and their subjects may deal with anything under the sun. On paper they may make sense, but often they do not. Many of them seem to be no more than, as one Negro put it, "jes hollerin' to help me with my work." Some of them, however, are interesting revelations of the worker's thoughts.

When the work is such that it does not require continuous rhythmic movements, one song is as good as another. On a gang where men are driving mules and scrapers, for example, one is likely to hear a great deal of individual singing. The singer likes to address his "cap'n" with lines like these:

Cap'n, cap'n, what time o' day?
 Cap'n, cap'n, what time o' day?
 Say he look at Waterbury,
 Throw his watch away.

Lawd, cap'n, cap'n, did you hear,
Lawd, cap'n, cap'n, did you hear,
All your men gonna leave you,
Your men gonna leave you on nex' pay day?

Cap'n gonna call me some o' these mornings,
Lawd, I'm gonna be gone.
Cap'n gonna call me, go back home,
Lawd, Lawd, I'll be gone.

He goes on and on, clearly improvising at times, until he has sung himself out with thirty or forty verses. Other stanzas frequently heard on this type of work are :

Reason I stay on de job so long,
Reason I stay on de job so long,
Dey give me hot flambotia
An' de coffee strong.

Reason I love my cap'n so,
Reason I love my cap'n so,
'Cause I ast him for a dollah
An' he give me fo' .

I told my cap'n my feet was col'.
"Doggone your feet, let de wheelers roll."

Cap'n, cap'n, you must be blin'—
Look at your watch, see ain't it quittin' time.

Little Evaline a-sittin' in de shade
Figurin' on de money dat I done made.

Work which calls for rhythmic movements calls for a different singing technique. Lines are broken up into short phrases punctuated with pauses. In digging, for example, the workers sing a line as they raise their picks, then pause and bring their picks down with a sort of grunt. The following pattern, with its characteristic repetitions, is found all over the South. Many songs are, of course, easily fitted into it. This particular stanza, by the way, inspired the title of one of Mr. Odum's books.

I got a rainbow—huh!
Rainbow round my shoulder—huh!
I got a rainbow—huh!

CULTURE IN THE SOUTH

Rainbow round my shoulder—huh!
 'Taint gonna rain—huh!
 Lawd, Lawd, 'taint gonna rain—huh!

In this brief treatment it is impossible to give an adequate idea either of the work songs or of the ways they are used. A few more selections from various work songs will have to suffice.

Oh, next winter be so cold,
 Oh, next winter be so cold,
 Oh, next winter be so cold,
 Fire can't warm you be so cold.

This old hammer killed John Henry,
 This old hammer killed John Henry,
 This old hammer killed John Henry,
 Can't kill me, Lawd, can't kill me.

This old hammer rings like silver,
 This old hammer rings like silver,
 This old hammer rings like silver,
 Shines like gold, boys, shines like gold.

If I'd a-known my cap'n was blind, darlin',
 If I'd a-known my cap'n was blind, darlin',
 If I'd a-known my cap'n was blind,
 I wouldn't a-went to work till half-pas' nine, darlin',

Cap'n, cap'n, you must be cross, darlin',
 Cap'n, cap'n, you must be cross, darlin',
 Cap'n, cap'n, you must be cross,
 Done five-thirty an' you won't knock off, darlin'.

NARRATIVE BALLADS

MR. HUDSON HAS discussed in the preceding chapter the survival of the English and Scottish ballads in white American folk-song tradition. I should like to point out here that the Negro has also had a share in preserving these old songs. No one knows how many of them are sung by Negroes, because few collectors have tried especially to find them, but there is evidence that most of the more popular ones are known by Negroes, particularly by old Negroes. Dorothy Scarborough, in her book *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs*, gives several examples of these old ballads which she found among Negroes, among them "The Hangman's Tree," "Lady Isabel and

the Elf Knight," "Bangum and the Boar," "The Jew's Daughter," "Lord Lovel," and "Barbara Allen." Additional ones have been noted down by other collectors. Some of them are remarkably well preserved in both words and tunes. At least one, "The Hangman's Tree," has been dramatized and used as a sort of folk play by Negroes in their school entertainments.

We are more concerned here, however, with the ballads in the making of which the Negro has had a more direct share. It must be admitted that there are not many, for Negro songs are not strong in the matter of clear-cut and sustained narratives. Few have settled into definite narrative molds or acquired titles which are widely used by the singers themselves. There are a few, however, which should be included in this discussion.

As might be expected, many of the native American ballads listed by Mr. Hudson have been adopted and adapted by Negroes. Such semi-folk products as "Jesse James," "Casey Jones," "Steamboat Bill," etc., were in their day Negro favorites. Today songs like "The Death of Floyd Collins," "Sidney Allen," and "The Wreck on the C. & O." are popular with Negroes as well as whites.

More typically Negro are "Stagolee," which I have already described, and "Frankie and Albert," both of which may still be heard occasionally. "Frankie and Albert," or "Frankie and Johnnie" as it is sometimes called, is almost a classic among folk songs. It begins :

Frankie was a good woman,
Everybody knows.
She gave forty dollars
For Albert a suit o' clothes.
Oh, he was her man,
But he done her wrong.

Frankie was standing on the corner one day when she "looked up to a second-story window" and "saw Alice in Albert's arms." Frankie got her gun and went after her man. She got him. Then comes the final stanza so dear to the heart of the folk singer :

Forty-dollar buggy,
Rubber-tire hack.
Took po' Albert to the grave yard
But didn't bring him back.
Oh, he was her man,
But he done her wrong.

By far the most interesting and heroic of the ballads sung by

Negroes is "John Henry." This song describes a contest between a Negro steel driver and a steam drilling machine. Whether there was such a man and such a contest, we do not know, but, as I have shown in my book entitled *John Henry*, there is pretty good evidence that the ballad is based on an incident which occurred about 1871 during the building of the Big Bend Tunnel on the C. & O. Railroad in West Virginia. The ballad usually opens with a fatalistic sentiment :

John Henry was a little boy
Sittin' on his papa's knee.
Said, "The Big Ben' Tunnel on the C. & O. road
Is gonna be the death of me,
Is gonna be the death of me."

Most of the songs set forth John Henry's challenge to the steam drill :

John Henry said to his captain,
"Well, a man ain't nothin' but a man,
But before I'll be beaten by your old steam drill,
I'll die with my hammer in my han',
Lawd, I'll die with my hammer in my han'."

And that is just what he did, according to most versions of the song. He beat the steam drill, but "he laid down his hammer and he died." Some of the accounts go into more pathetic details. One avers that

He broke a rib on his left-han' side,
And his entrails fell on the groun'.

And, of course, John Henry had a "little woman." Sometimes she "drove steel like a man" because "John Henry was sick and couldn't go to work," and she is usually present in the final scene :

John Henry had a little woman,
An' the dress she wore was red.
She went down the track an' never looked back,
Said, "I'm goin' where my man fell dead,
I'm goin' where my man fell dead."

These paper glimpses of Negro songs are at best poor substitutes for Negro songs. I might have discussed also dance songs, songs about animals, chain-gang songs, lullabies, and others, but after all, classifications do not mean much, and I had to draw the line some-

where. There is one more point which might be worth mentioning, however. It is that the Negro in his songs sometimes takes off his mask and gives us that mean look which he would like to give us oftener if he dared :

White man in starched shirt settin' in shade,
White man in starched shirt settin' in shade,
White man in starched shirt settin' in shade,
Laziest man dat God ever made.

If a white man kills a nigger,
They don't even carry it to co't.
If a nigger kills a white man,
They hang him like a goat.

When dey gits old, old an' gray,
When dey gits old, old an' gray,
Den white folks look like monkeys
When dey gits old, old an' gray.

FOLK AND FOLKLORE

BY B. A. BOTKIN

THE LIVING FOLKLORE of the South centers, for the purposes of a brief study, in three relatively uneducated English-speaking groups—mountain white, lowland white, and Negro. Here is a homogeneous body of lore, largely European in origin but native in growth, differing among the three groups only as different natural, social, economic, and cultural factors have variously affected the process of assimilation and development.

Folk groups are distinguished by cultural isolation. The folk, like the primitive, group is one that has been cut off from progress and has retained beliefs, customs, and expressions with limited acceptance and acquired new ones in kind. A group may be cut off by mountain barriers or other physiographic features, by undeveloped facilities of communication, transportation, and education, and by differences in nationality, language, or occupation. These isolating factors lead to social, economic, and cultural inequalities, such as poverty, a low standard of living, illiteracy, prejudice, lack of enterprise, subjugation, etc., which in turn create further isolation.

Geographical isolation has been the dominant factor in the two mountain areas, the Southern Appalachians and the Ozarks. The former, in three parallel belts, the eastern Blue Ridge-Unakas, the Central Appalachian Valley, and the western Allegheny-Cumberland Plateaus, extend in a general northeast to southwest direction through Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and South and North Carolina. They were settled in a series of migrations dating from Revolutionary times, chiefly between 1800 and 1850. The settlers were mainly Scotch-Irish and Germans from Pennsylvania and English, Scotch, Irish, and French Huguenots from the piedmont and tidewater areas. These people, chiefly of the artisan and small farmer class, came seeking freedom—social, religious, and economic—attracted by the mountain wilderness, with its abundant game, timber, and pure water, and its cool

climate, and induced by war bounties (frequently in the form of land grants), the restlessness following the Revolution, the opening of new routes and Indian boundaries, and salt and gold discoveries. After 1850, in contrast to progress in the lower, more fertile valleys (the site of the earlier mountain settlements) and the more prosperous and populous lowlands, the rugged and inaccessible ridge sections (into which the later settlement had been pushed) became more isolated. It is the people of these remote fastnesses that constitute the true highland folk. They were not, however, entirely static. Vibrations of the industrial invasion—with its rising tide of roads, railroads, towns, hotels, tourists, coal mines, lumber mills, and water power—began to be felt even “up creek”; and many families were “dollar-signed” here and in the cotton mills of the piedmont. Others who pushed on west (some by way of central Missouri) found a “miniature Appalachia” in the Ozark-Ouachita mountains, which rise like an “egg-shaped excrescence” from the surrounding central plain in southern Missouri and Arkansas. Here the opening of the Osage lands in 1825 attracted settlers in large numbers from the mountain districts of Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina. Some of these or their descendants spread out into Texas and Oklahoma, where they mingled with other mountain stock (routed directly from the East or by way of the states to the north of Oklahoma) and with lowland whites. But those who stayed in the mountains did so because they preferred a simple life, with occasional labor, in a hunter’s and fisherman’s paradise, to the larger rewards and the steadier industry of the open country, from which, however, a new migration of business- and pleasure-seekers soon crowded in on them.

The character of the mountain folk is hit off by the Ozarker’s shrewd and somewhat contemptuous description of the invaders as “nothin’ but hired hands,” while he “don’t take no orders from nobody.”¹ True it is, the frontier and backwoods environment of Appalachia and Ozarkia nourished a hardy, independent, if backward, race of men, living in an uncaptialized, patriarchal, inbred society. Comparative stability and inaccessibility encouraged the folk qualities of conservatism and individualism. Religious orthodoxy and social anarchy grew a hard protective shell—inwardly restrictive as well as outwardly exclusive in its uncompromising quality—about the folklore of

the beechwood fiddle and the salt
Old-fashioned ballad-English of our first

¹ Vance Randolph, *The Ozarks : An American Survival of Primitive Society*, p. 299.

Rowdy, corn-liquor-drinking, ignorant youth ;
Also the rifle and the frying-pan,
The old feud-temper and the old feud-way
Of thinking strangers better shot on sight
But treating strangers that one leaves unshot
With border-hospitality.

High peaks and low gaps and tortuous creek-trails, shutting the highlander not only from the outside world but also from his fellows, bred a suspicious, almost sullen sensitiveness and secretiveness, symbolized by such terms for the stranger and his new-fangled world and ways as "furriner," "outlander," "yan side," "down creek," "brought-on," "fotch-on." The law of "make it yourself or do without" evoked the "clanhish vices" of "clan-virtues"—on the one hand, the frontier code of private justice and ingrown loyalties, whose feuds, gangs, moonshiners, "barons," and outlaws have inspired romancers and aroused detractors, and on the other, the handed-down traditions of home and "blood kin," with its fireside industries and "living sense of the long continuity of human life," whose handicraft and oral memories have attracted the ballad-student, the folklorist, and the folk writer as to a museum of antiquities. Although it is easy to exaggerate the nobility or degeneracy of mountain "backwardness"—its quaintness, picturesqueness, grotesqueness, and fanaticism—as well as the evils or benefits of meddling "progress"—its sophistication, standardization, corruption, and ruthlessness—one must remember that the industrialist is simply finishing the exploitation that the pioneer began. And when all discounts have been made, the mountain folk's hoarded wealth of songs, sayings, stories, and superstitions remains to demonstrate that the atmosphere of folklore is the atmosphere of the home ideal—the indigenous, the self-sufficient, and the permanent—the mold of true genius and culture.

Geographical isolation has affected the lowland areas chiefly in the form of the rural environment. That is, where inaccessibility is not due to special causes, such as islands, tidal marshes, river bottoms, swamps, bayous, boggy flats, sandhills, pine barrens, timber, etc., living in the open country is sufficient to isolate. Here, however, isolation is mainly social and economic—"poor white" inferiority inherent in the cotton culture that dominates the region from Virginia to Texas, from the foot of the mountains to the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Its rigid caste system includes, in addition to a large white tenantry, two factors generally alien to the more isolated regions of the mountains—the "quality" and a large Negro population.

The "quality" also has its traditions, rooted in the feudal and chivalrous past of the old South. Its childhood and its children are inseparably bound up with Negro servants and nurses, who have become traditionally the transmitters of folklore and fable to the nursery. As a squirearchy it comes into daily contact with black and white superstition—one of the bulwarks of the share system. But the landowning class is too far removed from the soil to constitute more than a fringe on southern folklore, though it has helped to keep the latter alive with the patronage of its provincial, paternalistic culture and literature, its agrarian economy, its policy of *laissez faire* and *noblesse oblige*, and its unacademic preference for outdoor living, kennels and stables, conversation and oratory. Yet sectionalism, agrarianism, traditionalism, ritualism, and friendly garrulous talk—the sophisticated counterparts of folk isolation, survival, handicraft, and oral memory—are not enough to make folklore. The vivid images and symbols, anecdotes and hero tales of plantation, Civil War, and Reconstruction days, and the old Tidewater, Bluegrass, and Creole aristocracy, like those of the feudal cattle ranch of the Spanish and Anglo-American southwest, belong to local color, romance, and history, to regional culture rather than to folklore.

At the basis of this regional society and culture, which takes its patterns and symbols from cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice, apples, peaches, citrous fruit, lumber, naval supplies, river transportation, cattle, and oil—but especially cotton, are two backward groups whose lore must be disentangled from colonial and frontier history, though the two serve to illuminate and corroborate each other, and also distinguished from that of the mountains, which, as our last frontier, remains, after all, a world apart. Not apart, however, in origins, since the lowland whites boast the same "pure English" and "pure American" stock and old English speech, in a mixture of the northern England and Scotch-Irish type of the mountains with the southern England type of the coastal area. Yet, in spite of some migration and back-migration between them, highlands and lowlands have differed essentially in their history, chiefly by reason of the close personal contact between poor whites and Negroes in the latter. At the outset the Negroes learned their English, their religion, and most of their songs and beliefs from white planters, fellow-laborers, overseers, and evangelists, not without original contributions and counter-effect on the whites. And they have since mingled their blood and their contempt—not only for each other but also for their betters and for the outcast "yellow bastards." The poor whites resent the "stuck up" town folks, and the blacks,

the "edecated, trouble-makin' niggers," while the South Carolina cracker would "burn every nigger in de world wid a smile an' give 'em a little more fire every time dey hollered," though there "ain't nothin' like hearin' a good singin' nigger."

The history of the poor white dates from the time when the cheap white laborers, including indentured servants and convicts, who manned the plantations before the introduction of slavery, were, with the latter, pushed back into the interior, especially to the poor lands in the sand- and clayhill belts. Here, too, was the refuge of the small farmer who had remained outside the plantation system or given up in the unequal struggle with slave labor. The competition increased with the spread of the plantation system inland. After the war, the change from the old plantation to tenantry raised many of the neglected natives, white and black, to the position of landowners, especially as a result of declining cotton prices and land values, and led to the extension of cotton culture to the southwest. But the movement for home ownership was soon checked and cotton became definitely a tenant crop, condemning the poor white to a vicious circle of poverty and illiteracy which tended to the survival of the inefficient farmer and, in spite of constant moving in search of better places, rarely permitted him to move out of his class.

Within the closed circle some range of variation is afforded by regional diversity of soil, physiography, and crops, by supplementary or occasional employment at moonshining, public works, picking fruit, cutting bolts, making syrup and turpentine, etc., and by entrance into the textile and extractive industries. The most distinctive "garden escapes" are the hill billy of the lower uplands and the people of the swamps and the second river bottoms (above overflow), who in their backwoods and backwater wilderness retain a primitiveness akin to that of the mountain white. They may combine farming and timber cutting with hunting and fishing, but the latter is their chief interest; and in spite of the increased reclamation of sloughs by drainage and the cutting over of swamps for timber, the hills and jungles still support a race of woodsmen who run their fox hounds and hunt squirrel, rabbit, coon, 'possum, and mink. In this class the inhabitants of the Crowley Ridge and St. Francis River bottom in the Sunk Lands of east Arkansas and of the hills, swamps, and piney woods of eastern Oklahoma and Texas and northern Mississippi are typical.

Some distinction also exists between small owners and tenants. The middle class small farmers, merchants, property-owners, and professional men (sometimes the children of tenants) are apt to be

of the soft-spoken, easy-going, southern type, perhaps with a plantation background, more communicative on the subject of lore, though in their daily lives it necessarily plays a less active rôle, relegated to a secondary place by better education and manners and material comfort. The tenant and cropper, living at or below the level of subsistence, on sowbelly, cornbread, sorghum, and beans, rarely getting beyond the lower grades, have more time to mull things over, despite the distractions of cars and radios, and, though inarticulate, are more apt to live their lore. Their children, when they go to the rural schools or into town to work, may lose their timidity and ape modern ways, acquiring a veneer of small-town sophistication and even temporarily escaping from their class. But scratch them and you find the folk, and ultimately they seek their own level. In at least one Oklahoma community the settlers are distinguished from the movers by the fact that the former are stamped as social outcasts and backsliders when they go to dances, whereas the latter, having no caste to lose, take part in them with all the boisterous accompaniments of card-playing, drunkenness, fighting, and immorality, and even tend to break up the more seemly socials and parties of their betters. The settlers, moreover, are not given to the excesses of the protracted or "big" meetings that are held by the church in laying-by time, while the renters and croppers find in these gatherings the chief emotional outlet of the year and are swelling the numbers of the Holy Rollers and other extreme sects.

These differences are merged, however, in the common system of tenure. As the renter and cropper are bound to the owner by the crop lien, so the small owner is bound to the banker or merchant by the crop mortgage. All have to be "carried" until the crops are in—though the owner happens to have accumulated a little more of the goods of the world (measured in farm implements, mules, and hound dogs) than the renter, while the cropper and wage hand have even less. But the mover shares in that wealth of lore from which one Oklahoma ballad-collector culled her first text of *Barbara Allen* and the picture "of a woman sitting high on a spring seat of a covered wagon in a long row of them drawn by lean scrub horses down the middle of the street. It seemed that she had just let her body drop double, and kept it from tumbling over by propping her arm on her knee and chin. This pushed her head forward from her shoulders as a terrapin darts his back and forth from his shell. The hard lines of her sun-browned face were made more straight with that far-off look so natural for the real ballad singer to take when he is in the spirit of his song. She was unmindful of anything around her save for the drumming of the reins on the backs

of the horses. Accompanied by the beating of a galvanized feed bucket against a cane-bottomed chair, she sang in a high pitched voice :

‘Sweet Willie died for me to-day,
I’ll die for him to-morrow.’ ”

Yet of these same folk the same collector writes on a more discouraging day : “I had met too many dirty people, too many unkept homes with dull-eyed and flat-breasted mothers with shy children clinging to their dresses. Too many blank faces had said, ‘No, I never sing. I used to when I was a girl, but I don’t now.’ ”

In the case of the Negro, whose relations with the whites have been “partly segregated, partly interwoven,” isolation and contact have been the determining factors, with reciprocal effects among both races. In the matter of isolation, for example, where the Negro is in the majority in rural districts, the whites tend to move to town, and vice versa. And in the matter of contact, it has even been suggested that “the whites of the South gave up their superstitions all the more quickly because the Negro took them over and the planter had no desire to be like the slave.”² White ridicule, on the other hand, is increasing Negro sensitiveness, especially among the educated, and “is destined to be a most potent factor in forcing the Negro to relinquish [superstitions] more quickly than he ordinarily would.” The importance of segregation in the life of the southern Negro may be seen from the effect of white contacts on the beliefs and speech of the northern Negro. Two contributory factors are involved. One is mass suggestion. “Where black meets only black in the Black Belt there is no apt standard of comparison and the old ideas remain rooted in fertile soil.” Another factor is language, differences in which may be correlated with isolation. Isolation in turn makes for increased uncouthness of speech and so for more isolation. Accordingly, with segregation, mass suggestion, and speech in mind, the strongholds of Negro beliefs are to be sought in districts where the Negro has been isolated by lack of communication and transportation, as on the Sea Islands and in the Tidewater or low country, which until recently was difficult of access to the up-country by land ; where he has been concentrated by cotton ownership and tenacy and resulting segregation—in the middle coastal plain of Virginia and North and South Carolina, in the Black Belt of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, along the bottoms of the Mississippi, Arkansas, Red, and Brazos rivers, and in the Yazoo Delta ; where after the Civil War he escaped into the pinewoods and swamps

² Newbell Niles Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, p. 581.

(e. g., the Congaree Swamp of central South Carolina) to make his living as a small farmer, wood cutter, or hunter and as a result, by reversion, has become even more backward than his plantation ancestors; or where a pure African survival has been transplanted and has taken root and flourished in the face of white contacts, as in the voodoo tradition of New Orleans.

In the early history of the Negro in the South segregation and contact similarly affected his culture, as the very traits which are now being perpetuated or eliminated were imposed upon him by or imitated from the whites, with resulting loss, survival, or transformation of his African heritage. This process of substitution and change throws light on the whole problem of the diffusion and acculturation of lore in the South. Three factors may be observed at work. The first is *assimilation*—"when an advanced and a backward people come into contact, the culture of the backward people is the most affected"³—demonstrated by the small contribution of the Negro to white culture outside of animal lore, a handful of words, and some musical traits and developments. A second factor is *imitation*—"the socially inferior predominantly imitates the socially superior"—a principle which gains added significance from the fact that "all things negroid were tabooed to the socially ambitious whites." Imitation, however, is not mechanical, but includes adaptation and reinvention. A third factor is *survival*—as a result of cultural isolation the backward culture retains usages which it took over in the process of imitation (e. g., seventeenth-century speech patterns involving the archaic and provincial usages of the midland and southern English dialects).

Substitution, imitation, and survival, however, did not affect all parts of Negro culture equally as segregation and contact did not operate uniformly in Negro life. From the social control exerted by the dominant whites in order to bring the Negro into participation in plantation work and society followed the tendency of "the Negro to take over English practices in regard to the direct maintenance and perpetuation of life, while in things relating to pleasure, his customs seemingly have more of an African turn." Since control is largely dependent upon and exerted through contact, the degree of contact may be said to determine the degree of control and so of African survival, with self-maintenance and self-gratification as the chief limiting factors. Thus in his secular rhymes and tales, whose purpose is self-gratification, the Negro has been allowed to retain his African animal lore and, in fact, been encouraged to do so for

³ *Ibid.*, p. 520. See also Guy B. Johnson, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* and Stoney and Shelby, *Black Genesis*.

the entertainment of white children. In his sermons and sacred songs, on the other hand, conformity to white patterns caused Christian mythology to supplant the African, though under cover of Christianity, after the outward demands had been satisfied, the Negro slipped in many primitive forms of self-gratification, including rhythmic and pictorial elements, anthropomorphism, and even voodooism. In this way religion, beginning as a means of white control, has made possible the Negro's emancipation from that control, with the development of the church into a social institution for his own needs. In the field of beliefs the Negro tended to take over European folk medicine, weather and crop lore, and other signs, omens, taboos, and observances connected with the practical affairs of life; whereas African beliefs of the supernatural—especially the avoidance and propitiation of the spirits of the dead, demonology, witchcraft, voodooism, conjuration, etc.—persisted, since the Negro's contact with the whites in disease and death ceased at the point of interment and white control did not extend to indirect revenge. In language, finally, the Negro usages that have survived have been words connected with the supernatural (*voodoo*, *plat-eye*, *mojo*, *grigri*, *obi*), words for plants and animals better known to the slaves than to the English (*okra*, *gumbo*, *yam*, *goober*), or more expressive substitutes for English equivalents (*buckra*, *cooter*).

In the interrelations of whites and Negroes various mixtures and diversifications have arisen which would have to be given a place in a comprehensive treatment of racial and industrial groupings in the South. If the present survey has unavoidably given an impression of over-simplification and false unity, then in their more detailed portraiture black and white folk groups would show a mingling of Creole, Cajun, Indian, West Indian, and Mexican elements (not to speak of other European nationalities transplanted but not quite naturalized in the South) as well as a variety of occupational customs, beliefs, and lingos connected with the logging and turpentine camp, the sawmill, oil field, pipeline, quarry, mine, steamboat, shantyboat, construction work (including road, railroad, tunnel, and bridge construction), levee working, roustabouting, trucking, chain gang, prison camp, cotton gin, cotton mill, sugar mill, steel mill, etc.

II

WHAT HAS HAPPENED to the Negro's folk heritage in the South is happening to southern folklore as a whole. With relation to the rest of society the folk is partly segregated and partly intertwined. And as isolation and contact are the law for the folk group, so growth

and decay are the law for folklore. In their growth folk forms of belief, custom, and expression are the product of superstition, a state of mind congenial to the establishment and acceptance of fantastic or erroneous connections. And in their decay folk forms are the victim of science, a state of mind that insists on actual or logical connections. The difference between superstition and science, however, is simply a difference in choice. Where both a real and a fantastic connection are offered, side by side, the superstitious mind will invariably choose the latter. Since the choice is habitual, it becomes a matter of attitude. But it is useful to contemplate folk beliefs, as has been postulated of folk song and folk tale, as the "manifestations of the popular genius, acting under the same impulses as the productive mind of literary men, scholars, and artists. The two differ only in much the same things in which different literary schools are apt to be at variance, that is, in questions of taste and methods of technique."⁴ As science advances, then, superstition recedes, but it is impossible to conceive of literary and scientific education as ever completely stamping out popular fantasy, since even the educated still share folk beliefs. As different attitudes of choice and behavior, science and superstition represent alternate modes of procedure and, to a certain extent, a division of labor—science taking over the realm of the normal, which becomes the uniform and known, embodied in common sense and natural law (the wart that responds to treatment with acid or X-ray), and leaving to superstition the realm of the supernormal, which arises in the fortuitous and unknown (the wart that refuses to respond to treatment and has to be charmed).

The evidence on which superstition bases its conclusions is circumstantial or inferential—somebody's say-so, accident, erroneous observation, free association—the coincidences, contingencies, fanciful resemblances, and assumed causes which result in the fallacies of false causal relation and analogy. "The reason why many details were grouped together as they had been was because folks grouped them in a certain pattern, not because they were necessarily patterned in that precise way."⁵ But, not content with grouping things in a certain pattern because it pleases the fancy, the folk goes on to assume a necessity. Take the pattern of three, long a mystical number. Brother Tob Akers had it all figured out. "That air nature, more or less. Things in the universe sorter runs in threes. Ye notice when you take a disease like mumps or measles hit takes three weeks

⁴ Alexander Haggerty Krappe, *The Science of Folk-Lore*, p. x. See also Martha Warren Beckwith, *Folklore in America*.

⁵ Harry Harrison Kroll, *Three Brothers and Seven Daddies*, p. 29.

atter you been with the pusson what had it before ye ketches hit. Look at the trees over thar.' He pointed toward the encroaching woods. 'Nigh about ever big tree ye looks at has three big limbs on it. In heaven that air the Father, Son, and Holy Ghos'. I thought a heap about that, and I figgered out hit war kaze of the Trinity. . . . Thar's lots of other things runs in threes, or three times threes. Hit takes a sow three months to litter her peegs; but a woman don't have no baby till three times three. Hit takes pole beans from the time ye puts the seeds in the ground till ye kin pick the ripe beans nigh about three months to a day. Same with Ir'sh taters. Same with lots of other truck. Co'n, hit takes two threes. An' so and so on.' 'Wa-al, dog my cats if that ain't the truth!' "

This ingenious and elaborate "inferring of inferences from other inferences, themselves inferred from conjectures as to the existence of facts of which no proof is adduced" (in the words of Lang) is here devised to substantiate another inferential belief (arrived at by a similar patterning) that "when there are two deaths close together there is always a third one, for death takes place in threes." The latter belief is associated with the "family tradition among the Reed family that when an old Reed dies, he was always followed by some younger person" and is in turn associated with the belief that to bury a corpse in a wet grave will cause the drowning of some member of the family. " 'Fur why? Reason enough why. . . . Fust place, hit air agin all nature! Who wants to spend his life soaked in water, and who wants to lay in a lot of water atter he air dead? *I* fur one shore don't. An' haint it in reason that somebody buried in water thatter ways will call some of thar kin to come take 'em out of the wet? An' if thar kin goes, won't they hev to die to git the dead? W'y, they hain't no other way! Mark my words, if they bury them corpses in the wet, some them Reeds will drown! That's whut happened to Mark Lowe, when his boy got drowned r'at thar where Sinkin' Creek slides under the Brother!' "

Although "incontrovertible proof" like the foregoing may be presented to quash skepticism, superstition is content to rest its case on faith—a belief in signs. The superstitious state of mind is thus not simply illogical but a-logical—mystical. It sees a sign in everything, and believes that "signs wuz putchere fer man t' read" ("De Bible say," one often hears, and "There's signs in the Bible. It says so.") Since a sign is always a sign of the unusual, the unusual is always a sign. "*Ef hit ain't nachel, hit's a sign!*" And "ef you cain' do de readin', de nex' bes' thing t' do is t' ast somebody whut kin, en den, do whut dey tells you. Hit's a whole lot mo' safer t' do wrong tryin' t' do right dan hit is t' do wrong not tryin' t' do nothin' a-tall. . . ."

The respect for age is as notable as the respect for tradition. "Ast de ole folks, dey knows."

In general, signs are of two kinds—warning signs, the unnatural signs referred to above, which indicate effects to follow, on the basis that coming events cast their shadows before them (omens, portents) and luck signs, good or bad, which indicate observances (charms, cures, sometimes in the form of counter-charms to break another charm or avert a bad omen) or avoidances (taboos). "Warnin's" may be a "good sign" or a "bad sign" or just a "sign" or "mean" something; charms and taboos are described in some such terms as "hit's good luck" to do this or "hit's bad luck" to do that; while a cure is "good for" or a "sure cure for." A person "has a warnin'" or "knows of" a cure; he "can feel" a change in weather coming on, but animals "know" it; signs "come true," "work out," or "work out true." The reading of a weather sign may take the form of "looks like" or something "looks like . . . from the way"; the report of a sign may begin, "I know you don't believe much in signs" or "I don't believe in all signs, but"; the favorite expressions of faith and approval are "I've always heerd that," "I've heerd it that way all my life," "I've never knowed it to fail yet," and of doubt and disapproval, "I never did pay no mind to," "I never knowed it to happen out that way," or "You can't tell."

Underlying omens and luck signs are the laws of magic which Frazer designates as the law of similarity and the law of contact or contagion, according to which an event can be predicted or an effect produced by mere likeness or contact. Nowhere are these principles more potent than in the conditions surrounding childbirth, which are most carefully guarded by both white and black folk in the South. Because things increase and decrease with the moon, the days just before or after the new moon are, to quote one Mississippi Negro prophetess, the "'bes' time fer birthin' chillun, 'ca'se de moon's gedderin' strengt' t' come new, en de baby is gittin' strengt' t' come wid it. En ef it comes jes atter de new moon, dat's jez ez good, 'ca'se de Bible say 'ez de moon wax strong in de heb'm, so will de young on de ye'th' . . . tell her not t' be skeered 'ca'se d' ain' nothin' t' be skeered uv—jes take kyere uv hers'f, en eve'y day bathe her lines [loins] wid dishwatter, en don' let nothin'—no cat er dawg er rat er snake ner nothin'—skeer 'er, 'ca'se dat'll mark de baby. En tell 'er, Ole Mis', she ought t' drink milkweed tea reg'lar, t' make de breas' milk strong, en ef she put some mullein in it, dat'll he'p. (Great Gawd! But dar's a heap dat chile don' know, ain' dey?) En anudder thing, Ole Mis', tell 'er t' be *sho* t' tie a red flannin straing roun' 'er wais' fer strengt'." According to the

same laws of similarity and contact, selecting a "name-tree" for the child is "techous" business. It must be a "soon budder," but hackberry, which buds first, has a rough bark, which makes for mean temper; whereas the oak, which is for strength, is a late budder and a slow grower. But a straight elm sapling—" 'Dat's de one,' she said, 'quick budder, grows fas', en, Lawd, how tough a ellum is!' ”⁶

So the principle of "like cures like" follows the child every step of the way: a sharp ax (or plowshare) placed under the bed cuts the mother's "birthin'" pains quick, "but hit let's em bleed too much"; watering the name-tree with the baby's first bathing water would make them blood kin; chicken gizzard-linin' tea will cure the colic (also nausea, as chewing dried linings relieves indigestion, on account of the notorious hardness of the chicken's gizzard); a hog-teeth necklace helps the cutting of teeth because a hog's teeth are strong and sharp; so does a field mouse if you run a needle and white thread through one eye and out the other and while it is still kicking hang it around the baby's neck, and as the life leaves the mouse it goes into the baby and strengthens both teeth and baby; and as the boy grows older he has to swallow a fish-bladder before he can learn to swim.

Because of the passive and conservative rôle of woman, luck signs, omens, and taboos are her special prerogative, especially the "das-sents," which suggest the utility of superstition for social control, as in the discipline of children, etiquette, industry. (In the Ozarks a wart, boil, or sty on the posterior is said to be caused by urinating in or fouling a path, though one may escape the consequences by shouting, "I got a sty, it's a lie!"; children are also told that if they foul a path or road their sisters will die; and to eat in a toilet is described as "feedin' th' devil an' starvin' Gawd"⁷.) Taboos surround virtually every daily activity of the household—sleeping, rising, wearing of stockings and garments, care of the hair and nails, signs at sunrise or before breakfast, eating, drinking, treatment of beds, chairs, tables, sinks, stoves, fires, lamps, clocks, mirrors, baking, washing, sewing, carpentry, carrying edged tools, water, ashes into, through, or out of the house, turning back, walking backwards, clasping the hands behind, planting of trees, killing of animals, etc. And equally numerous and familiar are the omens in things dropped, spilled, or found, sneezing, itching, twitching, burning sensations, features, furniture, apparel, birds, animals, the moon, the elements.

The moon and the elements are equally the concern and specialty

⁶ John B. Sale, *The Tree Named John*, p. 86.

⁷ For these and other Ozark beliefs see Vance Randolph, *op. cit.*; also Charles Morrow Wilson, "Folk Beliefs in the Ozark Hills," *Folk-Say*, 1930, pp. 157-172.

of the men, because of their connection with crops. "The moon had more to do with running the country than the sun did," avers one old timer of the days of his youth. Root crops and tubers, plants of darkness, are planted in the dark of the moon ; above-ground crops in the light of the moon. The dark of the moon is also the time for deadening trees, killing weeds, riving shingles, splitting rails, laying rail fences, taking medicine, charming warts and sties, and (in the last quarter) avoiding venereal disease. The light of the moon is the time when fruit can not be killed, when fruit trees should be pruned and cut for good growth, potatoes dug and pork meat slaughtered. The signs of the zodiac also control planting and disease. Plant cabbage when the sign is in the head, cucumbers, melons, and fruit when it is in the twins, and corn in Scorpio, and castrate pigs " 'when th' sign leaves th' privates an' is a-startin' down.' " One is most susceptible to stomach trouble in Cancer, throat diseases in Taurus, venereal disease in Scorpio. Thus the almanac occupies a place beside the Bible, and, if one can make out the text as well as the signs, "not more for the weather prophecies," according to one informant, "than for the witty jokes and sayings together with a good deal of world history."

But for the farmer weather overshadows world and makes local history, as it makes crops, conversation, and mythology. In Texas and Oklahoma drouth is a menace, especially to the cotton farmer ; to cotton delayed by drought, as always in the piedmont near the mountains, the first killing frost is another hazard, and, in general wet springs are a boon to the boll weevil and wet falls the bane of the cotton buyer. In so far as he watches his smoking tobacco for dampness and observes the sweating of pumps and water pipes, the falling of smoke and soot, heavy dews and a gray sky at sunset, the farmer detects rain scientifically. When he bathes a cat in sulphur water, burns driftwood along the creeks or builds a fire in a stump on a cloudy day, hangs a snake on a fence or a bush "belly side up," sweeps down the cobwebs in the house, sprinkles salt on two crossed matches, or is led by the minister in prayer, he is "making" rain. And when he looks for snake tracks leading to higher ground, chickens oiling their feathers, or ants and prairie dogs banking up earth about the entrance to their hills, counts the stars within the circle around the moon to tell the number of days before a storm, measures the severity of the coming winter by the thickness of corn shucks, a hog's milt, or a goose's breastbone, and an extra heavy layer of fat, fur, or feathers in animals and birds, or takes warning of cold weather from a hog with a stick in its mouth, he is only guessing.

If the weather, on the whole, is outside of man's control, not so with love and health—his two chief fields for charms and cures. Folk medicine shows some division of labor—in so far as the men minister to the farm animals and stock or serve as “wart takers,” “yerb” doctors, and “chills an’ fever” doctors—and some scientific foundation, in the empiric *materia medica* (developed by trial and error) of herbs, leaves, barks, roots, seeds, fat meat, etc., used for teas, poultices, and unguents. But the women, especially the “granny woman” or midwife, the herb woman, and the old woman who has raised a large family to healthy maturity, are the chief practitioners, and mysticism and the doctrines of the scapegoat and of “like cures like” (signatures and “the hair of the dog that bit one”) predominate. Thus the poison of tobacco kills poison in the system; smoking makes the corpulent “spit their fat away”; grease rendered from red earthworms mixed with turpentine, asafoetida, and red-onion juice makes a good liniment because all these substances draw their strength from the earth; snake oil cures snake bite; onions are used to take up “yaller jaundice,” the cut halves of the onion turning yellow as they take up the disease from the air; a child may be cured of fits by giving it a small dog to play and sleep with so that the dog “takes” the fits from the child and dies; a sty or venereal disease may be cured by passing it on to another; warts may be “bought,” or “charmed off” by tying an equal number of knots in a horsehair or string and burying, burning, or losing it. On the whole, charm cures lend themselves to the treatment of ailments characterized by sudden appearance and disappearance, seizure, or unpredictability, such as fits, insanity, rheumatism, bleeding, chills and fever, etc., or to panaceas (spitting on a stone to relieve pain) or preventives (wearing asafoetida, a buckeye, beads, red flannel, a copper ring, wrist or ankle band, a coin).

Folk medicine naturally attaches more importance to the “spell” than to the “simple,” and there is a good deal of hocus-pocus in “healing,” especially in the treatment of affections due to heat and cold, which seem to require the casting out of demons; e. g., old women can cool fevers by the laying on of hands; chills can be driven away by boring a deep hole in the sunny side of an oak tree, blowing your breath into it, and plugging up the hole, with the result that the tree dies; fire can be driven out of burns and scalds by blowing or spitting upon the inflammation, holding it close to a hot fire or stove, or applying a moistened finger-tip and muttering some mystic “sayin’,” such as a verse from the Bible, passed on from a person of the opposite sex and shrouded in secrecy, lest the charm be broken; similar magic formulae are used to heal warts,

ulcers, "risin's," sties, etc., and to stop bleeding; a posthumous child can cure croup or "thrash" by blowing into the patient's mouth; seventh sons of seventh sons and persons born with a caul are "double-sighted" and make good doctors. Yet in spite of all this there is rarely a suspicion of charlatanism, positive deception, or insincerity, since most of the healing is done and taken in good faith. At the same time there is an artistic and even humorous relish of the mystery surrounding secret or "original" cures, and of the even more original conjectures that they give rise to, as in the Oklahoma instance of *hypopalorum* and *lopopahyrum*, two secret teas which were said to be made from the same bark—the former a powerful cathartic which could unlock locked bowels and the latter a strong emetic. "While never definitely admitted by the maker, it was pretty generally believed that the bark for making hypopalorum was shaved downward while that for making lopopahyrum was shaved upward from the base of the tree toward the top!"⁸ Good-natured "spoofing" also leads to the invention of mock cures and the perpetrating of practical jokes; e. g., the recommendation of non-existent hawk gizzards for eye trouble and goat butter (which can't be made) for croup.

Although most southern charms have European parallels, the fact that they have taken strongest hold on the Negro imagination suggests a correlation with voodoo and hoodoo. Thus the small number of charm cures found in northwestern Oklahoma has been partly accounted for by the small Negro population. Voodoo, however (originally a snake cult of the Ewes introduced into this country through Hayti and New Orleans), is generally reputed to have disappeared as a formal organization with the death of Marie Laveau, the last voodoo queen of New Orleans, and to survive only in fragments of hoodoo and conjuration, whose spells, charms, tricks, hands, jacks, tobies, mojos, grigris, wangas, luck balls, conjure bottles, and conjure, tricken, or goofer bags are the special province of the Negro "root doctor" or "hoodoo man."⁹ The persistence of African fetishism among southern Negroes has been traced to its use

⁸ Walter R. Smith, "Northwestern Oklahoma Folk Cures," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, 8 (1930) : 80. For other folk cures see Frost Woodhull "Ranch Remedios," *ibid.*, pp. 9-73; Ruth Bass, "Fern Seed—for Peace," *Folk-Say* : 1930, pp. 145-156; and the works cited by Puckett, Randolph, Sale, and Wilson.

⁹ For the full discussion of voodoo and conjuration on which this summary is based see Puckett, *op. cit.* For love charms see the same, also the works cited by Bass, Randolph, Sale, and Wilson.

For weather lore see the foregoing; also Walter R. Smith, "You Can't Tell about the Weather," *Folk-Say*, 1930, pp. 173-185, and J. Frank Dobie, "Weather Wisdom of the Texas-Mexican Border," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, 2 (1923) : 87-99.

for covert revenge by the slaves, who were guarded as strictly against overt violence as against disease, and to its extension into general medical and aleatory practice after emancipation. Because of his more limited opportunities for contact with European beliefs in the fields and because of his desire for more spectacular and awe-inspiring forms, the male clung to the old African beliefs more than the women (who, on the other hand, were more exposed to and influenced by European beliefs in the household), with the result that although women are not excluded, men predominate among Negro conjurers. And the very dissimilarity of these complex and bizarre beliefs kept them from mixing with white beliefs as the fact that only those who believe in conjuring can be conjured kept them from taking root among the less susceptible whites.

The use of Negro conjuration extends to all the practical affairs of life involving control over persons—injuring or destroying enemies, getting rid of rivals or undesirables, softening hearts, winning or holding love, “shaming yo’ fairer,” breaking up homes, calling the absent, getting jobs, dodging the law, protecting property, detecting criminals, gambling, collecting debts, disciplining servants, stopping trains and steamboats, producing fertility or barrenness in women, promoting crops, controlling weather, foretelling the future, and locating lost and stolen goods, water, and buried treasure (the use of the divining rod being of European origin and being widely practised by white “water-wigglers,” “witch-wigglers,” and “water-witchers,” even for the purpose of locating oil). Since conjuration (like all magic) depends upon resemblance and contact for producing its effects, its charms make use of all things connected with the body, “nails, teeth, hair, saliva, perspiration, dandruff, scabs of sores even, and garments worn next to the person,”—even to dirt from a person’s track—“one eye-winker or the peeling of one freckle” being enough to save or ruin. These are mixed with a wide variety of symbolic substances, including plants (sampsom snakeroot, devil’s shoestring, Jimson weed, asafoetida, clover, tobacco); the poisonous powder of a dried puff-ball known as devil’s snuff; spices and condiments (saffron, red pepper, sugar, salt, mustard seed); minerals (copperas or bluestone, lodestone, sulphur, alum); pins, needles, rusty nails, and other sharp objects; lizards, toads, scorpions, snakes, alive or dried, or powdered; camel’s hair, buzzard feathers, fur from a graveyard rabbit’s back, a rabbit’s tail or foot, a snake skin, a snail shell, a fish eye; ashes, powdered brick dust or blue glass, anvil dust, graveyard dust, gunpowder.

Wrapped in wool, fur, silk, red flannel, these charms are bad tricks, and made into luck balls and jacks, they are good tricks. To bring

the victim in contact with a charm, sprinkle it in his path or in his house, place it on his doorstep or under his bed or pillow, introduce it into his garments, hats, shoes, food, or drink, rub him or strike him with it, etc. Or, barring these bodily contacts with the victim, he may be conjured by burning "goofer dust," by the use of an image (cut out of newspaper, baked in dough, made of rags, or modeled of wax, clay, mud, butter, named after the person, and stuck full of pins or burned), or by turning a photograph upside down. Conjunction can be prevented by the use of a counter-charm, worn on the person (neck, finger, wrist, waist, ankle), tied or sewed to garments, carried in the pockets, shoes, hat, or distributed about the house or under or around the doorstep, placed under the bed or pillow, on gatesill or doorsill, or over the door. Since counter-charms are intended to ward off evil, they make use of the color red, chiefly in the form of red flannel (representing the sacrificial blood offered to the fetish, or perhaps connected with fire, which has been used to drive away spirits), and strong-smelling and strong-tasting substances, also effective in driving away evil (garlic, asafoetida, Jimson weed, mustard seed, sulphur, while red pepper and red onion juice combine both color and odor), and are often wet with camphor or whiskey (also used in curing the conjured).

In the use of love charms (which have European parallels) the whites do not lag behind the Negroes. Thus, whereas the large drug store sale of sassafras, lodestone, brimstone, asafoetida, resin, and bluestone to the colored trade attests the vitality of Negro conjuring, drug stores in the Ozarks as well as among the Negroes of New Orleans display love powders prominently. And in the Ozarks they are taken so seriously that "the victim of a love charm or philtre is not held morally responsible for his actions, and many a deserted wife is comforted by the reflection that her man did not leave of his own free will, but was 'conjured off.' "

The signature of plants (the doctrine that the color, shape, name, or other symbolic suggestion of a plant is a "sign" of a charm or cure for which it is effective), already referred to under signs, is no more strikingly demonstrated than in the field of love charms. One of the most general of signatures is the ten-finger plant, a leaf of which, measured by the middle finger of the left hand, rolled up, and kept in the pocket, gives one control over people. Heart-leaves and sampson snakeroot are chewed to soften hearts. (The latter will also make a person brave, give him the best of a bargain, give him some control of the person in whose presence it is chewed, and prevent snakes from biting him, while, boiled into a strong tonic, it will bring back lost manhood.) Devil's shoestring, chewed and

rubbed on the hands, will give a man control over a woman when he shakes hands with her. Vervain (sometimes called herb-of-the-cross because it is said to have grown on Mount Calvary and so has miraculous power), grown around doorsteps, will attract lovers. Shameweed or the sensitive plant will shame a recalcitrant woman ; sprinkle the powdered dry root in the woman's path and she will close up like a sensitive plant ; mix it with snail dust and snail water and she will leave like a snail going into its shell.

The principle of similarity and contact also operates in the liberal use of hair, nails, blood, and tracks in love charms. A woman may win a man by laying hands secretly on the back of his head, by putting a drop of her menstrual fluid into his liquor, by giving him whiskey in which her fingernail trimmings have been soaked, by putting his tracks under the bed or into an ant bed (to make it hot for him), by sprinkling his coat with alcohol into which has been squeezed juice from a piece of beef worn under her arm for two days. A man may win a woman by putting some of his blood on candy and giving it to her to eat, by putting her tracks in his sock or wearing some of her hair in his shoe, and then burying it under his doorstep, by mixing red onion juice with tracks (previously worn in his shoe) of her foot and his, and wearing the mixture, wrapped in red flannel, in his left breast pocket (in Oklahoma a wasp nest in the breast pocket will "make the girls fall"). To hold your wife's love make a toby of one of her old menstrual bandages, then wear it sewed into the waistband of your trousers. To bring a man and a woman together put some of the hair of each into a split made with an ax in the fork of a young sapling, and when the wood grows back over the hairs the two will be eternally united. To break up a home roll the damp tracks of a man and his wife with cat and dog whiskers in a brown paper sack, tie up the sack and let it stand until the earth is dry, then throw it into the fire ; or simply put the dog's hair in the man's tracks and the cat's hair in the woman's. To make running men—to drive a person away or make him crazy—throw his tracks into running water, put his hair in the gill of a fish and return it to the stream, spit in the river if the current is running opposite to the direction in which he lives, or tie one of his socks to a freight train. And by a variety of charms involving a person's tracks you may make him stagger or paralyze him, make him follow you or leave.

Conjuration is effective not only in the material but also in the spirit world. The Devil is a master of the black art and there are charms for summoning him as well as for seeing and talking with ghosts. But the conjuring of spirits takes the form chiefly of charms

to ward off or avoid evil spirits and to keep them from interfering in human affairs. This fact has special interest in view of the absence of benevolent fairies among these supernatural creatures in America. In one Ozark tale (which seems more European than American) the poor, hard-worked old mother of a big, no-'count brat has a dream in which "tiltin on the bed-foot some little folk whinnied with each other and she heard them makin talk 'bout that no-'count whelp she owned" and by "takin their yarnin for truth—she was that near wooden they say"—she managed to cure her son of laziness by means of a magical horseshoe. With hammer for toe and a thousand pins in each calk, it was sewed on his back while he was asleep, and every time "he went to set down or thought on doin aught else but toil that hammer beat him and them pins pricked him till he thought not on idle fare more."¹⁰ But such beliefs in the "wee folk" are only "idle fare" and, far from being active, are rare even as survivals in southern folk tales. Ghosts and the devil are very much alive, however, and witches only a little less so; for, though charges of witchcraft are heard occasionally, most of the bewitching takes the form of conjuring, and the old broom-riding variety of hag lives only in "the old ones' yarns" and in tales to scare children.

As in all counter-charms, evil smells are effective in driving away spirits, but mustard seed planted under the doorstep, or fern seed in the hollow, a sprinkling of salt, pepper, sulphur, or collard seed, a Bible or a sharp object under the pillow will keep away both "hants" and witches, who can be killed only with a silver (sometimes brass) bullet. Used against witches, a broom or hair brush across the door or a Bible or sifter under the pillow are effective because the witch has to stop to count whatever comes before her. And sharp things (forks, knives, scissors, needles, around the bed or under the pillow) catch in her skin, which she has to shed before she can ride you, and keep her from getting back into it when she is through.

With the Devil, who when not attired as a silk-hatted gentleman with an "ambrosial curl" to hide his horn, assumes the forms of black cat, rabbit, terrapin, serpent, house fly, grasshopper, toad, bat, yellow dog, black billy goat; with witches, who take the form of old women, black cats, ghouls, vampires, and nightmares, and ride people till they can't sleep and horses till they are all tired out, leaving them with tangled hair or knotted manes; with ghosts of the wicked, who take the form of headless black men, black cats, dogs, hogs, or cows, and good spirits who appear as white doves, men,

¹⁰ Robert L. Morris, "Told in Ozarkia," *Folk-Say*: 1931, pp. 98-99.

and children or look like mist or clouds, we enter the world of demons and bestial shapes. These include not only diabolic and spectral transformations but animals with uncanny powers. This is the realm of erroneous nature beliefs, akin to the "unnatural natural history" that preceded the science of zoology. Here the aleatory element is submerged by fantasy; superstition gives way to mythology.

Many of these beliefs concern snakes, perhaps because their forked tongues, resembling the Devil's pitchfork, prove them kin. The most elaborate and entertaining of these snake beliefs concern marvels which the narrator generally has heard about from others but which are related with all the gusto and relish of the eye-witness. Thus the coachwhip (sometimes assisted by its mate) wraps itself around its victim and flogs it to death with its tail, which is said to be plaited in four strands like a whip (the arrangement of scales actually resembles a whip), sticking its tongue up the person's nose to see if he is breathing. The hoopsnake, which can lure its victim with its human whistle, seizes its tail in its mouth and rolls over and over like a hoop until it overtakes the person and kills him with a thrust of the poisoned stinger at the end of its tail (which has a short terminal spine). The glass snake or joint snake (really a degenerate legless lizard which can voluntarily snap off part or all of its tail and grow a new one) can come together after being broken up (unless one buries its head or fastens it in a split sapling). The milk snake sucks cows dry or makes them give bloody milk, poisonous to human beings, and the cow often forms an attachment for it and dies of grief if the snake is killed. The black snake charms children—in fact, all snakes can charm birds, animals, and human beings with their gaze. The green snake is the doctor snake and the darning-needle is the snake doctor, both of which cure injured snakes and even bring the dead back to life. A horse hair deposited in a watering trough will turn into a snake if left undisturbed for a period of six weeks (a belief originating, no doubt, in the fact that a parasitic worm, spending part of its life cycle in the grasshopper, is often found in horse troughs).¹¹

In the field of southern folk tales, the stuff of which is in these snake beliefs, the two most considerable and engaging types are the

¹¹ For these and similar beliefs see the works already cited by Puckett, Randolph, and Sale; also Chapman J. Milling, "A Passel uh Snakes," *Folk-Say*: 1931, pp. 103-112; Gibbons Poteet, "Jointsnake and Hoop Snake," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, 8 (1930): 124-128; John K. Strecker, "Reptile Myths in Northwestern Louisiana," *ibid.*, 4 (1925): 44-52; and John K. Strecker, "Reptiles of the South and Southwest in Folk-Lore" and "On the Origins of Reptile Myths," *ibid.*, 5 (1926): 56-77.

anthropomorphic animal and Biblical tales of the Negro (which have been described as African and European in root, West Indian in trunk, and American in branch) and the tall tales of both whites and Negroes. The tall tales, windies, or whoppers are stories of willful exaggeration, originating as brags (as in the case of hunting and fishing yarns, some of the best of the former being related of Davy Crockett), as pranks for tenderfeet (like the mythical ornithryncodiplocus, whiffle-poofole, milamo bird, glyptodont, galliwampus, and pocaluna of the Conical Mountain region of central Texas¹²), as freaks of nature (stories of tornadoes, extraordinary crops, the granddaddy mosquito or catfish, the razorback hog), with "just enough truth in them to make good story material and to incite the imagination to try to improve on actual happenings," or as the conception of a hero of superhuman strength (John Henry, Tony Beaver, Paul Bunyan, and Kemp Morgan, Paul having joined the latter in the oil fields and being also a familiar of the water pipeline).

The invention displayed in erroneous nature beliefs points to an art as well as a science in folklore, as in the literature of folk tale and folk song, with which we are not properly concerned here. But lest it be thought that the poetic element in folk beliefs is ever merely aesthetic rather than superadded to utility, it may be well to consider what is perhaps the best southern example of the acculturation of folklore, its assimilation and adaptation to the existing social and cultural pattern. This is offered by the Negro cotton farmer's beliefs concerning cotton. The following have their obvious use for social control.

"If one starts picking cotton in a row and leaves it uncompleted to pick another row, one is in danger of being bitten by a snake."
 "If one starts picking cotton before all the bolls are open, he is in danger of being fired before the end of the day." "If you pick cotton out of the boll and let it fall on the ground, you will not have a successful cotton-picking season."

"Pick five hundred pounds a day

Or the Devil will come and carry you away."

"If cotton be left in the boll for a year, there will be a death in the family of the owner of the cotton." "If one takes cotton to a gin

¹² A. W. Penn, "Tall Tales for the Tenderfeet," *ibid.*, 7 (1928) : 38-41. For other tales see Vance Randolph, *Ozark Mountain Folks*, and "Witches and Witch-Masters," *Folk-Say* : 1931, pp. 86-93 ; Wayne Martin and B. A. Botkin, "Paul Bunyan on the Water Pipeline" (with "Paul Bunyan Bibliography"), *Folk-Say* : 1929, pp. 50-63 ; Frank Neff and William Henry, *Folk-Say* : 1930, pp. 48-60 ; and H. B. Parks, "Razorbacks," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, 9 (1931) : 15-26.

without covering all portions of it, the owner will be robbed of his returns." "If cotton falls from the wagon on the way to the gin, the cotton will decrease in value." "Cotton seeds that are to be planted should never be handled by children under two years of age, or the seeds will not grow."

Other cotton signs are more in the nature of rationalizations or adjustments. "If a baby is carried to a cotton field, it will grow up to be a cotton-picker, and that person's children will be cotton-pickers also." "Any one who dreams of a cotton field will be compelled to pick cotton soon." Still others are simply *a priori* reasonings, including a large number of good and bad luck signs, omens, charms, cures, etc., of which the following are typical. "If a young cotton-picker finds a cotton boll that is being destroyed by a boll weevil, he will have a short and tragic life." "If cotton is seen blowing across a field, a snow storm will follow shortly." "Good luck will come to anybody who makes love while picking cotton." "If a girl is in a cotton field at night and sees cotton blowing towards her, that is the sign of a wedding." "If a devil's horse is found on a boll of cotton, the finder will be pursued by the devil."¹³

In a final consideration of the values of folklore it remains to be seen that, beyond its use for "aleatory self-maintenance, aleatory self-perpetuation, and self-gratification," beyond its artistic and utilitarian basis, its ultimate cultural value and sanction is that of essential humanity. This is the precious residue that must be preserved by an integration of folk wisdom with literary and scientific education. "For the life of the folk, being rooted in nature, like the wild plant that it is, would seem to be hardier and more fit to endure than any form of the cultivated life; which springs out of it, and in time grown tired as it were, reverts to it again. . . . The continuous life of the folk constitutes, as it were, the germ-plasm of society. Unless the external conditions, that so largely make up the apparatus of so-called civilization, so act on the social body that their effects are transmitted to this germinal element and cause it to be itself transformed, then our cultural acquisitions are vain, because utterly transient, in the judgment of history. Thus it may be that the true answer to the question, Why do survivals survive? is this: that they survive because they are the constantly renewed symptoms of that life of the folk which alone has the inherent power of surviving in the long run."¹⁴

The same truth, the same ideal of integration, was glimpsed by

¹³ Mary Daggett Lake, "Superstitions about Cotton," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, 9 (1931): 145-152.

¹⁴ R. R. Marett, *Psychology and Folk-Lore*, p. 26.

the Negro herb woman of Bayou Pierre, with the simple nature philosophy of the swamp people: "Effen a pussen onderstan's, an' loves, den all thangs be's dey pardners in seekin' attar wisdom. Cose yo bound tuh drink plenty tea biled outen high-John-de-conqu'er an' prince-feather roots—an' totin' a buckeye he'ps."

SOUTHERN SPEECH

BY WILLIAM CABELL GREET

SEVERAL YEARS AGO at Columbia University we made phonograph records of regional varieties or dialects of American speech. We acted at the request of the Modern Language Association of America, and the teachers of courses in descriptive English phonetics welcomed the records. The New York press commended the project. But the reporters who came in numbers and insisted upon hearing the records as they were made, were disappointed. They said, in effect, that these speakers spoke just like the people on the street, and they could see no reason for making records of them. The complaint was a compliment, in its way, for we had tried to obtain twenty-four speakers representative of as many American Main Streets.

The reporters' disappointment, however, was not unreasonable. They expected the picturesque. The accents of business men and teachers of Richmond, Virginia, Portland, Maine, Dallas, Texas, however varied, are not in themselves picturesque. The dramatist and the writer of local stories have clad dialect speakers in odd clothes and placed them in picturesque, ridiculous, or tragic rôles. The audience and readers have been taught to expect the extraordinary from speakers of extraordinary speech. The dialect that is heard on the stage and written in stories is almost always extraordinary in the sense that it bears little resemblance to actual dialects. People who naturally speak living varieties or dialects of English pass almost unnoticed if they do not appear in motley or in a ten gallon hat and a lasso or posed against an extraordinary background.

No American is really the prototype of the comic Americans of British and French stage tradition ; nor have our comic Briton and ridiculous Frenchman existed offstage. The dialect of these conventional figures usually has little resemblance to any real speech, though it may be true to stage traditions of character acting. In-

deed, verisimilitude is not necessary. If a fantastic character is labeled a yokel or a foreigner, almost any distortion of speech will move an audience to laughter or to tears.

In *Coquette*, the recent pathetic play of southern life, Helen Hayes, fresh from a run in the Scottish *What Every Woman Knows*, played the very southern daughter. This charming actress played the southern belle with only a slight abatement of the Scotch accent which had distinguished her performance of Barrie. The fact that hers was a peculiar accent, though not the right one, suggested to most people in the audience the charm of southern life. Even southerners, as I can testify, were pleased that if the speech were not so southern as that of the lady juvenile, it certainly wasn't Yankee. Perhaps we felt that if Helen Hayes and her different speech were not southern, they were certainly nice enough to be. I have wondered since if Helen Hayes's Scotch accent in *What Every Woman Knows* sounded Scotch to the Scots.

Writers, like dramatists, use dialect to suggest to their readers comedy or pathos, relying upon the human belief that what is different must be funny or appealing. With the growth in popularity of local-color schools in fiction, there have been years when, seemingly, almost no story would be without a few words misspelled to indicate, with the help of directions supplied by the author, locality and station in life. Character actors are usually not very consistent in their variations from normal speech, but the authors are bound by no rules of consistency at all. The spelling *wusn't* for *was not* introduced three times in the first two pages is enough to indicate that the speaker is an unsophisticated though delightful person. Of course almost everyone in America pronounces *was not* in the manner indicated by the author. *Sez* for *says*, *frum* for *from*, *en* for *and*, *es* for *as*, *instunce* for *instance*, *izn't* for *isn't* are in the same class.

Usually in dialect writing of the South and everywhere else in America, the misspellings indicate either normal pronunciations and so are simply "eye dialect," or general uneducated or vulgar speech that is common almost everywhere. The real local element is small. *Jes'* or *jist* for *just* is low colloquial speech, if you wish, but is widespread in America; and likewise, *git* for *get*, *goin'* for *going*, etc., *benk* for *bank*, *ket* for *cat*. Sometimes the variation, while not found everywhere in America, is current in such different sections that it has no real local significance. *De* for *the*, *diz* for *those*, etc., are common on the east side of New York as well as among the Negroes of the South, the white fishermen of eastern and Tidewater Virginia, the southern mountains, etc. *Miny* for *many* and *far* for *fire* are widespread. *Cheer* for *chair*, *thar* for *there*, *sartin* for *certain*, *hoss* for *horse*,

bleeged for *obliged* are as characteristic of New England as of the South.

Regional variation in vocabulary is small and uncertain. *You all* is conveniently all-southern, but *reckon*, *calculate*, *tote*, *poke*, and other words that seem to have local associations, are found in many parts of America among old-fashioned speakers.

George Philip Krapp has pointed out in the *English Language in America*, that such writers as James Russell Lowell, Joel Chandler Harris, James Whitcomb Riley have by their misspellings given little more than general low colloquial speech. Even the difficult text of Ambrose E. Gonzales' Gullah stories yields a great majority of low colloquial rather than purely local pronunciations. Gonzales is the most extreme of American writers in his devotion to details of dialect. His is the exception that strains the rule that literary dialect tells little or nothing of local speech.

As a matter of fact, the author of fiction, as distinct from the folklorist or phonetician, cannot afford to make his text unintelligible to a wide public. Gonzales has severely limited his audience. The dramatist faces the same requirement of intelligibility. If DuBose Heyward had got Gullah Negroes for the cast in *Porgy* or could have taught the Harlem Negroes to speak proper Gullah, the play would not have been successful in New York. As it was, the variety of speech among the Negroes of the cast was very great, and I do not think that many of the audience noticed it.

At present there is a fashion among writers of dialect stories to rely upon word order and choice of words rather than upon misspellings to give the flavor of dialect. This method is much better suited to the conditions of their art. Roark Bradford has succeeded admirably in his Negro stories. And Julia Peterkin conveys the atmosphere of the Gullah region without torturing the reader.

It is difficult to establish criteria for the regional varieties of speech. In New England the vowel of *home* may have a curious value which Lowell in the *Biglow Papers* indicated by spelling the word *hum*. It is tempting to say that this pronunciation is typical of New England alone. However, as the student listens to American speech and analyzes phonograph records again and again, he discovers that everywhere in America the *o* of *home* is modified in the direction of *hum*, and that not infrequently in running discourse it may approximate the New England value. On the other hand, the similar shift in *road* and *coat*, and probably that in *stone*, appears only in New England and occasionally on the southern coast. One of the most distinctive characteristics of southern speech is the fronted quality of the vowel [u] in *do*. The pleasure of observing this is somewhat diminished by

the realization that in American speech this vowel is always more or less fronted. Of the South it can only be said that the vowel is unusually fronted.

The pronunciation of a word is determined by the complexion of the phrase in which it stands. Vowels are modified by the neighboring consonants, and the consonants by the neighboring vowels. Quality is dependent upon stress, pitch, speed of utterance, resonance, and the relative tenseness of the organs of speech. The quality of the speaking voice is finally the quality of the component sounds. The complexity of speech makes it extremely difficult to describe. And when two or three phoneticians come together, it is evident that they hear differently.

When the average person detects the provenience of a stranger by his manner of speech, he probably is influenced most by hearing a speech tune which he recognizes. At the same time he may be affected by other considerations, of dress and deportment as well as of speech. Perhaps cadence is the most stable criterion for distinguishing varieties of American speech. Oscillograms of speech tunes can give us a scientifically controlled and impersonal measure of one of the components of dialect. Electrical analysis of other components, for example, harmonic analysis, gives so many varying details that generalization for the purpose of establishing a dialect area is impossible. Let us hope that the variety in patterns of cadence will not be too great to be incomparable. At present C. E. Parmenter and S. N. Treviño are probably the only linguists who have mastered the technique of using the oscillograph to plot graphs of speech tune.

When we expect our phonetic symbols to give a picture of speech, we are not many steps ahead of the writer of dialect stories. The symbols can indicate at best only one element of speech, and that a shifting one. A given symbol hardly means the same sound to every investigator. In simple phonetic transcription it is difficult to make out the character of the breath group or phrase, which is the unit of speech. There is no attempt to indicate voice quality, and it, like cadences or speech tune, is often the distinguishing mark between gentleman and vulgarian, mountaineer and plainsman, clergyman and business man, even northerner and southerner.

At Columbia we have resorted to the recording phonograph. To be sure the records have the "radio voice," but at least the student can play the records again and again, and his phonetic transcription becomes steadily less conventional and more accurate. As the transcription comes nearer to the fact, and often further from the expectation, the complication of the character of speech becomes

more evident and the impossibility of making an accurate transcription most certain. "Let those interested come and hear the records" is our plaint, but nevertheless we have to write about speech—much as other unfortunates find it necessary to write about music. To write about sound effects is unsatisfactory to everyone. Perhaps there should be a law "agin" it.

II

IN THE SOUTH as well as in the North, popular ideas of southern speech have been perverted by the kind of *malaise* of which dialect writing is often a symptom. The romantic South of the professional southerner with its soft sweet speech of Dixie is false and to some of us distasteful. The romantic South was a literary convention. As a fashion in the imaginative world, it is now in the discard. The details of this sentimental world were few, the picture was indefinite. The dialect indicated for servants was generally low colloquial, or simply without precedent, as, for example, "the ham what am." The ladies said *Ah* for *I* in a "gentle drawl." But the notion prevailed that there was one unique southern speech of ladies and gentlemen. For examples of it, you looked to your own neighborhood. In the city at the head of the Shenandoah Valley, ladies said *Staunton* with the vowel of *hat*; but in Tidewater Virginia, the same city was *Staunton* with the vowel of *father*, and you were not allowed to say anything else.

There were and are many varieties of speech in the South, all closely related to speech in other parts of the country. Often the South preserved old-fashioned pronunciations as it kept its agrarian ways. After the Civil War the central states and southern New England went on into the Machine Age and new ways. It is interesting to find what are usually considered purely southern forms like *cyadz* for *cards* in another forgotten country, away down east Maine; and to hear in Tidewater Virginia and South Carolina the New England pronunciation of *boat*, which makes the word almost *but*. In the spelling books that Noah Webster compiled in 1783 and 1787 to educate the Yankee farmer, he urges the New Englander not to say *dee* for *thee*, *thar* for *there*, *comin* for *coming*, *sperit* for *spirit*, *gal* for *girl*, *sut* for *soot*, *apun* for *apron*, *bust* for *burst*, *kiver* for *cover*, *ax* for *ask*, *yerb* and *yarb* for *herb*, *jaunders* for *jaundice*, *rumatiz* for *rheumatism*, *shet* for *shut*. These are pronunciations that today we feel are typical of Negro speech.

There seems to be little doubt that the regional varieties in this country are the residuum of the various dialects of the settlers from the British Isles. In America these dialects, which still flourish in

the old country, were through attrition modified and amalgamated. The variety of speech in America is not nearly so surprising as is the similarity of speech throughout the country. Foreign speech has in the long run influenced the main stream very little, if at all.

As the English dialects were regularized, certain pronunciations were selected and used most frequently. They had been current in the speech of some of the settlers and their forbears for generations. Sometimes they sound odd to the British ear, but usually these Americanisms, as they are called, are not new pronunciations but old ones that survive in America and not in the common speech of English cities. American speech generally is more old-fashioned than the varieties of London. Analogues to the American type you find in the country. I doubt if there is any so-called American pronunciation that is not given in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* as typical of some part of the British Isles.

A change in fashion has made American speech seem curious and original in the land from which it came, and in our own country pronunciations which were once general have today acquired local significance. Often this old-fashioned trick will appear in widely separated districts and confound the dialect hunter. The tendency to substitute the dental for the palatal nasal in the suffix *-ing*, that is, for example, to say *goin'* instead of *going*, was a common and accepted pronunciation in eighteenth-century England as it is in the South today. But *-in* for *-ing* is almost as common in New England as it is in the South, and it is frequently heard in England in county society as well as among rustics. *Particular* pronounced [pətɪkələ] is as characteristic of South Carolina as of Maine. *There* and *where* pronounced *thar* and *whar* seem to me distinctive of the Blue Ridge Mountain people, who carried it west, but the pronunciation is common enough among low country Negroes and is typical of the old time New York state farmer. "Thar she be" in a story means that a Yankee farmer is speaking. Of course the spelling *thar* occurs in English writings from the time of King Alfred.

When making records in the Blue Ridge country, at Old Rag, Madison County, I was thrilled to hear *hierd* for *heard*. On my return Mr. H. M. Ayres commented that Noah Webster, the Yankee dictionary maker, prefers the pronunciation *hierd* and calls the pronunciation *herd* an affectation which had come to his attention after the Revolution. The Anglo-Saxon is *hierde* and there is plenty of authority for the pronunciation in Middle English.

It is exceedingly confusing to list the peculiar pronunciations of one variety of American speech and to find that almost all of the items could be ascribed with equal justice to other sections of the

country. That is the experience of every student of American speech—and embarrassing it is in view of the fact that the dialects are sufficiently distinct to be easily recognized. In so far as pronunciation alone is responsible for their distinct characters, it is the assembly of pronunciations rather than the presence of unique pronunciations. As I have said before, probably speech tune and voice quality are more important factors than pronunciation, but at present they are almost imponderable.

It is the custom to say that the speech of the Atlantic seaboard, with the exception of New Jersey, and the speech of the lowlands of the South, is similar in type to that of the east of England; and that the speech of the eastern mountain regions, both in the North and in the South, and the speech of the Middle West is like the speech of the north of England. This statement covers a good deal of ground in England as well as in America and ignores dialect variations in both countries, particularly in England. It is convenient to let the generalization stand until students of the language in America know more about English dialects.

There is some evidence that the migration to coastal New England was particularly heavy from the east of England. The great influx of Scots and groups from Ireland came after the middle of the eighteenth century and pushed west to the hills for land. When New York and the Western Reserve were settled and the speech more or less fixed, it was the hill or northern British type that dominated the new country. The Scots, the Irish, and the northern Englishmen made a common speech which we now call the middle western type.

W. W. Rockwell believes that the speech of the New England coast reflects the southwest of England as well as East Anglia. There is evidence in Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* to support this contention. My own Virginia ancestors came from Wilts.

Some students have believed that Ireland is the principal source of American English. Undoubtedly there has been great influence, particularly from the north of Ireland and from cities and counties where the speakers have not the brogue which is our only idea of Irish dialect. Recently I attended a performance of Synge's plays of peasant life given in New York by the Abbey Theatre of Dublin. I remarked an approximation of practically every characteristic of the various American types in one or another of the divers dialects on the stage. It would be unsafe to judge from the actors' speech the influence of Irish English upon American. They are almost certainly educated, traveled city folk of no dialect background who are trying to create the illusion of rustic speech, and each in his

own way succeeding very well. It is noticeable, however, that in Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* the pronunciations indicated for Ulster and Dublin are often as close to the American as those listed for parts of England.

I wish very much that we had phonograph records of English dialects in the British Isles. It is difficult if not impossible to obtain an idea of speech from phonetic symbols. I cannot be sure, for example, where Wright heard the equivalent of the New England pronunciation of *stone*, *road*, *coat* and *boat*. From the earliest times the American colonists came from all parts of the British Isles. Even in the light of knowledge of English dialects it will be difficult to account for the regional types of America. Most American travelers have found that on leaving London they enter regions where the speech seems less strange and more like varieties current in America. The speech current in London, fashionable and unfashionable, is different. As it was once "Kent and Christendom," so now we might say "London and the English speaking world."

The rule of thumb dividing American speech into North of England or American hill type and east of England or American coast type was probably first suggested simply by the failure to pronounce the *r*'s in words like *harder* which we observe in the east and south of England and on the American coast in New England and Long Island and from central Delaware through the entire lowland South. In the north of England, in Scotland and Ireland, the *r*'s are pronounced in *harder*, though in various ways, and they are pronounced in the New England hills, in western Connecticut, in the central states, in the Middle West and in the mountain regions of the South, including the less fertile lands of Kentucky, Tennessee, northern Alabama, Arkansas, and in the cattle country, as distinguished from the cotton country, of Texas. The regions settled by Scotch and Irish and Germans from western Virginia have this *r*. Those settled by plantation people from the coastal plain have not this *r*. (The wealthy planters seem to have acquired the best lands in the middle South.) It is curious that we, having been told so often that southerners do not pronounce these *r*'s, have difficulty hearing the *r*'s when they do.

The distribution of *r* final and before consonants is certainly not the only criterion of English speech. And it seems to me that the New England hill type shares with southern hill speech little more than *r* and a tendency to slow tempi. However, the varieties of the New England coast and the South, particularly the southern coast, have many characteristics in common.

Under the term southern coast is included the adjacent regions.

For example, the speech of Richmond, Virginia, is of the coastal or Tidewater type. The speech of the Virginia Tidewater has been transplanted successfully to the northern Shenandoah region and to Charlottesville, but outside of Virginia the coastal type has made no headway against the general southern type of the lowlands of the South. This includes the plantation country of Georgia and South Carolina lying up country, the rich cotton country of Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Louisiana in so far as the speech is without French influence. The piedmont of Virginia can conveniently be placed here, though it seems to me it shares certain peculiarities with the Eastern Shore that are not found farther South. The speech of western North Carolina is of the southern hill type. The two speakers from eastern North Carolina I have heard spoke a coastal type quite similar to the speech of Williamsburg, Virginia, and Charleston, South Carolina.

To indicate pronunciation I have used the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. The symbols for most of the consonants are readily understood. The following may be confusing—

- [j] is the initial sound in *you* [ju].
- [ɪ] is the back nasal, the *-ng* in *sing* [sɪŋ].
- [s] occurs in *house* [haʊs]; but [z] in *houses* [haʊzɪz].
- [ʃ] is the symbol for *sh* in *ship* [ʃɪp].
- [ʒ] occurs in *pleasure* [pleʒə].
- [θ] is the symbol for *th* in *thing* [θɪŋ].
- [ð] is the symbol for *th* in *that* [ðæt].
- [ɹ] is the voiceless *w*, or *wh*, in *which* [ɹɪtʃ], as distinguished from [w] the initial sound in *witch* [wɪtʃ].

The vowel characters can be identified as follows :

- [ɑ] as in *father* [fɑðə].
- [æ] as in *hat* [hæt].
- [a] lies between [æ] and [ɑ]. It is often substituted for [ɑ] in southern and coastal speech.
- [e] as in *late* [let].
- [ɛ] as in *let* [let].
- [ə] is the first vowel in *about* [əbaʊt].
- [ɜ] is the vowel in *hurt* when the *r* is not pronounced [hɜt].
- [i] as in *meet* [mit].
- [ɪ] as in *sit* [sɪt].
- [o] as in *go* [go].
- [ɔ] as in *audition* [əʊdɪʃən].
- [ʊ] lies between [ɑ] and [ɔ].

- [u] as in *true* [tru].
 [ʊ] as in *bush* [buʃ].
 [ʌ] as in *but* [bʌt].

The diphthongs are—

- [aʊ] as in *house* [haʊs].
 [aɪ] as in *ride* [raɪd].
 [ɔɪ] as in *boil* [bɔɪl].
 [ju] as in *mute* [mjut].

The most obvious characteristics of the coastal and southern varieties of speech are these—

1. The voice is usually high pitched, the southern lady of fiction to the contrary notwithstanding. The utterance is rapid and along the coast the consonants may be clipped. The sounds are tense and fronted. There is a marked tendency to lengthen and diphthongize stressed vowels. This gives the illusion of drawl in the rapid speech.

2. In New England and along the southern coast, though not throughout the South, the broad “ah” [ɑ] may appear in *aunt*, *answer*, *dance*, *pass*, *ask*, *grass*, *can't* (but not in *can*. The broad “ah” is curious.) For a list of the words in which the broad “ah” may replace [æ] the vowel in *hat*, the reader is referred to J. S. Kenyon's *American Pronunciation*, section 167. In the southern Tidewater the broad “ah” in words of this class may be rather more rounded than the region's usual [ɑ] in *father* and *march*. It is quite distinct from the [ɑ] in *wash* and *Washington* that is so characteristic of the South. The use of the broad “ah,” though indigenous, is rare and selective, as business men commonly use it only in the word *aunt*, and ladies of the same family may not use it in the same words. It is heard in the speech of old Negro servants.

In New England the broad “ah” is the most peculiar and distinctive New England [ɑ], tense, fronted and raised, varying from almost as far forward as [æ] as in *hat*, to almost as far back as [ɑ] as in *father*. From the coast to the Connecticut Valley it is the common vowel in *father*, *Arthur*, *art*, etc., and it is very often substituted for [æ] (the vowel of *hat*) in words of the *aunt*, *grass* type. In these its use is eclectic but common and without social or sexual prejudice.

A close approach to the New England tense, fronted [ɑ] is heard occasionally in coastal South Carolina and Tidewater Virginia in *father*, *farm*, *march*, etc., and in *aunt* and *grass*, etc. Mr. Reed Smith has called this the “Gullah A.”

A shift from [æ] to [ɑ] may occur in such words as *rat*, *hat*, *cat*, especially in coastal South Carolina. I first heard [rat] for *rat* when

making records of Virginia students. I am ashamed to say that I thought the young ladies had, in aspiration to the Broadway stage, become "broad-ah" mad. Wright cites west Somerset for [rat] and for [rɒt] Cheshire, Leicester, Northampton, Warwick, Worcester, Shropshire, Oxford. For [kat] *cat*, Wright lists almost all the northern shires.

In old-fashioned speech in the South and in the North, *calmly*, *haunted*, *undaunted*, etc., may have the vowel of *hat* [æ] or the half-front vowel [a].

3. Where the diphthong in *like* [aɪ] is stable, it is subject to the regional modifications of [a]. Moreover in the lowlands of the South and on the southern and New England coasts the diphthong of *like* may be changed in two contradictory ways. Especially but not solely before voiceless consonants, the first element assumes something of the character of the first vowel of *about* [ə] or of the vowel of *but* [ʌ], becoming [əɪ] or [ʌɪ]. This phenomenon occurs in the lowlands and on the coast of the South and in coastal New England. In New York City the diphthong is so tense that it may acquire an *r* quality. The *English Dialect Grammar* says that [əɪ] is "common in Hereford, Gloucester, north-east Norfolk, Hampshire, East Dorset, and perhaps elsewhere in such words as *bite* and *tide*." It is heard also in Irish speech. On the other hand the diphthong [əɪ] is often simplified to the regional [a] or [a], the second element being more or less obscured. Mr. Stephen Jones of the University of London has commented on the rapidity with which [aɪ] in London English is becoming simply [a].

4. The short *o* of *log*, *fog*, and *off* may be unrounded to [a] in Tidewater Virginia and South Carolina as well as in New England. The resulting [a] is not so tense in Virginia as it is in New England. In Tidewater Virginia I have heard the unrounded vowel, long or short, in *haunted*, *undaunted*, *coughed*, *caught*, *all* and *always*. Elsewhere in the South the vowel is that of *awe* [ə].

Generally in the South *cog*, *rod*, *rock*, *sock*, *block* have the typical unrounded vowel [a] or [a] which I associate particularly with the word *Washington*, where the sound is always long and [a] rather than [a]. In New England the vowel in these words is rounded, [ɒ] or [ɔ].

5. In words of the *board*, *hoard*, *more* type, the *r* is of course not pronounced. In New England the vowel is the peculiar [a] slightly rounded, or a fronted and underrounded [o] followed by a glide vowel, e. g. [boəd]. This latter pronunciation may occur in the South, or the vowel may be that of *awe* fronted, or the ordinary vowel of *go*, with or without a following glide vowel. In the South

morning has the vowel of *awe* fronted; *mourning* has the fronted and underrounded [o] followed sometimes by the glide vowel. In coastal New England both words are pronounced alike with the New England [a] slightly rounded.

In southern Alabama [muə] may appear in *Moore*, *more*, *mourning*, but not in *morning*.

6. The vowel in *go* is diphthongized to [ou] or fronted or both diphthongized and fronted. The most extreme examples of fronted [o] and [ou] I have recorded in Delaware.

Fronting and lowering of [o] to approximately [ʌ] (the vowel of *but*) in *coat*, *stone*, *boat*, etc., is most characteristic of New England. In Gloucester County, Virginia, I have heard a similar pronunciation of *boat*. The fronted and lowered [o] in the Charleston pronunciation of *hope*, *vote*, etc., is close to that of New England but, of course, different.

7. In parts of the South, particularly in the mountains, the diphthong in *poison* may be replaced by that of *ride*; e. g. [paɪzən]. This old-fashioned pronunciation may occur anywhere in America and has no geographical significance. Wright cites it in England occasionally from Edinburgh to Kent. Pope rimes *join* and *line*.

8. In the South the vowels of *boot* [u] and *foot* [ʊ] are exceptionally tense and fronted. The former Wright transcribes as [ü] and says it is "common in Scotland and in the Southwestern Dialects and in parts of East Anglia in such words as *do*, *too*, *shoe*."

Under stress the vowel [u] often extends itself into the diphthong [ɪu], so that *do* and *due* are indeed pronounced alike, but both as [dɪu].

[ɪu] or [ju] as in *student* and *community* is more stable in the South than in New England or the Middle West, where *do* and *due* are usually pronounced [du], and *community* often [kəmunɪtɪ]. Of course a pure back [u] is practically unknown in American speech, but [u] [ʊ] in the South are much more front and tense than elsewhere in America. An exception occurs in the occasional pronunciation of *foot*, *soot*, etc., with the vowel of *but*, which is sometimes heard in the speech of Negroes and uneducated whites.

In the South *roof* usually has the vowel of *boot*; and *soot* and *coop* except along the coast has the common vowel of *foot*. Examples of the shift from [u] to [ʊ], as in *Coolidge* with the vowel of *foot*, are not nearly so common in the South as in New England.

In the plantation country *to* is often pronounced [tə] with the vowel in *go*.

10. In Maine, though rarely in southern New England, and along the southern coast the diphthong in *house*, especially before voiceless

consonants, is nearer to [ʌʊ] or [oʊ] than it is to [aʊ], the usual pronunciation. At times, especially in the word *about*, the diphthong may be replaced by the historical vowel [u]. This pronunciation reminds one of Scotch, and it often occurs where Scots have settled. However, Wright in the *English Dialect Grammar* cites [əʊ] (equivalent to [ʌʊ]) as "common in Gloucester, Northeast Norfolk, and perhaps elsewhere in such words as *cow*, *down*." Wright gives the pronunciation [əʊs] for *house* in southeast Lancashire, east Hereford, Gloucester, northeast Norfolk, south-mid Hampshire, and east Dorset. [həʊs] is cited for Ulster; [oʊs] for Durham, Lancaster, and Lincoln. Thus the pronunciation could have been brought from east or west Midlands, from the North, from the South, or from Ireland.

In coastal Virginia this diphthong changes to the standard before a voiced consonant. That is, *house* is [hʌʊs], but *houses* is [hʌʊzɪz] or [hæʊzɪz]. ([æ] is the vowel of *hat*.) *Cow* is [kʌʊ] or more usually [kæʊ]. In Charleston, South Carolina, as in Maine, the change of [s] to [z] does not, according to my observation, affect the diphthong as in Virginia. Both *house* and *houses* have [ʌʊ] or [oʊ]. In Charleston *cow* is usually [kʌʊ] or [koʊ].

Away from the coast, both in the lowlands and in the hills, the diphthong is [æʊ] or [aʊ] rather than [aʊ]. Sometimes the first element is prolonged, and the diphthong nasalized. I find the sound unpleasant.

11. The vowel of *hat* [æ] is in the South often prolonged, sometimes to the diphthong [æɪ]. Occasionally it is intensified and raised, and sounded with a nasal resonance which is very disagreeable indeed. In New England the vowel though tense is remarkable only in certain words, as, for example, in *Park Street*, pronounced [pæk strit]. Both in this country and in England [æ] often is raised to [ɛ] the vowel of *let*. It might be called the "Crazy Ket" shift.

12. On the New England coast and in the South, where the *r* final is not pronounced, it seems to me that the vowel in *bear*, *there* and *hair* is nearer [æ] than [ɛ] the vowel of *let*. It may or may not be followed by a glide vowel. In South Carolina, the vowel is often the lowered value of the vowel in *eight*; e. g. *there* [ðeə] and *fair* [feə]. This value is noted as current in England in the eighteenth century and is given by Noah Webster. H. M. Ayres observed it in the Bermudas. In the southern mountains and in the southwest, where the *r* is pronounced, the vowel is historically [ɑ] (as in *father*) though under correction it appears as [æ] or [ɛ].

On the Delaware Peninsula, from Accomac County, Virginia, north to Pennsylvania the vowel of *there*, *where* is that of *but* [ʌ] or [ə] followed by *r*. Educated as well as uneducated people say

[dələwər] *Delaware*. Both are apt to say [əməɾɪkə] *America*. I have heard this pronunciation also in the piedmont section of Virginia. It may at one time have been widespread, as the comic American of the English stage has this pronunciation, written *Amurrican* in British comic papers.

13. In the piedmont of the South and in the southwest, sometimes in the lowlands and coast, particularly of South Carolina, where [æ] as in *cat* is often intensified and prolonged, the [ɛ] in *let* and *yes* is similarly treated and raised almost but not quite to [e] the first sound in *eight*. Before a nasal as in *pen*, *Tennessee*, etc., the shift of [ɛ] to [e] or [ɪ] the vowel in *tin*, is almost epidemic. It becomes difficult to distinguish a *pin* from a *pen*. This same shift is not unheard of in the Middle West. It is rarer, I believe, in Tidewater Virginia than in coastal South Carolina.

The shift of [ɛ] to [ɪ], *pin* for *pen*, has been blamed upon the Irish, but perhaps unjustly. Wright cites Sussex for [pɪnɪ], *penny*; Shropshire and east Suffolk for [pɪn] *pen*; Yorkshire, Isle of Man, north-east Cambridge, northeast and south Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, east Dorset for [mɪn] *men*; and east Dorset, east and west Somerset for [mɪnɪ] *many*.

14. The reverse shift from the [ɪ] of *tin* to the [ɛ] of *met* occurs occasionally in the word *think*. I have heard and recorded [θɛŋk] for *think* in Virginia, and I have examples from Tennessee and Texas. Wright cites the pronunciation for northeast Scotland, but in addition he gives [ðɛŋk] (with *th* voiced as in *the*) for Gloucester, Wiltshire and west Dorset.

15. In *dead* and *head* the vowel [e] of *eight* is sometimes preserved, especially in the speech of Negroes. In Tidewater Virginia and South Carolina *again* is sometimes [əgen]. This pronunciation is popular nowadays among teachers of elocution everywhere.

16. [e] seldom occurs without a following [ɪ]. The sound in *say*, *eight* [eɪ] is diphthongal. This is particularly true in the South both in the mountains and in the lowlands.

17. Quite contrary to this general southern practice is the coastal characteristic of a pure [e] slightly lowered in the direction of [ɛ], which appears in *make*, *made*, etc., especially in the speech of Charleston, South Carolina. This change is not so common in Tidewater Virginia and in coastal New England, but it does appear.

18. Often the vowel of *in* will be intensified and narrowed until it is almost the vowel of *meet*.

19. *Here* and *hear* may be pronounced [hɪ(ə)] or [he(ə)], or with a glide "y" sound [hjɪ(ə)] or [hjɛ(ə)] or [hjʌ]. At times the vowel is nasalized, especially among Negroes.

20. In the South and on the New England coast, as often in southern British, the vowel in an unaccented syllable may be [ɪ] (the vowel in *sit*), rather than [ə], as is usual in the Middle West—[leɪzɪnɪs] *lazyness* rather than [leɪzɪnəs].

21. The sound in *bird*, *church*, *heard*, *her* has more of *r* quality, or retroflexion, in Virginia than elsewhere in the South. It is curious in speech characterized by the absence of *r*. Generally in the South, except in the hill country, the vowel is without retroflexion; it is mid, tense, and half-front, of the order of the vowel in *but* and occasionally of the vowel of *let*.

I don't think that any of the southern values for the sound in *hurt* would be confused with the coastal New England low, tense, half-front vowel in words of this class.

22. Throughout the South the old-fashioned value [əɪ] or [ʌɪ] (approaching but not reaching *oy* in *joy*) may appear for *er* particularly in *personal*, *person*, *first*. This sound is tense and very marked in the speech of New York City. I have not found it in Wright's *Dialect Grammar*. Probably it occurs in England and I have failed to understand his symbols.

23. In the South and along the New England coast, initial *r* as in *red* and *r* after a consonant and before a vowel as in *drive*, and medial *r* as in *very* are not so tense and inverted as they are in the New England hills, the southern hills, and the Middle West. In the lowlands of the South as distinct from the Tidewater, and among the Negroes of the Tidewater, medial *r* in rural speech may practically disappear; e. g. *very* [vɛ.ɪ], *insurance* [ɪnʃʊəns].

From may lose its *r* [fʌm] in uncultivated speech; *through* may become [θu].

24. In the South as in New England an *r* of liason may appear. It is more common in Tidewater Virginia and the southern coast than elsewhere, but throughout the South clergymen who say *hear me* [hɪ(ə) mi] or [hɜɪ(ə) mi] without trace of *r*, will probably say *hear us* [h(j)ɪrəs]. *Mother and father* is usually [mʌðərən fəðə]. The *r* is of course light.

In the South we do not have the parasitic *r* clinging to a final vowel as in the "idear," "Louisar," "sawr" and "lawr" of New England. "Lawr" and "sawr" are common in New York City and on Long Island.

25. In the South, as, I suspect, generally in the United States, *l* after [ɛ], [æ] and [ɪ] as in *self*, *alp* and *film*, has vocalized or become a guttural. If it vocalizes, *self* may be transcribed [sɛəf] ([ə] is the first sound in *about*). If it becomes a guttural *l*, in which "the back of the tongue articulates against the soft palate without the tip of

the tongue being at all active," *self* is transcribed [seLf]. Occasionally *self* is practically [sef] or, in Charleston, [sef]. *Film* is almost always [fiəm] or [fiLm]. Both [film] the spelling pronunciation, and the New England and Middle western [filəm] are rare in the South. The vocalized or guttural *l* is common in *self*, *shelf*, *Ralph*, *elk*, *elm*. Before a dental consonant, as in *melt*, there is first the guttural *l* and then the lateral *l* as the tongue approaches the roots of the teeth. In *well* and *I'll* the guttural *l* may occur alone, nasalized, or followed by the lateral. Generally *l* is "clear" rather than "dark."

26. Through the South and New England, in the colloquial speech of educated and cultivated people the suffix *-ing* as in *going* is commonly *-in'*. The dental nasal [n] is substituted for the back nasal [ŋ]. This characteristic of eighteenth-century speech is not quite so evident in the South generally as it is on the Eastern Shore of Virginia and on the New England coast, where the syllable containing *-in'* has a stronger stress. For example, *pudding* which generally becomes [pudn] colloquially, is on the Eastern Shore and in New England [pudin]. In *going* [goiŋ] the second syllable is not obscured. In the South generally, this "loss of g" may seem slovenly; on the Eastern Shore and in New England the *g* is lost precisely.

No one should feel ashamed of this ancient and honorable pronunciation.

27. In the South generally and along the New England coast [k] and [g] may be fronted or palatalized.

Initial [k] and [g] are formed by the tongue rising and bringing a section of the surface, front or back as the following vowel is front or back, in momentary contact with the hard or soft palate. If the consonants are fronted, the portion of the tongue and the part of the palate that it touches are unusually front in respect to the vowel or the consonant [r] or [l] that follows. The degrees of frontness or palatalization are infinite. There are two distinctive ways in which the fronted consonant may articulate with the following vowel. In the one the characteristic friction of the fronted palatal consonant is maintained until the vowel is reached, in the passage sometimes suggesting the quality of a glide vowel [ə]. In the second, between the fronted consonant and the vowel may appear a glide consonant [j], transcribed *y* by writers of dialect stories as in *cyar* and *gyarden*.

In an article "A Phonographic Expedition to Williamsburg, Virginia," *American Speech*, February 1930, I spoke of the sounds as follows:

The palatalization of [g] and [k] is of two orders. First, [g] may appear as [gj], and [k] as [kj] before [ɑ] or [a], in *garden*, *disregarding*, *cigar*, *car*, *calmly*, *can't*, and many similar words. Today pronuncia-

tion of the [kja] [gjadn] type is not often heard in the speech of business and professional men, if we except Episcopal ministers. However, certain gentlemen of the old school, many ladies of the old families, debutantes who have attended Episcopal institutions, professional Virginians and parvenus are fond of the sound. They do not agree, however, in its employment. For example, I heard two gentlewomen pronounce *cigar* [sigja], which may seem eccentric, *calmly* [kjamli], and *can't* [kjaŋt], but they pronounced *car* and *garden* without palatalization.

These sounds probably have always conferred a social distinction, but today I believe that most men distrust them, fearing that they are evidence of an unmanly exhibitionism. A worthy member of the distinguished Carter family told me on the Columbia campus that even as a boy in Virginia, he refused to pronounce the family name in the ancient manner except when he visited his aunt near Cartersville. She was a woman of determined character and insisted upon [kjaətə]. A classmate of James Branch Cabell calls him [kjæbl], but a distinguished jurist of Norfolk speaks of the famous opinion of William H. Cabell [kæbl] of the Virginia Court of Appeals, and pronounces *car* [kja].

It is surprising that this palatalization is even rarer among the Negroes than among the white people. One would expect that the Negroes would preserve old-fashioned modes, and that the descendants of house-servants and bodyguards would reflect gentle usage of past generations.

Furthermore, it is strange that pronunciation of the *y* [j] type before [ɪ] as in *gift*, [e] as in *gate*, [ɛ] as in *get*, [æ] as in *carry* (but not *Cabell* above) has no social merit, and *y* [j] in *cow* [kjæu] is a real *faux pas*. The [k] in *cow* should not be fronted at all, if the social aspirant can prevent it; and neither should the [g] in *Goucher*.

I believe that the fashion of *cyar* and *gyarden* was set by authors who wrote about the romantic South. The glide [j] is easy to indicate in conventional spelling by *y*. It could occur in gentle speech, and the authors seized upon it and made it a symbol of refinement. Before [ɪ] as in *gift*, [e] as in *get*, [æ] as in *carry*, the glide *y* [j] is not so easily apprehended. The authors did not hear it, and therefore *y* [j] before [ɪ], [e], [æ] is not fashionable. It occurs, however, rather more frequently than *y* [j] before [a] and [ɑ]. No other reason accounts for their failure to publicize *gyirls* for *girls* as a prerequisite to gentility.

I am sufficiently under the influence of the sentimental South and speech snobbery to think that *gyirls* is a very fine pronunciation. Every man to his own choice.

In coastal New England *y* [j] before [ɪ] as in *gift*, [ɛ] as in *get*, [æ] as in *carry* is not unknown. You find it more frequently as you go down east. *Gyirls* for *girls* is fairly common among elderly New England gentlemen. I was very pleased to hear really [kjadz] *cyards* for *cards* in a discussion of contract bridge in Lubec, Maine. This is as far as you can go both in American territory and American palatalization.

Charleston, South Carolina, is in palatalization as in other characteristics close to the practice of Tidewater Virginia. Elsewhere in the South and southwest, hill and plain, *y* [j] often appears before [ɪ], [ɛ], and [æ], but never before [a] [ɑ] as in *cyar* and *gyarden*.

For *gy-* [gj-] in *garden* Wright cites north Derby, Leicester, northwest Oxford and Hereford. For *ky-* [kj-] in *card* he cites north Derby, west Somerset and Aberdeen; for *cow* [kjəʊ], mid-Buckingham and east Sussex.

28. Fronted or palatalized [k] and [g] accompanied by audible friction but not followed by *y* [j], are common throughout the South, the Southwest, and on the coast of New England. They are more common than I thought a few years ago. My ears were so accustomed to the sounds that I did not hear them. The palatalized [k] is regularly pronounced by the natives of North Carolina when they pronounce the name of the state [kʰærələɪnə] or [kʰələɪnə]. It may occur also in *key*, *kid*, *cape*, *kept*, *care*, *cow*, *cards*, *corpse*, *coat*, *coop*, *skit*, *scare*, *skirt*, *scar*, etc. Fronted [g] may appear in *git*, *gate*, *get*, *girls*, *Gad*, *Goucher*, *God*, *garden*, *go*, *goober*, etc. Needless to say the sounds are not of social significance, except perhaps in the case of *girls* [gʰɜlz]. Those who employ them are not aware of them. They are difficult to transcribe in conventional spelling, and writers in search of local color have ignored them.

29. When stressed, the initial consonant in *which* [wʰ] remains stable. *Which* is not confused with *witch*. However, in New England and along the southern coast there are exceptions to this rule. One of the present senators from South Carolina says [wɪt] for *wheat*.

30. The southern tendency to front consonants is illustrated by *sh* [ʃ] as in *hush*. Often this consonant is fronted and narrowed, and approaches, though it does not reach [s].

31. I do not believe that the pronunciation of *either* with [aɪ] the diphthong of *ice* is indigenous in any part of America. Only occasionally does [aɪðə] appear in the South.

It is interesting that Wright cites [aɪðə(r)] for mid Shropshire, northeast Norfolk, east Suffolk, east and west Dorset, and east Devon. These are regions from which many characteristics of American speech seem to have come.

32. *Wasn't* may appear as [want] in the South. In New England *wasn't* is usually [want] but occasionally [want].

33. In the speech of Gullah and Tidewater Negroes and in the speech of white fishermen and mountaineers of Virginia *he* [hi] or [i] may serve for *he, she, it, his, her, its, him, (d)em* for *they, them, those; (d)em own* for *their own*. I have heard and recorded these among the whites in the Blue Ridge Mountains; and I have noted them in Gloucester and Mathews Counties, Tidewater Virginia. Both the mountaineers and the fishermen have very little to do with Negroes.

Among these speakers and generally among southern Negroes the Old and Middle English *h* may be preserved in *hit* for *it*, when the pronoun is stressed.

III

THERE HAS BEEN no scientific study of the influence of the Negro on southern speech. It is safe to say, I believe, that with the exception of darkest Gullahs and other Sea Island Negroes, no one in the South, white or black, speaks with an African accent. When the slaves were brought to America, they learned the accent of their masters. There is literally no pronunciation common among Negroes, with the possible exceptions in Gullah, that does not occur generally in vulgar or old-fashioned American speech.

Even the Gullah of Ambrose Gonzales is not far from English dialect forms. For example *yeddy*, which means *heard* in Gullah, is very close to [jɹəd] listed by Wright for Yorkshire and Gloucester, and to [jəd] listed for parts of Lancaster and Berkshire. The consonant shifts of Gullah which Reed Smith lists in his admirable study are found elsewhere in America as well as in other parts of the English world, with the possible exception of [dj] for [ʒ]; e. g. [plɛdjə] *pleasure*. *Tink* for *think*, *dese* for *these*, *wirgin* for *virgin* are as characteristic of the speech of east side New York as of Gullah. Webster notes the substitution of *b* for *v*, as [bebərɪdʒ] for *beverage*, in his speller of 1783. Indeed, I have found hardly one pronunciation in my observation of southern speech that Webster did not treat as current in New England before 1800.

There are perhaps a dozen words in Gullah which seem not to be of English origin. The unique characteristic of Gullah is the frequent addition of an unaccented vowel where seemingly it is not due to an unstressed form of the pronoun. *Enty* means *ain't he, it, she, or they* (*enty* is "eye dialect" for *ain't he*) and so is not extraordinary; but *yeddy* means simply *heard*. To the uninitiated, Gullah sounds like wild language from Africa or the other side of the moon. In reality, it is a simplified English from the lips of illiterate and

segregated black men, with perhaps an echo of African dialect so elusive that no one has ever been able to define it. Perhaps in his forthcoming study, L. D. Turner will show that the darkest varieties of Gullah have characteristics which are distinctly un-English.

The Gullah dialects have been called a pidgin English. I do not approve of the term because the pidgin English of the Orient is outside of the English tradition, while Gullah, I believe, is not. In pronunciation it is closely related to early American English as described by Webster and to the English of educated and cultivated Charlestonians. The people who love the Gonzales stories, love them as southern, i.e. American, folk tales. The rapid tempo, the staccato and clipped utterance, the usually high-pitched, intense and often nasal voice are qualities of the same order that one expects in coastal speech. The simplifications even are found elsewhere in the English-speaking world. It seems to me that the syntax is not unusual, but quite in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. The fact that Gullah is difficult to understand does not mean that it is not English. It is no stranger than the speech of the dock hands at Southampton or the Guineas in Virginia or any distinct dialect of English. In simplification it is close to the speech of the Blue Ridge, in cadence as well it distinctly resembles the speech of Guinea. In neither of these regions are Negroes tolerated. If any southern speech shows the influence of the Negro, it should be the speech of the planters, not the speech of the white men who were forced out because they could neither own nor compete with slave labor.

Away from the coast, Negro speech does not share the peculiarities of Gullah. It varies slightly from section to section as does the speech of the white people. It is difficult if not impossible to tell white man from black if both are speaking informally and out of sight, and if the Negro does not betray himself by bad grammar or by some trick that is the result of his station in society.

I fail to find anything really typical in the Negro voice. The Gullah voice, if we can generalize, is almost the antithesis of what we usually call the low, husky, Negro voice. Negro orphans brought up in Ohio asylums speak like Ohioans. Educated Negroes of the British West Indies speak like Englishmen with cockney accent. (On some islands, it may be noted, the speech of the uneducated Negroes reminds you of the Gullah Negroes.) Negroes can learn to sing with the pronunciations and mannerisms of the concert stage. When an educated Negro who has acquired a so-called cultured speech lapses into "prisident" for *president*, or into a homely cadence, or into any quality characteristic of southern speech, he is not reverting to his African blood. He reverts to the speech environment of his child-

hood. He fares no worse, and no better, than the white southerner who impiously tries to leave the speech of his fathers and gain distinction by a superficial and illegitimate accent.

Since the days of the French kings of England, no foreign accent has had a lasting or widespread influence on spoken English. In this country where the sons of German, French, Scandinavian, Italian, Spanish parents speak without a trace of foreign accent, it is extravagant to believe that the low civilization of the Negro could have influenced the speech of half the country. The common belief that Negroes did not adopt the speech ways of their masters but kept their own, is due, on the one hand, to a desire for local color and on the other, to a wish to set the Negroes apart for social and political reasons.

The real influence of the Negro has been like that of the illiterate whites in the South. Uncultured, rural groups are conservative and careless at the same time. They have small vocabularies and do not produce literature. As the Negro has preserved the Methodist and Baptist camp meeting hymns of a century ago in his spirituals, English dances in his clogs and jigs and reels, so he has kept old ways of speech. In the songs and dances he has added zest. He has in the main used language to so little purpose that there I cannot find he has contributed anything at all.

IV

I HAVE DEALT with my material under the heading of coastal and lowland speech. I can say again that the speech of southern hills and the cattle country of the southwest usually has *r* finally and before consonants as in *harder*, though it may not be employed consistently. The speech is often slower than the speech of the lowlands, where rapid speech is more common than slow speech. The speech of the hills is more apt to have the slow melancholy cadences. The notion that hot countries necessarily have slow speech is a mistaken one.

The speech of the southern hills has the same tendency to diphthongize that is common in all southern speech; vowels and palatal consonants are tense and fronted. The speech is often nasal and high pitched.

In out of the way places, like the Blue Ridges, the speech of one hollow may differ markedly from that of the next. The mountaineers there do little visiting. As good roads are built in the mountains, one will expect their speech to become more like that of the lowland South, but the hill type is well fixed on the southwestern plains and in cities like Fort Worth and Dallas.

The study of pronunciation is in essence disputatious. Up to the present time there has been very little scientific assembling of facts in regard to southern speech. I can assure the reader that what I have heard, he also can hear from the phonograph records I have collected. Of course all remarks as to the frequency of a given sound are well-intentioned guesses in the light of experience and information.

At the present time under the auspices of the Council of Learned Societies a group of workers headed by Hans Kurath and Miles Hanley are preparing a linguistic atlas of New England. I hope that they can next direct their attention to Virginia and South Carolina.

It is necessary, I believe, to make phonograph records of current speech. Students of generations to come ought to have the opportunity to hear what we have heard. Even trained phoneticians do not hear alike, and they cannot transmit their impressions of speech to others. The spoken word cannot exist on the printed page. We should like to hear the speech of the great and generous men who have made our culture. The speech of our South, be it called nasal, flat, tense, and monotonous, is oh, so sweet to the ears of a southerner—to my ears, certainly. Let us preserve it.

SOUTHERN HUMOR

BY JOHN DONALD WADE

LONG AGO, at the sanguine age when one hopes at length to know everything, I had it as my business once to write something about a man who was notable as a humorist. My first obligation seemed to me to find out what humor, after all, was—what its sources were, what its charms. Or, more simply, to find out what makes a thing funny, and why, indeed, we are pleased to have funny things brought to our attention, whether relevantly or not.

I read much, then, on that score, and the result was like most results, not satisfying ; I was left for all my effort not much the wiser. Incongruity, contrast, from what I could make out, seemed to be the bed-rock found uniformly by all pundits seeking humor's origin. What bed-rock was found by those seeking its fascination, remains to me to this day unknown, as it apparently did to my masters, in spite of their profound method of saying so. What I had been able to reckon for myself, I found after irksome suspense to be what other people also had reckoned. What I had not been able to reckon—why humor is delightful—I found after irksome suspense was a question that other people also had found always beyond them.

Naturally, one hazards guesses, and the guesses about the fascination of humor group themselves for the most part either about the conscientious motive of correction or the quite unconscientious one of escape. To jeer at a person or a state of affairs leads the jeerer, with more or less earnest inimicalness on his part, into satire or irony. But some of us fell short, somehow, of acquiring our just endowment of inimicalness, and we have come to cherish the idea that a mordant earnestness on our part about other people's activities is an impulse to be eschewed. People of this stripe laugh, certainly ; they cannot go about sighing always. They regard the story's butt not with detestation, but with affection, and they do not cherish hope of remodeling anybody or anything very speedily—not even themselves.

These by all rules are life's ineffectuals ; but their justification in humanity is that without them humanity would take on an aspect too horrible to contemplate, too indubitably governed by dullness or malice for anybody to wish its continuance. And if facts are regarded and not rules, it is these people who bring about for us, all the betterments we ever get.

As for *Southern*, that qualifies Humor in my title, I have put some thought on that for a long time. I learned the word early, and as a child in a Georgia village-school yearned at times to emulate some of my less restrained peers and punch out with a pencil-point the eyes of the northern generals pictured in my text-books. Restrained, I comforted myself by inscribing encomiumistic phrases under the pictures of southern generals. Later I learned better than to wish to occupy myself so barbarously. But I knew by then, and I know still, how to look at a book and without reading it to be aware, somehow, of every word on the pages that remotely looks like *southern*. I conceived it as my duty, once, over many years, to inspect that word every time it occurred on a page and to ascertain the veracity or falsehood of the sentence containing it. Sometimes the sentence said merely that on the southern slope of these mountains the climate is mild—and that was indeed disappointing. But I was powerfully affected if it declared the southern temperament sluggish, or, on the other hand, if it declared it generous.

I rehearse this autobiography in my anxiety to show that the word southern has long had its importance in my consciousness. Has it a meaning, really, other than the geographic one? It has been fashionable to think so for many years, and if the legend which in the beginning ascribed it meaning was at first legend merely, it is not likely by now legend merely, any more. A dog badly named, or well named, for that matter, will justify what is said of him, and a people will doubtless do as much. So in my mind there is a body of notions that hold their hands up and answer present when one says southern ; yet to define those notions (since in definition one must be definite) is more than I can do in this essay, or more than anybody could do, I judge, except by implications and overtones and suggestions that nobody in this swift-moving time would trouble to follow, or, indeed, would trouble in the first place to set down.

And now, writing this article, I review in my mind not merely what has been the course of southern humor historically. I wonder what it is, in essence, and whether it is in fact different from any other humor in anything except in its setting and in the types of people it concerns itself with.

The historical phase of my activity need not cost me great effort. The extent of the contribution southern writers have made to the merriment of this nation and of other nations is a matter chiefly of research, and research students here and yonder have unearthed much information about it—with a solemnity that one must pronounce marvelous.

But the essence of southern humor, and the possibility of distinguishing it from other humor (except, as I have said, by perfectly objective tests)—that, truly, is a horse of a different color.

As the earliest of southern humorists, consider William Byrd, that good Briton. Young, he was a debonair blade of a fellow, as familiar in London as in Virginia; old, when sickness had him, and the inevitable knowledge that he would not come to as much as he had hoped to, he was very tragical. He noted the antics of his contemporaries and wrote about them, not as himself an antic-doer, but as one superior, remote. On one side is his sophistication and his fastidiousness; on the other, their ignorance and blundering. That contrast was accidental; it was not a device of his to make the situation more amusing. His characters seemed to him ludicrous enough, himself not ludicrous at all.

Everything of his that has been published waited, in manuscript form till Byrd was a hundred years dead. That late, his writings were no longer capable of proving a literary influence; times had changed so greatly, toward libertarianism in politics, toward finical delicacy in social intercourse, that his writings lay neglected for almost a further hundred years. So much for what he wrote. What he said, in its influence upon people who knew him personally, was almost surely more influential—and that disparity between what was written and what said is interesting not of itself only, but as an early instance in southern life of a disparity that marks all life, everywhere, but particularly, I think, marks life in the South.

After Byrd, there are few echoes of southern laughter for a long time. Laughter there was, doubtless, and gayety enough, but the soberness of Revolutionary times together with the eighteenth-century ideal of decorum, and the widespread influence of evangelicism, kept most of this gayety vocal, forbade it the dignity of being written. When Revolutionary earnestness had burnt itself out in a scene of incandescent triumph, when the old aim of decorum had slumped before the new democracy, when evangelicalism, in its ardor to save everybody, had lowered its bars to admit everybody, then there was a new day. The old heaven and the old earth of Byrd or of Franklin or of Timothy Dwight had passed away, except, perhaps, in the heart of Washington Irving. And Irving, the stranded

soul, put out soon for Europe and ever afterward in general stayed there.

The new country was above all else hopeful. Democracy in politics and arminianism in religion and free land in economics gave it hardihood to set beneath all of its amusement at the grotesque, the assumption that most grotesqueness would soon end. And the same assumption humanized all the jokes because they had in them always the implication that the superiority of the joker was largely accidental, largely a matter of his having shared more fully than his humorous puppets in wholesome opportunities that would soon be open to everyone. The old story tellers are at constant pains to make this clear. I record all this now, they keep saying, because it is so ludicrous, and because soon the very clowns I write about will be behaving as punctiliously as anybody—their children turning out to be—who knows?—perhaps president. From a time as early as 1825 onward till 1900 this song was never silent in American life; and it is not silent yet—though it is audible, now that the twentieth century is a third gone, principally in the success magazines and in the sophisticated weeklies published in New York.

The Revolution was well over. Old colonials and fresh immigrants were pushing westward. And then cotton as a great commercial possibility came to tempt them all southward. Georgia for a moment became the West, and it was soon, thanks to cotton, a West that was relatively rich, relatively well ordered—though retaining the violent contrasts in cultural groups (southerner, Yankee, immigrant, Negro) that make for humorous situations. Funny, all of this, people kept saying; record it now, set it down now; it is so transient (else it would be sad); it will be gone soon; it is, indeed, already gone.

So they set it down—Longstreet with his horse swappings and his eye-gougings, Thompson with his tobacco-spitters, R. M. Johnston, and Sidney Lanier and Bill Arp Smith and Joel Chandler Harris—all in Georgia. Hooper and Baldwin wrote of Alabama, Crockett and G. W. Harris of Tennessee, Prentice of Kentucky, Thorpe and Opie Reed and Mark Twain of the South bordering the Mississippi. Even Virginia—that urbane place—offered its quota of natural men to be pictured by the romanticized and romanticizing Dr. Bagby. Even South Carolina—that sedate place—offered its quota to be pictured by the robustious Simms and the much less robustious (oh, much!) Mrs. Gilman.

And except for Mark Twain, who had the advantage of having been born later as well as innately superior to the rest of them, they all said very much the same thing. Their literary form: mostly Ad-

dison-like essays or fanciful letters, with an increasing deviation from Addison as it became the practice to introduce more and more dialect, more and more bad spelling. Their subject: unsophisticated country-folk (mostly white at first but at last mostly Negro) in contact with a world unfamiliarly urban. Their attitude: enjoy with me, reader, you who are cultivated, as I am, the foibles of these men and women, all of whom, as you and I both know, have hearts of gold beneath their superficial crudities.

Over and over this went on, and people everywhere found it delectable. America had at last come free of Europe's shadow; and this humor was really the humor of the nation at large at the time when the frontier was the nation's dominant interest. So far was it from sectional merely that its reception was equally clamorous in Philadelphia and in Peoria and in Vicksburg; and the fact is that of the eight southern humorists discussed in *The South in the Building of the Nation* (the eight, I mean, who died before 1900) four were bred and born in the North and one was educated there. The victories this humor won were identical in all sections; the rebuffs it met, ineffectual rebuffs such as the disgust felt for it by females and refined gentlemen, were also identical. It went marching on, and if it had more proponents North than it did South after 1860, so much the more demonstrably was it in the current, in the torrent, indeed, of national development.

For it is worth noting that the Civil War and early post-Civil War proponents of the old humor persisted not in the new America that had taken form along the north Atlantic coast nor freely in the new America that had been driven to take form along the south Atlantic coast. It persisted in the western north, and as soon as the western north lost its distinctiveness the old humor languished there also.

Now certainly as early as the 1830's forces were at work which would render the South unable and unwilling to float its raft on the broad stream of national development. In the light of that time the democratic theories of 1800, and the arminianism so dear then, seemed less and less tenable. Negroes, it seemed, so far as this world went, at least, were outside that picture; and as the poor whites hardened in their resentment against their betters, becoming less amenable, they also were excluded. The southern oligarchy tended to become logically both aristocratic and Calvinistic. That is what it became *logically*. What it became actually is a different story.

There was a condition to be reckoned with that inevitably rides down, at last, most schedules of what one ought to believe in deference to one's own purely selfish interests. This consideration was that in the South, because it was a sparsely settled, farming region,

people in the various classes, white and black, knew one another personally, intimately. Most often, as a result—one can risk saying so—they had a sort of affection for one another ; but even if they had instead a sort of hatred, no one sinned so pointedly as to mistake people for mechanisms.

In the great North, the case went by contraries. There democracy and free-will had all the official endorsement they could ever need, but the unofficial, dominating conviction of individuals endorsed far different doctrines. As industrialism proceeded men became specialists, and as population grew denser it became necessary for every man to rule out from his consciousness the ups and downs of most of the people he had contact with. It became necessary, in short, for people to act as if they believed other people made out of metal rather than of flesh and blood.

What prophet could have foreseen this—fuddled as prophets must always be by the stir about them? South, all roads led *from* America, it was said ; North, all roads turned back on themselves toward the ideals of the 1776 Declaration, or toward some vague place that was perhaps Heaven, and that was in any case very nice indeed. But as plain as those roads were, the travelers on them arrived, at last, curiously—one group in Paterson, New Jersey, let us say ; the other, in Macon, Georgia—cities both of which Jefferson might have understood, but only one of which he might possibly have commended.

In the South, the forces likely to break up the old humor were largely theoretical, and any of them that were more than theoretical were broken in upon by the personal intimacies that characterize a rural civilization. Further, any hard and fast program of social stratification that might have dehumanized and standardized society there, crumbled before the spectacle of Reconstruction, with its pulling down of what had been high and its exaltation of what had been low. When Marie Antoinette (for all her saying “let them eat cake, then”) is forced at last to beg crusts from her jailer, the situation is so poignantly tragic that the mind cannot last it out ; it must save itself by laughter. So one’s very poverty in the South in the 1870’s—and in more years than those—was often the theme of one’s best stories, the nucleus of ten thousand situations calculated to stir merriment.

Reconstruction, then, with its harsh anarchy, made humor mandatory. Desolate and lacking cheer, one was the more bound to simulate it—to shun madness, for simple sanity’s sake, *bound*. Reconstruction with its anarchy broadened, also, the *field* of humor. Cousin Lucius, in his patched breeches, rehearsing Horace ; Cousin Mintora, in homespun, fanning herself with jeweled ivory—both

were figures one could not be wholly solemn about. And the laughter one accorded them, with themselves leading in it, was not far different from the laughter accorded the rough-and-ready catch-as-catch-can citizenry of Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes*. Black Sambo and his lady, the poor white and his, the colonel and his—each with his valid claim upon absurdity. And, to make the gamut complete—put in mind of doing so, perhaps, by the Negro's personification of animals and his humanization of deity—one recognizes as valid (out of neighborliness if nothing else) the claims, out absurdity-way, of beasts on the one hand, of divinity on the other. Uncle Remus' Brer Rabbit and Mr. Roark Bradford's God join hands indiscriminately with mankind, and the trio will as likely as not, if a fiddle twangs, do some trick steps worth a body's trying to catch on to.

Even fine abstractions, programs for salvation, sacrosanct now in so many places, are not likely to meet in the South with much decorousness of reception. There, there is remembrance still of a fine program that came to nothing, for all that General Lee could do to make it prevalent—it was absurd, perhaps, ever to hope it would prevail—not soon will another program obtain one's whole endorsement. A lofty pronouncement, as a pronouncement, is a marvelous thing meriting one's admiration. As something more than a pronouncement, as a signal for action, it evokes less iron resolution than it does skeptical, half-sorrowful, amusement. Life is volatile—the grave running into the comic, the comic into the grave, each perhaps dependent upon the other for its being. This ponderous listing of grievances, this meticulous study of how to rectify them, this deep drumming to organization and to action—if necessary, to violent action. Are lister, study-er, drummer really quite solemn—more actually solemn than Cousin Lucius with his Horace, than Jesus in Reverend Sambo's praying? (Come, Lenin, and say so if you will—take care when you do lest your beard bob.) *And, besides, Mr. Lenin, I know Cousin Joe—as well as one man can know another,—made his money curiously too, I hear said. But Lord, more than likely he hardly knew what he was up to. And he's mighty kind to all his folks, sir, and I expect that's being kind to half the county—helped me out, personally, more than once. You talk fine, sir, to a fellow down and out like me, but you can see, I judge, how Cousin Joe being in the family, and all, I'd naturally rather look to him for help than to a man outside the family—especially, if you'll excuse me for saying so, to a foreigner.*

Through the last of the eighteen hundreds much of the recorded humor of America ran in the old channels set before the Civil War.¹ In the South, one could observe Bill Arp and Joel Harris, both of them in many ways reminiscent of old Longstreet,—could observe

in the West a parallel reminiscence in Mark Twain, as long as Mark Twain stayed in the West, and as long, incidentally, as there was a West, any longer, in the historic sense, to stay in Mark Twain.

A glib man gifted in grimacing and mimicry, touched with sentimentality, did not need capital to insure profits in the South till a time that only yesterday, it seems, became the past. For long years, there, people relished incalculably the yarns of semi-professional funny-men, some of whom, when they were not delivering their hilarious "lectures" (admittance, say, 25 cents), filled in their time acceptably as ministers of this or that evangelical denomination.

They were the court-jesters of a homogeneous culture and they are extinct now not because the culture they represented has crumbled utterly, but because it has grown self-conscious and ashamed, wistful to be cosmopolitan. En route, as it were, to extinction, they lived for years in the smoking compartments of railway trains and gabbed there interminably, to their own joy and with cost to nobody. Cosmopolitanism, with its creed of efficiency and its experience of human depravity, warned all travelers at length with printed bulletins to beware of all other travelers, and Prohibition left those who were warned ready to heed the warnings and often half ready to justify them.

But even in 1932, in the effectible privacy and brevity of a newspaper perusal, one can catch (and many are intent to catch) the echoes of that old buffoonery in the comic-strip depiction of one Hambones, true son of frontier America. Except for Hambones, then, and such-like, the old humor is gone—that is, in its professional aspect. In its non-professional aspect it has waned little to this day.

For consider, now, such a group of people as comes together at countless places in the South to celebrate Christmas by heavy eating. There is grandfather first. The mossy marble has these many years been all anybody has seen of grandmother,—but not all that anybody has heard of her. That lady's sayings, her eccentricities (always whispered about), her preferences in dress and food and flowers, are well understood by her descendants regardless of whether or not they ever had the happiness of seeing her. And there is grandfather's friend, invited in for dinner, a retired small-merchant he; grandfather, a retired farmer. Between the two, so far as one can discern, there is one point of congeniality: they are both upwards of eighty. How they enjoy each other!

Besides these two are mother and father (he, a lawyer) and uncles and aunts, wed and unwed, farmers, doctors, merchants, a mail-carrier, a teacher, a knitter of knit bed-spreads. And there are count-

less cousins, male and female, conventional for the most part, some unconventional—but none so unconventional as not to know better than to offend this agglomeration of good nature. One cousin conducts a gallery of modern art in Chicago; one, Sorbonne trained, teaches French at Vassar. One, absent, is represented by a note from him saying how sorry he is; he for his part is in Russia, finding out for some great foundation or other about the doings of the Soviets.

Here are all these people, gorged at last, and called upon by six or eight stray diners, as diverse as they, from another family. These people are constrained to talk about something, for along with the fundamental prohibitions (don't walk pigeon-toed, don't pick your teeth, child, in public) they were all given a fundamental admonition—keep, oh, whatever you do keep the occasion *moving*. Moving, my dear, lest we think perchance of how weakness comes at last, and pain, to all of us; lest we think too wrackingly of those whom weakness and pain already shove with brutal deliberation to their end, moving, lest a recognition of our own inadequacy—as persons, as a people—sere us here into sighers only.

Would it do, here, for Cousin Julius to talk of Proust's analyses, for Cousin Mary to tell of Epstein, for Uncle Tom to make Bergson clear, for someone else to echo Swift's mordancy, Wilde's glitter? I ask this question unabashedly as rhetorical. It would never, never do.

This is the challenge—tell a story now, you, that mail-carrying Uncle Jack and Proust-teaching Cousin Julius will both think pointed, that knit-bed-spread-knitter Aunt Susan can endure without fainting, that Rabelaisian Uncle Rob can endure without nodding. Scour your memory, sir; let's hear from you; it is your time now, everybody else has said something—what were you born for, anyway? Slash in where you can, echoing that word of Aunt Susie's, giving it an emphasis that she did not mean to give it, making her disclose more than she meant to, covering her with confusion, while the table roars.

"How was it, Dick, that your mother used the field glasses at the beach. . . . Yes, we have most of us heard but Julius hasn't, and besides we want to hear it again." "Now father," protests Dick's mother, Emma, "now, *father!*" And Dick tells it again, and they all shout again.

"Now that," says John, "reminds me of what old Mr. Pixley said". . . . "And Lord, Lord," says grandfather, "when have I thought of old Mr. Pixley? Why John, that man died before ever your mother and father got married." "None the less," says John, "I shall tell you about old Mr. Pixley." "Wait," says Henry. "Have you all heard about Res biting Tom Johnson's leg?"

(There, naturally, everybody knows both characters. Res is short for Resaca de la Palma, a dog-name in the house-hold since the Mexican War; Tom Johnson is an esteemed but emaciated neighbor).

"Actually bite him?" asks Howard.

"No, just snapped at him."

"I'm glad of that," says Walter, "but what odd taste of Res in the first place!"

"But," George exclaims, "*wasn't* Res an unpractical idealist trying to locate it!"

"Now, boys," says Aunt Mattie, "I have the real truth of it. When Res's tooth struck Tom's breeches, it naturally slid off. . . ."

"How was it, Carrie," asks father, "that old black Bella set you straight about the Family when you first married into it and came here from Boston?"

"What was it, Red, the Yankee said when you bumped into him after coming back from your schooling in England? *I'm sorry*, you said—what was it he replied?"

"Uncle John," says Red, "the Yankee said 'What fer.' "

"What was it, Andrew, that little rascal said when he encountered for the first time—and too late at that—quinine with his natural milk?" "Uncle John," says Andrew, "it was like this. The child's name was Micajah, and when he became aware of the quinine he made a wry face and said this: 'Pappy,' says he, 'give me a chaw er baccar, Mammy's been a-eatin' bitter weed.' "

And so it goes, the old Abductor, the old destroyers, torturers, weakeners, frightened for a moment to other spheres.

Now all of the people at this Christmas dinner know one another, and the fact that they know, already, most of the stories they hear told does not make those stories blunt for them. Somehow the story itself is not primarily the thing one laughs at. If that were true a story read or told by a radio-entertainer or by a boresome man with a good memory would be as amusing as one heard acceptably. The important part of a story is the effect it has on the teller, and one must naturally know the teller well to perceive what that effect is. That is why a funny thing captured so that it can be drawn forth and exhibited at will by one man as well as by another, loses often, all its force.

That is why uninitiated northern persons often find themselves impatient at the zest with which southern persons—as sophisticated as themselves, apparently, listen to one Negro story after another, through an entire evening. They do not recognize how largely the point of such stories depends upon outside considerations. When they

are aware of those considerations, when they know intimately the garrulous raconteur and his mannerisms, their impatience yields readily. For the initiated understand well enough that the teller, in the telling, is himself the main point of his story. They know that the southerner is in many ways bi-lingual, bi-mental, bi (if I may say so) attituded; he speaks his own language and the dialect, his own thoughts and the Negro's thoughts; he has a sentiment for the Negro that the northerner cannot diagnose except as detestation and at the same time a sentiment for him that the northerner cannot diagnose except as affection. It is the interplay of all these traits that makes the yarn worth listening to.

The humor of the Negro, too (I mean as displayed by Negroes), is dependent upon a sympathetic comprehension. The point is always in what the teller is really, contrasted with what he tells, and contrasted with his relation to the white man whom he placates and with a complete understanding by each of the other, often hoodwinks.

All of this, I think, suggests with some adequacy the present-day, generally unrecorded type of humor current in the South. The South at large represents in its basic economy the persistence of a tradition long superseded elsewhere, and its humor does too. That economy, obsolete in dominant America, stimulated a social tradition that is as yet obsolescent only, and that is indeed not clearly doomed to extinction, ever. It is a tradition which insists that human beings must quite inescapably remain human if they are to remain human, and one may well believe that it will re-assert itself.

Even New York, for example, as late as the nineteen-hundreds, found itself as greatly amused by tar-heel O. Henry as pioneer Georgia in its time was amused by Longstreet. And most of O. Henry's merits arise from restatements of the old fundamental theme of American humor, which is in 1932 perhaps less fashionable than it has ever been. I think that it will be fashionable again after a while and that O. Henry would be fashionable again also if it were not for the tawdry newfangledness which he proudly affected and which his contemporaries vulgarly admired.

Newfangledness makes slow headway in the South, and humor there is still at base rural, and all the clanging urbanism of Atlanta or of Birmingham has not been able to make most southerners feel quite at home in the brothel of modish slang—with how great a loss to them let him who will figure. For Atlanta and Birmingham are close, still, to the fields and woods surrounding them, and the bright young people of those cities, let them strive ever so faithfully, are rarely able to pronounce "Sez you," for instance, with a

conviction deep enough to keep it from proving nauseous. Most of them luckily have a better wit about them than to try. In the main, when they undertake to be mirthful, they behave themselves as much as they can like Andrew mimicing his young Micajah, or like Dick teasing his mother Emma.

But a discernible amount of southern humor such as Mr. Cohen's Slappegay saga, has sprung from sections (more social than geographic in boundary) that are in thoroughgoing fashion both urban and industrialized. This, it turns out, has been most frequently indistinguishable from the humor current in, say, Akron, Ohio,—a humor sprigs of which have been brought South and set in soil as much like that of Akron as its admirers could possibly search out.

On occasion another type has sprung up, indigenous, I think, though sophisticated beyond a doubt, and by many tests urban. Miss Ellen Glasgow, for instance, is almost wholly dependent in her subject matter upon the sources of humor which I have suggested as being somewhat definitely southern; and it is obvious that all of the assumptions behind her hard, bright wit are authentically local. Cabell and Frances Newman and even Mencken must be reckoned with as belonging to the South. Consider those names, and pair them, not with the names Richmond, Atlanta, Baltimore, but with Detroit, Cleveland, Omaha. The pairing most manifestly will not stand. For these people too are country people, who do not manage to be at home in whirring cities. Cabell's interests are in districts that are surely not crowded; Frances Newman's were in a social plane dominated still by the ideas of Miss Winnie Davis. Mencken's interests are keener in his yokel, apparently, than in most other things—and particularly in that brand of yokel (found seldom in greater verdancy than in the South) whose folly evinces itself most notably in religion. What is more, Mencken attacks his victim with a stampeding directness which David Crockett, could he have heard it, would have mightily exulted in, which is as distant from the knowing, metropolitan Walter Winchell as if New York and Baltimore were seven universes apart. And it must not be forgotten that Cabell and Mencken, at some inconvenience to themselves, doubtless, continue living where they do, and that Frances Newman, a little while before her death, came very definitely to the notion that her place was South or nowhere.

It is properly terrifying to observe that as time runs, the number of things a man may be merry over is gradually diminished. "The year is dying," the poet said—and, philosophically—"let it die." So I say here—this number is diminishing—let it diminish. But the year passes, the number falls, with results that no degree of willing-

ness on our part to have them change, can keep from being in part bad. We can not laugh ever again with a free heart at physical deformity or at madness as people—and very good people, too—did everywhere until very recently. Those sources of laughter are not sources of laughter any longer—they are gone from that list and will not be put back there, and I should be as unwilling as anybody else to see them put back. None the less, we laugh less. Ignorance may go off next; next, the “pain” (so hypersensitive we become) Dick caused his mother about the field glasses.

We progress toward a Heaven, it appears, of unrelieved earnestness and propriety. But there are happily many people who would be unhappy at this prospect, and they are probably the same people who would be most upset at the prospect of their never having the opportunity again to exhibit kindness. Doubly hard, then, is their lot, for they are, unless all signs fail, sentimentalists—and the sentimentalist, like the humorist without a mission, is an ineffectual, and his only shadow of justification in life is that without him life would be so very little preferable to death that few would prize it.

For such reactionary persons, I think the South a good place. Many contrasts are deeply rooted here, and they promise to stay rooted. Not soon will the industrialized piedmont regions *completely* overlord the lowlands, nor the forces of modern education (which may conceivably be bad education) overwhelm *completely* in the mind of either barber or bishop the notion that white people and Negroes are somehow not identical.

More progressive sections than ours may actually reach, *via* standardization, before the world ends, that Heaven of deadly uniformity which I am apprehensive of. But I am sure that such a Heaven must be very disagreeable, and that no one of cultivated sensibilities would desire it were it not for the gullibility, latent in the best of us, which teaches men to desire anything which calls itself by an agreeable name.

Many of us would find on attaining such a Heaven that the mere name was insufficient. We should want still a tightening of the heart, at times, with pity, or with indignation, a loosening down of the whole structure of our being, at times, with gigantic mirth.

LABOR DISPUTES AND ORGANIZATION

BY GEORGE SINCLAIR MITCHELL

THE SOUTHERN STATES undoubtedly contain America's most difficult problem of social relationships. We are backward in education, in government, in economic productivity, in mutual human respect. We have all of us pondered our troubles, and sought an explanation or a name for the whole condition. Our grandfathers called it the North, our fathers said it was history, we still hear it said that it is the Negro. One thing demonstrably it is not: we do not lack the resources in soil, in power, minerals and populousness on which a wealthy civilization might be built. We are not estopped by nature; our difficulty must then lie in human inadequacy. This was patent to the southerners of forty years ago, who prescribed schools which they hoped would train us for the degree of social adaptation we needed; but while the schools have removed our illiteracy and have given us many men competent in the professions and in business, they have not taught us how to escape our poverty. Education we now see to be a vaster problem than the drilling of our children's minds; it becomes the problem of training twenty-five millions of people to draw from their environing South the highest level of living that organized exploitation can win.

If the whole twenty-five millions is to advance it must discover some way of putting in effect collective aspiration. Our constitutions make the absurd assumption that men are universally informable and of judicial temper, and that collective aspiration will find expression through the ordinary channels of democratic government. It has taken three years of depression to reveal to us all what the radicals have long pointed out; that men exert themselves upon government in interested classes or groups, and that government responds not to collective but to fractional and organized pressure. We discover, too, that the science of economics is become part of the art of government; that national increase in well-being is a function of success in administering controls. Administration

of controls, such controls as are today being partially applied by Mr. Roosevelt's program of recovery, waits for its completion upon political acquiescence. The crucial controls, over investment and profit, can be won only through submission on the part of the interested classes, a submission the achievement of which amounts to revolution. Again, collective advance awaits collective administration.

It is at this point that the labor movement becomes of importance. Every student of labor has felt that with labor he touched authority. A trade union, in proportion as it is strong, modifies the total polity; the demand of a cotton mill local for recognition is in essence political, even, in a small way, revolutionary. And this is the deepest meaning of a labor movement. For viewed thus a labor movement carries the possibility of collective success. Progress in abundance is a function of human adaptation; the adaptation, so long as men are of unequal knowledge and ability, accomplishes itself through the disciplining and educational power of organizations; and organizations find a ready coherence in occupational interest and acquaintance. Thus far in the South, rather more than elsewhere in the western world, our organized economic interests have been those founded to protect property rights; we have not matched our manufacturers' associations, our chambers of commerce, our pervasively organized landlords, with associations of wage-earners, consumers, and renters; we have therefore known an extreme of undemocratic government, and a very unequal distribution of wealth. Without the means of asserting collective aspiration, through organization, we have been good plucking for such groups as had the discipline needed for exploiting us. An inclusive labor movement, representing and training all of the segments of our basic population, waits to be tried as an escape to collective health. Between segments a labor movement does not guarantee harmony. It can promise ordered, and therefore more probably peaceful, contest. This generation, in search as have been others for a vehicle of progress, may prescribe organization. Already we witness the open supersession of governments by such economic polities as are already in existence or fostered by decadent constitutional administration.

Granted that popular economic organization is an index to social health and economic prospects, where stands the South in this scale of well-being? How much labor organization have we got, what classes does it include, and toward what ends is it driving?

To begin with, we have not one labor movement, but several. The South has a curious interweaving of modernity and primitive-

ness in its economic structure ; our various regions show working classes confined within quite different economies and beginning to develop organized responses that have only a superficial unity. The skilled craftsmen of the commercial and industrial cities have a protective movement of their own ; the industrial workers and miners in the piedmont and mountain areas, when they organize, challenge the old unions of the skilled ; the common labor of the cities constitutes another class ; and beneath them the different levels of agricultural workers, from small proprietors to debt-bound tenants and croppers, begin to stir independently of the formal labor organizations. For the outward unity of five years ago, when the only visible movement was that of the skilled craftsmen united under the American Federation of Labor, the tightened economic squeeze has substituted half a dozen agitations, pitching their programs to the varying degrees of reorganization, required by the plights of the several layers.

The old-line craft union movement continues to hold the strongest place. It is built in the South as elsewhere on sheltered local monopolies or on quasi-public enterprises. The railwaymen give it the largest membership of any group. The men in the more skilled railway jobs regularly belong to their unions, and though the unions are not formally linked with the A. F. of L., the local labor movements count in the railway people. The newspaper compositors and pressmen are in other ways the backbone of the movement, giving much of the leadership and almost all of the editorial talent. They have lost a number of newspaper offices in the Carolinas in the last few years, but are still unchallenged in the larger southern cities. The building trades are capable of expanding into rounded organization in areas of active building, and by political influence the best-placed crafts until lately usually got union scales on federal construction work ; but few cities show strength among any crafts other than the carpenters and bricklayers, and for these groups as well as for plasterers, painters, plumbers, etc., the amount of competing non-union labor is usually overwhelming. The railwaymen, the printers, and the builders are the core of the union membership in any southern city ; it is an exceptional place which has important locals of street railway employes, barbers, letter-carriers, food workers, garage-hands or other crafts. Some of the newer trades have built good local unions in scattered cities, especially the bus-drivers, motion-picture machine operators, and electrical workers. These last suffered a heavy defeat by the Georgia Power Company in 1931, a defeat which may operate to confine unionism in their craft over a wide area to house-fitting work, as against the larger

utility field. For very few of these crafts, even in particular localities, could control over jobs be claimed. In many places employers tolerate union membership because of its very inability to press for advantages; personal loyalty accounts for quite as much unionism as demonstrable economic gain. Most of these unions seldom strike; too much non-union labor is on hand.

The craft unions were formerly apt to have greater stability in the old low-country commercial cities—such places as Richmond, Norfolk, Wilmington, Raleigh, Charleston, Montgomery, New Orleans—than in the newer piedmont cities. Employers there are especially skittish of unionism, but in the last few pre-depression years the stronger crafts established themselves about as well in the up-country as in the coastal plain.

The craft union movement is a white man's show. There are colored locals in it, notably of letter carriers, porters, longshoremen and firemen, but they are subordinated to the white crafts in the general union movement. The jobs the white locals try to protect are customarily white jobs, and the boundaries of white men's work are being steadily pushed outward; hotel service, building, railroad-ing, barbering, truck-driving, even in bad times the meanest jobs, are all going more to the whites, and it is easy to find instances of active work by the white labor movement to speed this transition.

Obscurely but importantly this craft union group is political. Its fifteen or twenty weekly newssheets, filled with boiler-plate copy from A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington, burst into activity for local or state elections. They push hard to see "that organized labor is given recognition in the official life of the State," as a North Carolina labor writer put it recently. An occasional post on an industrial commission, a compensation board, or in a city council is satisfying recognition. Of course the unions work for wider objects. They have stood for the poor man's cause in many recent controversies over compensation legislation, free text-books, taxation, judicial appointments, and they have made special efforts to defeat criminal syndicalism bills and to prevent the use of troops or state police in strikes. In some states they have worked hard for improvement in factory regulation and inspection. The machinery of political pressure works through the State Federations of Labor, which combine most of the locals of the A. F. of L. unions in each state. A recent development in Tennessee, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia has been the districting of the State Federations to conform to areas of political cohesion. What strength can be mustered in elections depends on circumstances. Labor is generally credited with the defeat of Senator Blease in South Carolina (though that

was cotton mill unionism), and a possible hundred thousand votes have been claimed for the North Carolina State Federation. In Tennessee, where state divisions are extreme, the labor vote is especially closely courted. Since the whole labor vote in the South is white, and the jobs it protects are exposed in some degree to Negro competition, labor politics touches the raw edge of race relations. Business unionism is all the term implies and care of a local labor preference need not be chary of the place of a subordinate race. Southern labor politics is mercantilist rather than idealist.

What total membership could have been counted in the craft union group in southern states three or four years ago is a subject for speculation only. A study of the fragmentary facts published in State Federation of Labor proceedings yields the opinion that most of the states would have fallen between five and thirty thousand for their established craft union membership, including the railwaymen, with the smaller figure the better for the gulf states and South Carolina, and the larger for the border states and those more heavily industrialized. Virginia, Kentucky, Texas, Missouri, and others were well above the larger figure. The depression has mowed down dues-paying membership with a scythe, but the unions are in protected trades, and recovery ought not to be difficult.

This whole craft group has won its strength in skilled and stable trades. Their advance has been hitherto a function of business success, and their official thinking has been almost compliant with small-town Rotary economics. The members themselves are often within reach of middle-class standards. Beneath them in the industrial portions of the region is the double layer of factory workers and of mining people in the hill country. These groups are exposed to the full blast of fluctuating economic conditions. They feel directly in their wages the competition of the South's surplus of labor, and they are usually housed in neighborhoods distinctly their own. The gap in social rank between mill people or miners and town artisans is fairly wide. Whatever difference in labor program this difference in economic level may be expected eventually to make, it for the present scarcely appears in published union policy. The craft unions have for many years given very generously to agitations and strikes among the industrial workers, and have welcomed their occasional local unions into the State Federations of Labor. But the exposed condition of the lower level of labor makes for a more radical program, and it is noteworthy that the widespread unionization of this group in 1919-20 and 1929-30 brought a good deal of quiet conflict in labor conventions between the new locals and the established craft bodies. A vigorous factory and min-

ing movement might threaten the going régime in southern labor circles. Already radical programs have found wide acceptance in these two labor segments.

II

THE WORKERS WHO come within this industrial category are principally those in the textile and furniture industries and in the soft coal mines, with the Birmingham iron industry and the tobacco manufacturing industry as smaller sections. Almost the whole class is grouped in the uplands of the South, with the mines mainly in West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and northern Alabama, and the textiles in the piedmont and in Virginia, Tennessee, and Alabama.

Unionism within these industrial workers scarcely goes back of the war boom. In textiles it is possible to show sporadic organization from 1886 on, and some of the mines were reached before 1913, but in no industry did anything approaching general organization appear before 1919, and then it was only the cotton mill operatives in the Carolinas and Tennessee who were much affected. But the West Virginia miners, the Birmingham metal workers and miners, and the North Carolina tobacco workers were all partly unionized. The depression of 1920-21 ended the agitation, and except for a negligible local unionism in the textile areas organization scarcely appeared again before 1929.

The events of that year and of 1930 must be well remembered. Seemingly with utter suddenness great unorganized strikes occurred all through the southern textile industry. The American Federation of Labor, spurred by the strikes and by the Communist invasion at Gastonia, launched a southern organizing campaign, and for a while considerably strengthened the membership of its unions both in the textile industry and in the crafts. Since then agitation has spread into the Kentucky and West Virginia mine fields, and still more recently the furniture industry has had its round of strikes. The year 1929 marks, very probably, the beginning of sustained unionism in southern industry.

The strikes with which the advance opened were not nearly so spontaneous as is generally thought. It so happened that from 1926 on the strong Philadelphia union of full-fashioned hosiery workers had been following their industry into the new low-wage centers in the South, and in the effort to unionize their own plants they had quietly reinvigorated the whole union movement in the piedmont. Their organizer, Alfred Hoffmann, brought the craft union people of Virginia and the two Carolinas into frequent provincial

meetings, led an unorganized textile strike in Henderson, North Carolina, in 1927, and prepared several of the State Federations for greater activity. A regional labor council on legislation was held in Tennessee late in 1928, and at the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L. a few months later the southern delegates met in a caucus of their own. The first of the string of strikes, that at Elizabethton, Tennessee, was immediately spontaneous (though there had been a local of the textile union in the town the year before) and was at bottom a protest against overcrowded conditions in the newly expanded industrial settlement, but a vigorous unionism took over the strike from the first. At Marion, North Carolina, the local workers had sought regular union organization weeks before the strike, and the Communist agitation at Gastonia had been carefully planned by the officials of the National Textile Workers union months before the strike occurred. In South Carolina the wave of strikes was apparently without union influence, and in most of them the workers definitely refused organization. The Danville strike of 1930-31 was a union dispute from the beginning. It is at least arguable that the strike outburst of 1929 was in part inspired by the vigorous union agitation conducted through the southern state federations, and unfolding in the two years just before the strikes.

The strikes themselves were spectacular. Troops were used at Marion, Gastonia, Elizabethton, Ware Shoals, and Danville. Eight people, seven of them strikers, were killed, and many union organizers were kidnapped or beaten. At one time the total number of strikers was over ten thousand. In South Carolina, where the strikes were small and non-union, partial victories for the workers were frequent; there a lively paternalism made itself evident. Elsewhere the immediate demands—for wage increases, adjustment of the stretch-out of jobs, and union recognition—were defeated, and in the end the unions were broken up.

The series of trials which followed the strikes left the laboring people all over the textile areas distrustful of their courts. Heavy sentences (never served) were given to men on the union side in the Gastonia strike for the death of a policeman, and no conviction was found in the death of a union member, or in the numerous cases of violence against union property or leaders. At Marion, sheriff's deputies whose pistols riddled the backs of strikers were released, and union officials were given road and jail terms for an earlier "incitement to riot." Injunctions, militia, anti-union mob violence, and trumped-up arrests were fully in evidence all through the strike zone. The Communists' generalization on capitalist justice rang true to much of southern labor population and to labor outside.

Cheered by all this activity in the South, and hopeful of the chance it gave to unionize the whole region, the American Federation of Labor at its convention just after the strikes undertook an organizing campaign aimed especially at the South. The decision to start the campaign came not long after the stock market crash which marked the beginning of the depression, and the coincidence of the attempt at unionization and the slump is pointed to, of course, as the primary reason for the impermanence of the results of the campaign. But a number of doubtful tactical moves can be shown. In the first place, the Federation, instead of forming a corps of organizers immediately under its direction, used the old device (discredited in the Steel Strike of 1919) of calling on the various national unions to contribute organizers. At one time, early in 1930, the number of organizers so sent into the South reached nearly eighty, but it was impossible to compel them to remain long, and the average force during the three or four months of active work was nearer twenty. In the second place, early in the campaign the headquarters was established at Birmingham instead of at Charlotte or some other piedmont city. The choice of Birmingham was obviously an effort to draw in the support of the national craft unions, who by that choice were as much as told that precedence in the organizing work would be given to the skilled craft workers. What most people looked for from the campaign was a concentrated drive in the textile industry; what the Federation planned and tried was a broadly spread movement, aimed chiefly at strengthening such unions as the printers, machinists, molders, building workers, barbers, retail clerks, etc. In practice, therefore, the campaign was not primarily directed at pushing the movement of the industrial workers which the mill people had begun.

Success with the craft groups was considerable though temporary. Tangible results to which press dispatches pointed were the formation of central labor bodies in "key communities of the seven states in the campaign," some addition to the craft union movement in the Birmingham district, unionization of both craft and industrial workers at Huntsville, Anniston and Gadsden, extension of the organizations of longshoremen on the Gulf Coast, improvement of the building trade unions (particularly in Georgia), and extension of craft unions and the beginnings of tobacco unionism in the Carolinas. Two new labor journals were started in the Carolinas. The campaign met almost insuperable obstacles in the spreading unemployment of the spring months of 1930, when it was most active, and by June had begun to trail off into encouraging sentiments.

Among the industrial workers it had more showy if equally tem-

porary results. The campaign in general, William Green's two tours of the South, and the increase in organizing work by local trade unions, aided by men from the New York offices of the regular United Textile Workers Union, brought a great expansion both of local textile unions and of membership. The United Textile Workers established itself in the northern piedmont at Danville, Leaksville, Spray and Greensboro, and for the last half of 1930 was busy in a running dispute over discharges and evictions for union membership in that area. Further South, the campaign headquarters started large locals in several Alabama textile towns, and with Paul Fuller a vigorous movement, half educational and half trade union, was begun in the mill cities of Columbus and Augusta, including the South Carolina Horse Creek Valley. In some mills in this area almost 100 per cent membership was signed. The South Carolina up-country had a good deal of unionism, too. In May, 1930, some twenty thousand new unionists, most of whom must have been textile workers, were claimed in Virginia and the Carolinas, of whom sixteen thousand were in South Carolina. The Alabama and Georgia unionism could well have added another six or seven thousand members, and later developments in North Carolina increased the membership there. Campaign publicity claimed thirty-five to forty dues-paying local textile unions in the South in June, and the next month claimed forty locals in South Carolina alone, though in September, at its convention, the United Textile Workers spoke of thirty new local unions in Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Possibly some thirty to forty thousand southern textile workers were brought into at least nominal membership in the United Textile Workers during 1930.

Other industries were much less stirred. The tobacco workers in North Carolina were plied with agitation, and a few locals were started at Durham, but nothing like general organization was produced. No impression was made on the Winston-Salem plants, against whose labor policies the North Carolina Federation and the tobacco union had long been complaining. In the furniture industry the campaign year brought out little more than union talk, but High Point, the center of the industry, had a scare when the cutters at one plant went on strike in a period of general unrest over the stretch-out system. In the Kentucky and West Virginia coal fields the stirrings came later than in piedmont industry.

In the textile industry the union expansion ceased from a combination of causes: unheard of depression in the industry, failure of funds, and defeat in strikes, particularly the important strike at Danville. Two North Carolina strikes, one at Salisbury and the

other at Bessemer City, were smoothed out by conciliators who made no attempt to form unions. At Danville, where the union boasted almost complete membership in the mills, a strike was staved off for months by the process of ladling out dues to discharged union workers. Late in 1930 the union undertook to fight, admitting that the fate of the nearby union movement was involved in that of the Danville local. All funds and leadership were concentrated on the dispute, but the mills gradually filled and started up in a region drained of what had been a few months before a widespread union agitation. The defeat left the textile unions of Georgia and South Carolina as the remaining active southern industrial locals.

III

SINCE THE CAMPAIGN, economic events and not agitation have ruled. Though the union had almost disappeared by 1932, the long continuance of degrading labor conditions had by that year bred revolt, and a series of strikes broke out through the upper piedmont, most of them in plants outside the ordinary textile category. At Greensboro two large clothing factories had a short walkout in protest against wage-reductions and efficiency systems, and granted some of the workers' demands. Two or three cotton mills in the Horse Creek Valley had strikes and disputes running through several months. At Spartanburg, hitherto almost unreached by union disturbance, one mill had a serious strike, with the issue of union recognition involved. In July occurred one of the most curious flare-ups in southern industrial history. On a tiny scale it was the Paris Commune of 1871. Accumulated grievances in the hosiery mills and furniture plants surrounding High Point, culminating in a sharp wage reduction at one mill, brought an almost simultaneous strike of over 10,000 people, who promptly "came to town" and for a day or two took over the streets of the city. The strikers tried to tie up the general business of the place, invaded numerous factories, and impressed well-to-do inhabitants with the fear of an *émeute*. It is said that the city was at the time dickering for a loan from New York bankers, and had used the town's freedom from labor disputes as an added attraction. Police quickly reasserted their authority, the furniture workers and most of the hosiery workers went back, but in the mill where the strike had begun the strike continued with a local and independent union representing the employes. A small strike at Thomasville and another at Pulaski, Virginia, showed continuing unrest in the furniture industry. More strikes, at Spindale and Hemp, and a serious one in the quiet town of Rockingham, all in North Carolina, kept the wave going in the

textile industry. In scarcely any of these strikes did the question of unionism play an important part. The Horse Creek Valley was organized, and anti-union discriminations were involved there, but in the Carolina textile and furniture plants low wages, the stretch-out, and unusual policies in re-employment were the issues; where unions entered they were independent and somewhat informal, as at High Point and Rockingham, and did not push hard for recognition. Depression, the scare over Communism, or union ineffectiveness had lessened the workers' taste for regular union affiliation.

Since this string of strikes of despair the beginnings of industrial recovery have been increasingly evident, especially in the textile industry, and a new strike wave demanding higher wages and sometimes the adjustment of efficiency systems has appeared in the cotton and furniture industries and in other minor employments.

In the coal fields of West Virginia and Kentucky union penetration has once more become an issue. In the last three years the United Mine Workers, the (Communist) National Mine Workers Union, a local I. W. W. movement, and the independent movements ending in the Progressive Miners Union have all competed for the miners' allegiance. The abuse of the miners' politically guaranteed freedom by the operators and by local officials has been notorious. At present considerable strength has been won by the independent Progressive movement, affiliated with the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and some thousands of miners, especially in West Virginia, have been continuously organized for two years or longer. The United Mine Workers are reported to be making headway with the neglected body of miners in Virginia. It is perhaps not too much to conclude that the miners' labor movement has fixed itself for some years to come in at least particular areas of the southern fields.

For the whole body of southern industry the position as revealed by the last five or six years shows sporadic organization and a facility in striking in both the cotton and rayon industries, the hosiery industry, the furniture industry, and in the West Virginia and Kentucky mining fields. In tobacco manufacturing unionism is not important, and in the metal and mining industries of Alabama and Tennessee it is negligible. In point of organization achieved unionism among the industrial workers is therefore nothing like so stable or so influential as is that among the craft workers in the region; in point of temper and of the programs it has latterly embraced it will repay some study.

The most important unions appealing to the industrial layer in the South are two regular American Federation of Labor unions,

the United Textile Workers and the United Mine Workers. The near-collapse of the bituminous end of the United Mine Workers is well known, and except as an element in the prevailing union discord, it has played little part in recent southern miners' organizations. It stands for the union-management co-operative policy of the A. F. of L., and believes in a unionism heavily weighted with official control—two features which may make its revival important in any government-fostered future union development. But more radical programs have recently had more of the miners' loyalty than has the U. M. W. The Communists admit to present failure in the southern field, and the feeble I. W. W. movement is gone. The local and outside leadership under the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has stressed a democratic unionism with a working miner's wage as the standard for official salaries, and has advocated socialization of the coal industry and co-operation with the more politically minded wings of the labor movement outside. It is openly "left-wing" itself, though it refuses any of the disputed labels of American radicalism. The depression years have definitely put a socialistic unionism into leading place among the border state miners.

In the textiles any supersession of conservative unionism is not so clear. The United Textile Workers has been a steady advocate of employer-employee co-operation. This program was made a major feature of the campaign of 1930, both by the U. T. W. and the A. F. of L. Coupled with a certain religious meekness, it has been unusually successful in holding a union membership in Georgia and the Horse Creek Valley. The U. T. W. itself has modified its rigidity in ruling out sub-industrial and regional sharing of authority, has declared itself in favor of a labor party, and has in other ways adjusted itself to expansion in the South. But in spite of these changes, of linkage with southern state Federations, of the use of southern men in its organizing work, and of care not to offend the mill people's supposed beliefs on matters of race and religion, the United Textile Workers has not been consistently welcomed in the mills. Its shortcomings in the way of continuous organization can hardly be ascribed purely to the technical and economic difficulty of unionizing southern workers; something must be written down to official incapacity, and, though this is debatable, perhaps to the absence of a sufficiently broad program of reform as the drive behind union exhortations. At any rate, the last five or six years have seen the beginnings of a unionism which is less markedly of the "business" type, and which has come constantly nearer to offering itself openly as a rival of the U. T. W.

The new textile movement has grown quietly. Much of the vigor

and some of the cost of southern organizing latterly has come from the Hosiery Workers' Union, which has long been "progressive." Hoffman, who began the labor revival in 1926, and Lawrence Hogan, who is now active in and about High Point, are both organizers for the Hosiery Union and were both trained at Brookwood College under A. J. Muste, the head of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Their work, while closely linked with the U. T. W., has acted as a "left" influence with the recognized union. Hogan has carried on propaganda for political and economic action of both workers and farmers, occasionally using the name "Southern Industrial League," and has helped with an organized movement of the unemployed of High Point. His group is particularly interested in workers' education, holds socialist beliefs, and is insistent on a policy of united advance of both blacks and whites. Its ultimate aim may be a regional union movement, comprehensive in program; at present it is content with propaganda and with recruitment to the locals of the Hosiery Union, to the United Textile Workers, or to councils of its own. In addition to whatever may be read from the welcome given by some North Carolina workers to this movement, there is the evidence of the undoubted loyalty, at least in 1929, of many mill people to the Communist National Textile Workers Union. The N. T. W. stood flatly for the class struggle, was demonstrative in its policy of equality with the Negroes, and freely characterized mill village religion as a prop to capitalism. Gastonia was not its only battle. It led strikes at Leaksville, Bessemer City, Lexington, and Pineville, it sent organizers to most of the scenes of labor conflict in the South, and its people braved and suffered great and mostly unrecorded brutality at the hands of police officials and enraged mobs. Cases can be shown where the mill people themselves have abused or driven away Communist organizers, but the loyalty of the Gastonia people, certainly for a few months, must balance any argument that the Communist propaganda is unpalatable to southern workers unforwarned. It remains true, however, that the N. T. W., though not the Communist Party, has for the time being withdrawn its southern activity.

This attempt at Communist indoctrination and the continuing union work of the C. P. L. A., both of which movements have been important in the mine fields as well as in textiles, point toward the growth within the class of industrial workers of a unionism anxious to avoid race prejudice, and committed to advocacy of collective ownership of industry as a permanent feature of the southern labor movement. Depressions breed utopian unionism, and this movement may dwindle with a new prosperity, but it may

be expected to leave, and probably to continue, its doctrinal contribution.

IV

TWO FURTHER broad classes of southern working people remain to be considered: common labor of all sorts, with an upper fringe in the meaner kinds of factory and a lower fringe of seasonal and domestic labor; and the landless and poorer farmers.

The lower level of industrial and city labor has scarcely been scratched by unionism. Much of it is Negro labor, part of it is Negro women and girls, many of the occupations are seasonal or otherwise intermittent, some of them are subject to sweating. The lower levels of metal work, longshoremen and stevedores, railway and highway and building common labor, workers in cheap clothing factories, in oil mills, in fertilizer plants and in laundries, shrimp-packers and most of the tobacco factory workers all come in this class of unskilled or semi-skilled urban labor. The craft unions reach a level far above this group in earnings and in living standards; the textile workers are cut off by generally superior (family) earnings, by the segregation of the mill villages, and of course by racial prejudice, which is partly responsible for keeping the textile industry a white stronghold. The workers of this lower level who have organized have done so mainly in the last five or six years, though some organization can be traced in the group during the war boom. Some common labor and some Negro miners in the Birmingham district were organized in 1919, and railway and port organizations reached the lowest grades of labor in that period. Some Negro labor on the railways has kept its organization ever since; firemen, some shopmen, some trainmen and yardmen, and occasionally the station porters are organized. The longshoremen, especially on the gulf coast and at Hampton Roads in Virginia had a vigorous if uncertain unionism for several years before the depression began. From half to four-fifths of these men are Negroes. In 1930 and 1931, when big strikes among them occurred in the Texas ports and at New Orleans, the principal ports were almost entirely organized and collective bargaining started or resumed in some of them. The International Longshoremen's Union has regularly used separate but co-ordinate locals for the white and colored workers. Some of these locals, especially of the Negroes, numbered well over a thousand members. The strikers not unnaturally trailed off into municipal politics, and what gains have been registered may be due as much to political as to economic pressure. Outside the railwaymen and the longshoremen, unionism has been almost unheard of. Com-

mon labor in and about cotton mills has been occasionally organized by the United Textile Workers and the National Textile Workers. The U. T. W. has always put the colored workers into subordinate locals, whose official acts and treasuries were subject to supervision by the white local, which alone held a union charter. Just lately the unemployed councils in a number of cities, formed with Communist or occasionally with Socialist or C. P. L. A. help, have included Negroes, commonly in the same organizations with the whites. The Negro tobacco factory operatives have also occasionally been union material. But Negro industrial labor as a whole may be counted as much less influenced by unionism than the predominantly white labor in the lighter industries and in mining. Where organized, also, it has always been in conservative bodies; the longshoremen, the tobacco workers and the textile workers have been far from radical. Common labor, black and white, has had a minimum of organized attention; nothing like the English unions of general workers has been attempted.

Among the agricultural workers organization is to be spoken of in terms of program only. The ultimate issue is between peasant proprietorship and collective farming, though a capitalist agriculture now offers itself in some areas. The co-operative movement goes along with the former. It has not been important in the South, though a few isolated neighborhoods raising special crops have improved their position by it, and dairy farming seems to be on the verge of using it in some form. The failure of co-operation to take root must be related to the long-term increase in tenancy and cropping on poorer lands and the continuance of the plantation economy on the richest soils. This increasing tendency toward the status of agricultural labor in wide regions in the South is one basis for the Communist program of southern agricultural reform. The policy of "self-determination for the Black Belt" involves both political and economic reorganization. The contention, set forth in several recent Communist pamphlets, is that the practically continuous region of Negro predominance in rural population, stretching from southern Virginia into Texas, can constitute a quasi-autonomous national republic after the model of the national organizations of racial minorities in the Soviet Union. The present state and county lines would of course be ignored in determining the natural and racial region. Presumably a collective agriculture, directed by elected officials and integrated to a continental economy, would furnish the economic base of the scheme. National autonomy would be expected to carry a general cultural advance. For any white minority remaining within the Negro region the project plans

acceptance of Negro authority. Similar schemes are easily imaginable for other distinctive regions of the southern economy. Toward realization of the Black Belt program the Communists have produced a considerable if quiet propaganda through scattered areas of Negro population, skillful advertisement of the discriminations involved in present political and economic organization, and the formation in 1931 and 1932 of the promptly and murderously suppressed (Negro) croppers' unions of Camp Hill and Reeltown, Alabama. The Communists keep their own council, but it may be guessed that the present concentration of their southern work in the agricultural field goes along with a belief that final reorganization must give security and progress to bottom classes.

For purposes of analysis these several layers of the southern working class and the organizations which are active in each one have been given an artificial separateness. The lines drawn between the craft people, the workers in the mines and in the lighter industries, the casual and heavy laborers, and the poorer farmers are not consciously drawn by most labor organizations in the region, and the A. F. of L. unions would be unwilling to admit that their general policies unsuit them for work in all of the layers, but some such rough stratification is present. If and when organization reaches to the lower strata, a clash of programs may be expected to result. There is the fundamental cleavage between those craft unions whose prosperity is dependent on social quiet and the groups below, whose policies of advance envision social changes, and the even more threatening cleavage over the race question. These are issues to be faced in the future; let it only be pointed out that unionism will clamor for reorganization.

On racial discriminations, the danger is that an entrenched white unionism, say of the craft and factory workers, might blatantly exploit politics and philosophy to keep a preferred position above the Negroes. The trade unionism of South Africa seems to have become a protective alliance against the entry of the blacks into well paid jobs, and its strength corrupts even governmental paternalism toward the natives. The Atlanta Black Shirts movement of 1930 was partly a Ku Klux Klan fraud, but its work was the conquest of black jobs for white unemployed. Local labor politics has turned much of the recent relief work, all over the South, exclusively into white hands. Escape can hardly lie in this direction. A racially stratified working class must mean total poverty, entirely indefensible inequalities, and perpetual social disorder. Fortunately, a considerable stream of contrary advice now reaches the southern labor movement.

Numerous national movements allied to labor, dissentient in their particular plans but nearly all clearly in favor of united advance for the two races, have expanded into the South. Workers' Education is one. The movement exists in co-operation with labor unions but has an independent life of its own. Under its name adult labor classes, several of them taught by university people, have been given at various times in the last four or five years at Elizabethton, Durham, Nashville, Marion, Columbus, Augusta, and in some West Virginia mining towns. Commonwealth College, in Arkansas, has carried along a broad labor program for several years, and the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry has met in North Carolina for four years. Brookwood College, in New York, has had ever since 1929 a trickle of southern students, brought there to be trained for work with the southern labor movement. A somewhat similar local educational work has been carried on by the American Federation of Labor and the State Federation in the labor Chautauquas, which in a few southern cities have attained perennial strength. The Y. W. C. A. has worked closely with union labor in adult education, and so has the Women's Trade Union League. The propaganda of the Socialist Party, which first entered the South in the 1932 campaign, may be counted in the same general category, and the Communists have made themselves conspicuously informing. Other bodies, intended to reach more particularly middle class opinion, have found established and useful places in bringing about specific improvements by legislation and otherwise. Out of this complex of organizations, all of them working for long-term progress, may come a substantial counter to prejudice within the labor movement. Organization among the blacks may turn out to have a similar effect. Meanwhile, it is the reported experience of many labor organizers in the South that some traditional prejudices are overcome with amazing ease by the argument of solidarity.

This chapter is concluded just as the first steps are being taken toward formalized industrial organization under the National Recovery Act. It is too early to tell the degree of government pressure that will be used to foster labor organization, but it is a safe guess that labor will greatly help itself by its own activity in extending its unions, and it is certain that the trials of strength which constitute the preliminaries of shifting authority in a nation—which are in reality its politics—have now been openly transferred to the economic field. From now on everyone will be aware that organization, in proportion as it is complete, free, and informed, determines the rate, or the permanency, of progress for that majority of a people who are the material of its labor movement.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

BY CHARLES W. PIPKIN

A REVIEW of the social legislation of a state, or group of states, does not necessarily tell the whole story of the attitude of the people included within the particular territory toward social problems. This is especially true of a review of legal provisions relating to social problems within the limits to which this study is confined. An additional factor which contributes to the difficulty of such a task regarding the southern states is the historical background of the section. Without some knowledge and interpretation of the history of the South its present relative backwardness in social progress as evidenced by legislative enactments is unexplainable.

The history of the South has created an ideal background for the development of an extreme philosophy of paternalism. The old plantation economy of the South was essentially paternalistic in character. This tradition of proprietary responsibility for dependents has survived in an environment of free labor with its assertion of rights to self-determination. It is this survival from a plantation civilization that makes the present economic situation in the South all the more interesting and significant. The existence of a large servile and inferior class, first as slaves and later as freedmen, made such a philosophy not only humane but also expedient. The southern slave owner was legally responsible for a minimum care and treatment of his slaves. It was to his advantage economically, laying all sentimental, emotional and humane considerations aside, to take proper care of his slaves. To him the non-slaveowning whites turned for advice and not infrequently for assistance. It is obvious that in such a society the development and growth of paternalism was not an extraordinary phenomenon.

After the emancipation of the Negro his legal status was changed, but his economic and social position for many years was similar to what it had been before the Civil War. The old paternalistic philosophy persisted and was given a new impetus. The Civil War amend-

ments to the federal constitution could not make the Negro equal to his former master. The Negro turned instinctively to his former master for advice and assistance, and in most cases found it necessary to work in the same fields which he had tilled before his freedom. Thus was developed that system of share-cropping which has been condemned so vigorously by those who do not take into consideration the devastation of the South at the end of the Civil War, which not only made such an arrangement desirable but absolutely necessary.

Another factor which one must keep constantly in mind in order correctly to understand the South's attitude toward social problems is that it has always been the stronghold of rank individualism. In the individual this is often a picturesque thing, but in an industrial system it is anarchy and injustice. It was in the South that the doctrine of *laissez faire* gained its widest acceptance. It was a southerner who declared that government best which governs least, and in doing so gave to the doctrine of individualism a slogan which has become a tradition. It was the South that furnished the greatest champions of states' rights, who instilled in the people a fear toward governmental regulation which haunts the average southerner to this day. However, this does not apply to the South's eager acceptance of Federal subsidies!

The greatest economic change in the United States at the present time is the transition from the old agricultural economy to the new industrialism, which is taking place between the Potomac and the Rio Grande. The South today is keenly alive to its industrial possibilities. State legislatures of this section as well as local chambers of commerce are making appropriations dedicated to extensive advertising campaigns to inform the world of the wonderful advantages which their respective localities offer to manufacturing enterprises. The section has developed an industrial complex, which, if judged by its frantic efforts to attract industrial establishments regardless of the social cost, might generously be termed industrial madness.

The South's plea for more industrial plants has not gone unanswered. Its abundance of resources, its low cost of living, its water power, the easy contact of the whole area with the sea, and the additional inducement of partial exemption of industrial plants from taxation offer opportunities to industry which no other section can equal.

Twenty-five or thirty years ago the social problems which arose in an industrial community were inconsiderable over most parts of the South, for the region was almost wholly agricultural. This fact is significant in the history of social legislation in the South. But

today the problems arising from the social implications of industry are serious in all of the southern states—for all have experienced some degree of industrialization, and there is today a vast industrial South growing rapidly toward a vast industrial organization.

The industrial development of the South began after the Reconstruction period following the Civil War. It was accelerated by economic necessity and the vast supply of raw material and cheap labor. Since the World War the movement has taken on new life and in the last decade the South has seen a development which has attracted the attention of the entire industrial world. Coming when it did, the industrialization of the South appeared to be an economic savior to the class of people who furnished the labor for these industries. To them and to the entire South industrial life and conditions were an entirely new experience, and the social problems attending so great an economic change were not at first apparent to either the factory worker or the people of the South in general. So dire was the need of the poor whites who turned to the mills for a livelihood that work of any kind under any conditions was enthusiastically welcomed. Employers were regarded as public benefactors, and the public in general was not aware of the need of legal protection for the worker, leadership was lacking in legislatures and in a labor movement which could give direction to any aims of adequate security for the wage-earner.

Much has been heard in recent years about religious fundamentalism in the South, particularly in connection with the passage of anti-evolution laws. There is, however, an economic fundamentalism which is as prejudicial to anything like a scientific attitude of mind as its analogue in the religious world. Like religious fundamentalism it opposes to the needs of a new social order the formulas of the past. It shows itself, for example, in an opposition to child-labor laws on an old plea that parental authority so far as child experience and training are concerned is supreme and should not be limited. It fights legislative measures of an ameliorative character which are proposed in the interest of workers or the general public with the dogmas of individual liberty and property rights.

ECONOMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

THE ECONOMIC fundamentalism of the South is being displayed in many places in a solid resistance to measures designed to provide insurance against industrial accidents. It emphasizes in a period of large-scaled and highly specialized production self-determination when individual choice or determination is largely shaped by social causes. When workmen's compensation laws are proposed it stresses

the old doctrine of assumed risk and contributory negligence under a system in which such doctrines have no applicability. The doctrine of assumed risk can be urged when a prospective worker takes employment in a small shop where the risks involved are easily ascertained. But under the present-day factory system such knowledge is not easily secured, and furthermore, the employee is often a minor factor in the causation of industrial accidents. This fact is being increasingly recognized by business men. Nevertheless, there are still four states in the Union—all of them in the South—without any workmen's compensation law at all, and only a few states have laws which can be said to approximate the needs of the present. The South has been industrially backward, which accounts, in part, for the retardation of her social legislation. The sole remaining black spots on the workmen's compensation map are Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Under the common law system when an industrial accident occurs the usual procedure is for the injured employee to engage the services of an attorney and sue his employer for damages. If the employee is successful he has practically nothing left when the expenses are deducted. Neither is this system advantageous to the employer. He often has to pay large sums of money for damages in addition to the expenses incidental to a trial. Litigation of this character stirs up animosity between employer and employee. The common law doctrine was not designed for, and is unsuited to, modern industrial conditions.

Because of the inherent hazards of machinery most European nations and many states in this country have required machinery to be safeguarded by safety appliances. As far as can be gathered from copies of the labor laws, southern states which do not require safety appliance devices on all types of hazardous machinery are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas. Alabama and Florida apparently have no printed copies of such labor laws as exist.

Following the movement for removing unnecessary hazards from work there was a nation-wide effort, sponsored intensively by the American Association for Labor Legislation, to secure laws requiring industries to carry insurance covering accidents resulting in the injury or death of an employee. This type of insurance is known as workmen's compensation and its economic and social wisdom has been so apparent that compensation statutes have been adopted by forty-four states and by the federal government. The majority of states have created industrial commissions to review cases in which injury occurs, have established minimum and maximum rates of

payment for all types of injury and for death (not all cover occupational diseases), and have required industries to carry liability insurance. Bills seeking to secure such acts were defeated in 1931 in Florida and South Carolina. Alabama, Louisiana, and Tennessee have compensation laws, but have failed to create the necessary commission for administration, leaving cases to be settled by court action, which is a serious defect and largely defeats the purpose of the statute.

In most of the southern states rates of compensation are very low. The federal government has set the standard in its workmen's compensation law for civilian employees with \$26.92 a week maximum. The maximum, state by state, in the South is :

Louisiana	\$ 20.00	West Virginia	\$ 16.00
Texas	20.00	Alabama	15.00
North Carolina	18.00	Georgia	15.00
Oklahoma	18.00	Virginia	14.00
Tennessee	16.00		

The Alabama compensation law was amended in 1931 to include a provision common to a number of states in other parts of the country, giving double compensation to children illegally employed. The extra amount is a direct charge upon the industry itself and not its insurance carrier, and acts as a deterrent to employing children illegally.

In the four states which do not have workmen's compensation acts the public sentiment is rapidly turning toward the adoption of such legislation as a means of protection for the industrial worker. A large number of industrial accident victims become dependent upon public or private charity for relief. The principle underlying workmen's compensation acts is that the damages resulting from such accidents should be counted as an item in the cost of production, the same as the replacement of a piece of machinery, and the cost should be passed on to the consumer.

In Arkansas a workmen's compensation law has been enacted which applies only to employees of the state. This measure indicates the changing attitude of the public toward labor legislation, which is rapidly coming to the support of a general workmen's compensation act. In the gubernatorial elections of 1928, 1930, and 1932, in Arkansas, one of the campaign issues was the need of an adequate compensation act.

In Florida organized labor has sponsored a workmen's compensation measure since 1920, and a great deal of consideration has been given to the advisability and necessity of such a measure. Mississippi

provided in 1914 that in actions for personal injury or death of an employee resulting from the negligence of his employer the employee is not held to have assumed the risk of employment which is a part of the common law doctrine of the relations between employer and employee. It is obvious that this does not provide adequate protection to the employee; he still has to resort to a cumbersome legal process, and is not protected in cases where negligence on the part of the employer cannot be shown. Public sentiment in South Carolina appears to be decidedly in favor of adopting workmen's compensation legislation. One of the state's leading newspapers has recently published a series of twenty articles explaining the need and operation of an adequate compensation act. In the 1931 legislature of that state such an act was introduced and passed in the senate, and was defeated in the lower house only by a few votes. The state federations of labor in all four of the states have repeatedly gone on record as favoring workmen's compensation and in some instances have exerted efforts in the legislative bodies to secure the passage of such legislation.

The workmen's compensation laws of Alabama and Louisiana are administered by the courts of these states; in the remaining southern states similar laws are administered by industrial boards or commissions. North Carolina, the last state to adopt the workmen's compensation law, provides an administrative organization of a commission of three members appointed by the governor for terms of six years, with one term expiring every two years. This gives the commission a continuity of policy in administration. This organization is similar to that of Virginia which has proved to be the most effective of that of any state of the South. Agreements between the parties with regard to the terms and amounts of compensation are permitted. Reasonably adequate information is required to furnish a check on the settlements made. Accident reports giving all necessary information must be filed with the commission by the employer, and another report is required upon the termination of the liability. Either party may apply to the commission for a hearing in case of dispute. The decision of the commission is final as to questions of fact, but appeals may be taken to the courts on questions of law. The commission may upon its own motion before judicial hearing or upon the application of any party in interest upon the ground of change in conditions revise at any time and make a new award, ending, diminishing, or increasing the compensation previously awarded.

The machinery of administration of the workmen's compensation codes in the South is worth noting. It indicates general tendencies

and the large importance of administration in labor law. The states of Georgia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas administer the compensation laws through commissions. In all these states disputed claims may be taken to the courts on appeal for final settlement. West Virginia's compensation act is administered by a commissioner, who has full power to determine all questions relating to compensation with the limitation that in case of disputed claims an appeal may be taken to the courts. The compensation laws of Alabama and Louisiana are administered by the courts. In Alabama the compensation commissioner has limited supervision in the administration of compensation laws in conjunction with the courts. The commissions of North Carolina and Virginia are full-time officials. Georgia provides a similar administrative organization composed of two existing officials and two full-time officials appointed by the governor. Georgia permits limited appeals to the appellate court and from thence to the Court of Appeals. In Tennessee settlements are permitted between parties, but must be approved by the county court before they are binding. Reports by means of which a substantial check can be made of the terms of the agreement are filed with the Division of Workmen's Compensation of the Department of Labor. In case of dispute either party may submit the matter to the county court, and the evidence is heard and a decision rendered by the judge. Appeals may be taken to the next term of the circuit court where the case is tried *de novo*, and appeals may be taken thence to the Supreme Court by means of writs of error. All settlements by agreement where the amount of compensation does not exceed the compensation for six month's disability are final and not subject to readjustment.

In 1914 the Louisiana Legislature adopted a system of payment for accidents in industry which represented at that time a most advanced scheme of workmen's compensation under court administration. The law was enacted after an exhaustive investigation by a competent commission of conditions in Louisiana and other states.

The administration of workmen's compensation laws in Louisiana is dependent entirely upon the courts without reference to any other state agency. No provision whatsoever in the compensation law is made which requires reports to be made of industrial accidents. A limited accident report law requires reports of only certain accidents to be made to the factory inspector semi-annually. As to its operation it would be difficult, really impossible, to estimate how adequately or inadequately industry and workers have been served. One can only speculate on how far the statute has fulfilled its purpose, whether it has lessened accidents, whether it has more equitably distributed

the cost of them, and whether it has tended to rehabilitate those who have suffered, the workers and their families.

The reports of the Louisiana Supreme Court reveal that the compensation law of that state has not claimed its share of consideration. The reports of the lower courts shed almost no light on the efficiency of the statute. The admitted necessity for adequate statistics on the casualties of industry, and the desirability of knowing what is going on, what problems exist and how they are being met; all of this on the one hand, and on the other, the array of printed forms, multi-graphed petitions with which one is confronted if one attempts an investigation—these problems in themselves prove that the situation can never be met by the administration of a compensation act by an agency which cannot really administer, which can only be a clearing house for the filing papers, and which has no time or inclination to go into the merits of any case unless a manifest injustice is being done. The records in their formality, in their monotony, in their lack of appreciation of the purpose they are to serve, prove the ineffectiveness of this system. This is a situation all too common in the administration of labor law in the South, where there is universally a lack of trained enforcement officials.

Court administration is slow, complicated and costly, and tends, because of these inherent difficulties, to defeat the very purpose of workmen's compensation legislation. Among the chief arguments for the passage of workmen's compensation laws was the well known delay and waste attendant upon damage suits. Another serious objection to a court system of administration is its tendency to foster direct settlements. Rather than spend the time and money necessary for the successful completion of court cases, the great majority of employees are led to make direct settlements of their claims with the employer or insurer. Investigations in state after state have demonstrated that wherever direct settlements are common serious underpayments of injured workers result. A further serious defect in court administration of workmen's compensation laws is its failure to reach injured employees who are either ignorant of their legal rights or afraid to press them for fear of losing their jobs. Courts hear only such claims as are formally brought before them. An administrative system, on the other hand, is in a position to follow up accident reports, to disseminate information about the law, and to take the initiative in securing compensation for all who are entitled to it. Again, the court system of administration is entirely unequipped to capitalize the preventive possibilities of a workmen's compensation law. Through the tabulation and analysis of statistics and through organized safety campaigns an administrative commis-

sion is able to make the state compensation law a vital force in accident prevention. Finally, without an administrative board, a compensation system lacks an official representative whose important duty is to observe the law's workings and to report periodically to the legislature any defects or needed amendments.

In many states a clearer definition of the child's position under the workmen's compensation laws is needed. Sixteen states of the union including five southern states, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia, do not allow compensation to be paid to the illegally employed child who is injured. In these states such a child or his legal representative must resort to the common law remedy for redress of his injury. Eighteen states of the union, including Georgia, Virginia, and Kentucky allow the illegally employed child to recover under their compensation laws the same as an adult under like conditions. In Virginia the act specifically includes minors, and by judicial interpretation it has been held to include children employed in violation of the child labor laws (*Humphreys v. Boxley Bros. Co.*, 146 Va. 91, 135 S. E. 890). Also under the Virginia act the minor is *sui juris* for the purpose of pursuing his rights under the act. Ten states, including Alabama, allow compensation the same as adults with penalties varying from twenty-five to two hundred per cent. The Alabama act providing for double compensation to minors injured while illegally employed is an effective measure in enforcing child labor laws. It produces more care on the part of the employer in checking the age and legality of the employment of children. When a child is permanently injured there should be some provision for taking into account his future earning capacity in determining the wage basis for his compensation award.

CHILD LABOR LAWS

WITH THE COMING of industry to the South whole families flocked to the mills for employment. The families, as a rule, were large and the wages were low. Children sought employment as a matter of economic necessity in the majority of cases rather than as a matter of choice. The effects of unregulated child labor are of dire consequence both to the child and to the welfare of the community and state of the immediate future. Not least of the ill effects is the thwarting of opportunity and the dulling of intellect of the child laborer, to say nothing of his outlook on life and his attitude toward society.

At present all southern states forbid the entrance of children into manufacturing before the age of fourteen years, but in many states there are qualifying exceptions which weaken the law considerably. Some of the states place the prohibition on other employments than

manufacturing. In Florida children under fourteen are prohibited from working in any mill, factory, mechanical establishment, laundry, or on the stage. There is a twelve-year limit for work in stores, offices, or transmission of merchandise or messages in cities of 6,000 population or over. Employment in a fairly comprehensive list of occupations and places which are considered physically or morally dangerous or hazardous of children under sixteen is forbidden, and the county physician or city health officer has power to extend the list. Children under eighteen may not clean machinery in motion, and there is an eighteen year age limit for night work. Permits are required for children under sixteen years of age who are employed in factories, workshops, laundries, mills, or mines. These permits are granted by the school authorities and must contain documentary proof of age, school records showing proficiency in certain subjects, and, in cases appearing doubtful to the issuing officer, a physician's certificate showing physical fitness.

In West Virginia children under fourteen are prohibited from working in or about, or in connection with any gainful employment except agriculture or domestic service, but boys of twelve years of age or over are permitted to work in mercantile establishments and business offices outside of school hours by obtaining a special work permit from the school authorities. No child under sixteen years is permitted to work in any occupation dangerous to life or limb, or which is injurious to the health or morals of such child. The commissioner of labor, the state commissioner of health, and the state superintendent of free schools may from time to time, after hearing determine whether any particular occupation in which the employment of children under the age of sixteen years is not already forbidden by law is sufficiently dangerous to the lives or limbs or injurious to the health or morals of children under sixteen to justify their exclusion from such occupations, and no children under sixteen can be employed in those occupations after such a determination by these officials. However, there is a right of appeal after such a determination to the court of appeals. Under the terms of the West Virginia law children under sixteen may not work in mines, quarries, tunnels, or excavations. Neither may they be employed as rope or wire walkers, gymnasts, contortionists, circus riders, acrobats, clowns or in any indecent, obscene or immoral exhibition or practice.

Virginia permits children of twelve to fourteen years of age to work in canneries during the summer months. It is made mandatory that a child be examined by a physician as to physical fitness before becoming employed. Other southern states which require

physicians' certificates of physical fitness for children employees in industry are Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia. Under the Florida law it is optional, and South Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas have no such provisions. However, Mississippi provides that the county health officer must inspect as to health and sanitary conditions establishments where child labor is used. Oklahoma forbids the employment of any child under fourteen in any factory, workshop, theater, bowling alley, pool hall or steam laundry, and of any child under fifteen in any occupation injurious to the health or morals, or especially hazardous to life or limb. The commissioner of labor is charged with the duty of investigating on his own initiative or upon the complaint of the commissioner of charities and corrections or the State Board of Health to determine what occupations are injurious to health or morals or especially hazardous to life or limb and to notify employers in such occupations of his decisions. His decision is final until such occupations are defined by law as being safe for morals, health, life, and limb. Some of the occupations which have been adjudged to be injurious to the health, morals, or limbs and life of child workers are telegraph and telephone messenger service and delivery service of all kinds; work in shoe-shining parlors, barber shops, and hotels; employment in repairing and demolishing buildings, selling any article or merchandise on the street or any out-of-door place, and dancing or otherwise performing in hotels, cafés, restaurants, or other places of public amusement where cold drinks or refreshments are served. Children under sixteen are prohibited from working at such occupations unless they are able to read and write simple English or have attended school during the preceding year for the time that attendance is compulsory under the state law. Such children are prohibited from working in a number of occupations which are especially hazardous, such as the operation of steam machinery, the handling of explosives, acids, et cetera. Females under sixteen are prohibited from working in any capacity where their employment compels them to remain standing constantly, and from selling newspapers, magazines, and periodicals on the street. Boys under the age of sixteen and girls under the age of eighteen may not work between the hours of six o'clock in the evening and seven o'clock in the morning. Employment certificates are required and are issued only by the county superintendent of public education, or other school official designated by him, on application of the child desiring employment accompanied by his parent or guardian and upon presentation of documentary proof, or a certificate signed by two physicians, at least one of whom must

be a public health officer or school medical inspector, stating that, in their opinion, the child is at least fourteen years of age and showing the facts of physical development upon which their opinion is based.

Only four states have required employment certificates for children sixteen years of age. Alabama requires an age certificate for children of sixteen, except in agriculture and domestic service, and West Virginia requires certificate for employment in any gainful occupation for children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. Georgia requires a certificate for minors sixteen to eighteen years for night work in certain occupations. Alabama, Louisiana, West Virginia, Texas, Oklahoma, and Tennessee limit the employment of children under sixteen to eight hours a day and forty-eight hours a week. Mississippi and Virginia have the eight-hour day, but a forty-four hour week exempting canneries. North Carolina has an eight-hour day and a forty-eight hour week only for those children fourteen to sixteen years of age who have not completed the fourth grade, for the others, an eleven-hour day and a sixty-hour week. South Carolina and Georgia have the same working hours for children as for adults. Night work is prohibited to children throughout the South, but South Carolina permits children to work as late as nine o'clock in the evening to make up time lost on account of accident to machinery, and Texas forbids the employment of children between the hours of ten in the evening and five in the morning only.

The Texas law prohibits the employment of children under fifteen years of age to labor in or about any factory, mill, workshop, laundry, or messenger service in towns of over 15,000 population. Penalties may be imposed for the employment of children under seventeen years of age in any mine, quarry or place where explosives are kept. Fines may be imposed upon persons who permit children in their employ to work more than eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week. Under certain limited conditions, where the child has finished the fifth grade in school and where his earnings are necessary to support some relative, a child over twelve years of age may secure a permit from the county judge of his county to work. It must be stated, further, that nothing in the Texas Child Labor Act applies to the employment of children for farm labor, or to hours which children may work on farms, ranches, dairies, or other stock-raising pursuits. Due to the fact that 69,031 of the 80,872 children between the ages of ten and fifteen years gainfully employed in Texas in 1920 were engaged in agricultural pursuits, it can be seen that this exception is well worthy of mention. The enactment of legislation in 1931 providing for a Child Welfare Division in the

Board of Control and supplementary legislation evidences the fact that children are receiving more attention in Texas than formerly.

There is some form of factory inspection in all the southern states, providing an administrative machinery for the enforcement of child labor laws. All the states except Mississippi require that permits to work be issued by school officials or by some state authority. Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Virginia go farther and require the state to issue forms for employment certificates and to direct local officials to send duplicates of issued certificates to the state central agency, thus insuring a better supervision over the employment of child labor.

The employment of minors is directly curtailed by compulsory school attendance laws where the labor laws themselves do not forbid such employment. Every state in the union requires all children between specified ages who do not come within certain exemptions to attend school, and a majority of them require attendance the entire school session. Of the southern states, Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia require attendance for the entire session, and Georgia stipulates six months attendance. Oklahoma makes attendance compulsory for two-thirds of the entire session. South Carolina requires attendance for four consecutive months, or eighty days, and upon petition of a majority of the qualified electors of a district school attendance can be made compulsory for the entire session. Texas provides a minimum attendance requirement of one hundred days or of the entire session if it is less than that number of days. The minimum attendance required in Mississippi is eighty days. In Louisiana attendance is compulsory the entire session in the Parish of Orleans, and one hundred and forty days or the entire session if less than one hundred and forty days in the other parts of the state.

In none of the southern states is employment in agricultural pursuits specifically enumerated as one of the exemptions to the compulsory school attendance law, although in North Carolina the State Board of Education may describe the conditions under which exemptions may be had for farm demands. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia require attendance to sixteen years. Louisiana requires attendance until sixteen in the Parish of Orleans and until fifteen in the rest of the state. Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas require attendance until the age of fourteen years, Virginia to fifteen, Mississippi until seventeen, and, Oklahoma until eighteen years. Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, and West Virginia exempt from the compulsory attendance law children who are fourteen years of age and employed,

but West Virginia provides that children are not to be excused on the ground of having completed an elementary course if there is a high school within two miles of their home. Florida exempts children who are fourteen, employed and enrolled in a part-time school, and children who have completed the eighth grade. Louisiana and Mississippi exempt those who have completed an elementary school course, while Oklahoma exempts from complying with the compulsory attendance law those who are sixteen, employed, and have completed the eighth grade. In Tennessee the law does not apply to children who have completed the eighth grade or who are literate, fourteen years of age and employed, but Texas excuses those minors of twelve years who have completed the fifth grade from the operation of the law. The Virginia law does not apply to those who have completed the prescribed elementary course and who are regularly and lawfully employed.

The educational qualifications required before an employment certificate can be legally issued are lower in the South as a whole than in most of the other states. Alabama, alone, requires that the applicant should have completed the seventh grade, and by Act 356 of 1931 this is raised to include the completion of the eighth grade after September 1, 1934. Special certificates may be issued to children over fourteen for employment after school hours for no more than four hours a day or twenty-eight hours a school week. Florida and Georgia require that the child should be able to read and write, and West Virginia requires that the officer issuing employment certificates obtain a certificate signed by the principal of the school last attended showing that the child can read and write the English language and that he has satisfactorily completed the sixth grade or its equivalent. Vacation permits may be issued to children of fourteen years of age and over without a showing of satisfactory completion of the sixth grade.

Child labor in agricultural pursuits, because of the large number of children who engage in this type of work and the conditions under which the work is actually done, presents a situation almost as serious as industrial child labor, but the problem is far more difficult to solve. Children work on farms wherever crops are raised, but twelve states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, have eighty-four per cent of the total number of children reported by the United States Census for 1920 as employed in agriculture. These are among the states that lead in the production of cotton and tobacco, both of which require a large amount of hand labor. These statistics do not show the type of labor

which the children perform, as the census enumerators were directed to count as children engaged in agricultural pursuits those who work away from home as farm laborers or "somewhat regularly assist their parents in the performance of work other than household work or chores." The greater number of children working on farms in the South is accounted for, at least in part, by economic conditions and the type of farming. Tenancy is more prevalent here than in any other part of the country, and it is largely on a crop-sharing basis. In many cases the tenant's principal, if not only, contribution is the labor supply, and the number of acres of cotton or tobacco he can cultivate is determined by the number of children he can put to work in the fields. The economic status of many farmers, especially these tenant farmers, appears to offer some justification for the use of the labor of the farmers' own children. Even under good conditions it requires the labor of the entire family barely to make a living.

The attitude of a large part of the public is not opposed to the employment of children in agriculture by reason of the mistaken belief that agricultural work is both pleasant and healthful because it is out-of-doors. Much of the work of children in agricultural pursuits is either performed around the home farm or is done in the company and under the direction of the parents. This seems to place the work in a different category from industrial work and raises the question of interference with parental rights. The public has an aversion to legislative interference with parental rights except in cases of extreme neglect. However, the factor that is generally overlooked is that the farmer, like many parents of children in industry, is accustomed to hard work, and consequently, although desirous of doing what is best for his children, often fails to appreciate the strain it involves for young children or the danger of over fatigue in the adolescent period. These factors are presented as an explanation of the inadequacy of present regulations and at the same time point toward the type of regulation which might be feasible.

According to the recommendations of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection from the report of the subcommittee on child labor, June, 1932, it is probably unwise to enact legislation other than compulsory school attendance measures to regulate the work children do for their own parents on the home farm except in the case of work about dangerous machines ; such control could and should be extended to children who are hired out or who work under a family wage or contract system. The existence of legislative standards for employed children would undoubtedly tend to influence the standards adopted by parents for their own children.

The most effective method of controlling the labor of children in agricultural pursuits seems to be through the agency of the compulsory school attendance law. The work permit, which has proved to be such an effective measure of control in industry, is almost generally lacking in agricultural employment. Agricultural workers are scattered over wide areas, making it almost impossible for labor inspectors to cover the entire field. Due to the fact that much of the farm work is highly seasonal, especially during harvest, and delay means loss, the work permit is not effective as a weapon of control in this field. Any effective system of work permits necessarily must take into account the peculiar nature and needs of agricultural employment.

The White House Conference recommends compulsory school attendance for at least nine months each year for children under sixteen applying alike to rural and urban children, with an added provision in the child labor law that no child under sixteen should be employed either at home or outside the home during the hours that the public schools are in session. For children working out or working under some form of family wage or contract system, further recommendations are made. It is thought wise to incorporate the following standards in the law for such children even though they may be difficult of enforcement: children under sixteen should not be permitted to engage in agricultural work during school hours, and children under fourteen should not be hired out for agricultural work at any time, whether independently or as part of a family group except that children twelve to fourteen years may be employed outside of school hours in light agricultural tasks a few hours a day during a short season; hours of work for children under sixteen, engaged in agricultural work not on the home farm, should be limited to an eight-hour day when school is not in session, and when school is in session should be so limited that the total time spent in school and at work shall not exceed eight hours a day; work permits, valid for the entire season, should be required for children under sixteen engaged in agricultural work not on the home farm; and, special attention should be given the subject of employment of children about dangerous agricultural machinery.

There are noteworthy tendencies in the South with reference to the larger aspects of child health and welfare. It is in this field that most of the outworn creed of a sterile individualism in industrial protection is being quickly overthrown by alert leaders who see the child as the chief concern of the state.

Alabama, in 1923, established a Child Welfare Department Commission, the duty of which is "to seek out through investigation,

complaints from citizens or otherwise, the minor children in the state who are in need of its care and protection, and shall as far as possible through existing agencies, public or private, or through such other resources, aid such children to a fair opportunity in life." Georgia has a Children's Commission, whose duty is to study the laws of Georgia and other states which affect child life, and to present proposals to the legislature that will better safeguard the welfare of the children of the state. In 1928 Kentucky established a children's bureau. This bureau is authorized "to assist in the establishment of county children's bureaus, and co-operate with such bureaus as have been established, and with all agencies, institutions and associations concerned with the welfare of children." In 1927 North Carolina established a Child Welfare Commission. This commission is charged with enforcing laws relating to children, particularly child labor laws. In 1921 Oklahoma established a Children's Commission for the purpose of studying laws relating to children and making recommendations to the legislature on the basis of such findings. In 1922 South Carolina created a State Board of Public Welfare which is empowered, and the duty is imposed upon it, to visit once a year or oftener all institutions which have the care or custody or training of any class of children. In 1931 a child welfare division was introduced in the State Board of Control in Texas. In Tennessee the State Department of Institutions exercises those functions which Children's Commissions or Bureaus perform in other states. A children's code commission reported in 1930 in Louisiana.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS

CLOSELY RELATED to labor legislation for children are the child welfare laws and mothers' pensions. Since the motivating factor behind mothers' pensions is the welfare of the child the two shall be considered together. In this connection we are not concerned with the juvenile delinquent, mental defective and other types which require special care. We are concerned only with the dependent normal child. The general theory underlying relief through mothers' pensions is that home life of the proper sort is one of the most potent factors in social progress, and that a child should be deprived of its benefits only under urgent circumstances. Financial misfortunes of worthy parents do not alone constitute such circumstances. A changing attitude in social policy is plainly seen in the development of legislation affecting the American family. The South here forgets again, in part, its ancient lore of meaningless individualism. The conference on care of dependent children held at Washington

in 1909 set forth the following standard: "The home was declared to be the highest and finest product of civilization and no child should be deprived of a home except temporarily. The home should be broken up only for reasons of inefficiency and immorality and not for poverty. Children should be kept with their mothers unless the latter are unfitted to care for them properly. Mothers should be given help in accordance with the relief policies of the community, preferably from private rather than public sources."

The earlier attitude, as is here expressed, that relief should come "preferably from private rather than public sources," has changed, and today it is generally accepted that the ultimate responsibility for the children's welfare rests on the state.

The Children's Bureau at Washington in 1919 reflected a larger grasp of social policy when it declared that: "Every child should have normal home life, an opportunity for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and for moral and spiritual development in harmony with American ideals and the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded. The Conference recognizes the fundamental rôle of home, religion, and education in the development of childhood."

The principle of mothers' pensions has the advantage of keeping the child at home under the influence of his mother, and, furthermore, does not carry with it the stigma of being a pauper or ward of charity. Another excellent feature of mothers' aid is its effective way of aiding in enforcing child labor laws by removing the economic necessity of child labor.

At the present time there are forty-six states, the District of Columbia, Alaska and Hawaii that are granting public aid to children in their homes through mothers' pensions. New Mexico and Alabama were the last two states to enact such legislation, both having done so in 1931. The two states in the union which have made no provision for aiding indigent mothers are Georgia and South Carolina. In all the states it is required that the mother be a fit person to have the custody of the child, that the child be living with its mother, that such relief be necessary in order to save the child or children from neglect, and that such relief will avoid the necessity of the mother being employed away from home for more than a specified time. The Virginia law provides for an allowance to the expectant mother who is in need, and when it is necessary to save the mother and child from neglect. The Louisiana law permits a continuation of benefits until the child has reached the age of eighteen years under certain conditions, otherwise it is to cease at the age of sixteen years. Other southern states having the sixteen-year

limit are Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Virginia, and under certain conditions, West Virginia. Tennessee has an age limit of seventeen years, Arkansas has the fifteen year limit, and Oklahoma and North Carolina limit aid to children of less than fourteen years of age. In Mississippi and Virginia no amount is prescribed and no limitation is placed on the amount which may be awarded, and in West Virginia there is only the limitation that the allowance to any mother is not to exceed \$45 per month. Louisiana provides for an allowance of \$15 a month for one child and \$10 for each additional child, the total allowance not to exceed \$50 a month to any one mother. North Carolina makes the same allowance as Louisiana except that the maximum allowance is limited to \$40 a month to any one mother. Tennessee allows \$15 for one child and \$10 for each additional child, while Florida allows \$25 for one child and \$8 for each additional child.

In Tennessee the aid is specifically extended to unmarried mothers, to mothers whose husbands are dead, confined in the state penitentiary, mentally or physically incapacitated, and mothers who are divorced, or who have been deserted by their husbands. The West Virginia law provides that mothers whose husbands are incapacitated, or who have been abandoned, or who have children under the age of sixteen years who are not eligible to a work permit are entitled to the mother's pension. Virginia and Florida grant relief to mothers who are divorced or deserted and whose husbands are dead, insane, or incapacitated, and Florida further requires that the child attend school the full school term when such child is of school age. Texas is the only southern state which limits aid to a widowed mother. Florida and Virginia include the guardian, female relative, or custodian, if the child is dependent upon them, and the Virginia law includes the step-mother among those who may be given aid.

Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia out of sixteen states in the United States are the southern states requiring residence both in the state and the local administrative unit. Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas out of seventeen states mention residence in the local administrative unit only. Nine states, including Mississippi and Virginia, leave it to the administrative agencies to determine what amount shall be adequate. The other states provide for a maximum amount that may be granted to each child. It varies from \$2 a week in Vermont to the most liberal allowance in Ohio of \$35 a month for one child and \$10 for each additional one, without a specified family limit. In North Carolina, as in nine other states, the state and the locality share in

the expenses. In Florida and Louisiana there is no state supervision over mother's pensions other than the submission of annual reports. The supervisory powers of state agencies in North Carolina and Virginia are very general, such as advice and co-operation with the courts in order to promote uniformity and efficiency.

FEMALE LABOR LAWS IN THE SOUTH

THE EMPLOYMENT of women in various occupations is not in itself an evil. In fact, an occupied adult population is desirable under proper conditions. The evils to be avoided in the employment of women are long hours of employment, sweating, low wages, unfavorable health and sanitation conditions, and the sacrificing of other values, especially in the case of married women.

According to the last census, South Carolina had the highest percentage of employed women of any state in the Union, one woman out of every three in that state being employed. In the southern states the percentage of employed women runs from 17 per cent in Tennessee to 21.9 per cent in North Carolina, 25.8 per cent in Alabama, 26.7 per cent in Georgia, and 29.1 per cent in Mississippi. In the chief cotton producing states the percentage of employed women is highest. This is accounted for by the large number of Negroes in these states, Negro women furnishing a large part of the labor required in raising cotton.

Factory employment probably makes the greatest demands on the physique of laborers. It will be observed that the percentage of women gainfully employed who are engaged in manufacturing is comparatively low in the South. In North Carolina, a highly industrialized State, about 22 per cent of the women gainfully employed are in manufacturing. This is the same percentage as that of the entire United States. In Tennessee the percentage is fifteen, in Georgia and South Carolina ten, and in Mississippi and Alabama three and six per cent respectively. With the growth of the textile industry in the South the number of women employed has steadily increased but the percentage of women employees in relation to men employees has decreased. Now there are more men employed in southern textile industries than women, the latter constituting approximately one-third of the labor force. This is a smaller proportion than in New England.

All of the southern states except Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma, allow women to work at least ten hours a day. Alabama, Florida, and West Virginia have no laws limiting the hours women may be employed. All states except Mississippi have a seating law, requiring employers to provide seats for female employees when the

nature of the work will permit it. The Florida seating law applies both to male and female workers. Twenty-two states and the District of Columbia have no legislation regulating the conditions under which women may work at any specific occupation or excluding them from employment at any occupation in any industry. Nine of these are southern, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia.

Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas limit the hours of work for women to nine hours a day and fifty-four a week, with exceptions. Arkansas excepts workers in plants handling perishable goods by authority of the Industrial Welfare Commission, and railroad companies regulated by federal law. Louisiana excludes from the operation of the law women working in plants or factories handling perishable foods, stores on Saturday nights, and stores, cafés, etc., in places of less than 2,500 population. The Oklahoma law permits time in excess of the limitation of one hour daily in hotels and restaurants with the consent of the employee and double time pay. The exceptions to the Texas law are numerous with the proviso that double pay be given for the excess. North Carolina limits the hours of employment of women workers in manufactures, except seasonal industries, to eleven hours a day and fifty-five a week. In other occupations there is no limitation of hours for women workers. Georgia, Kentucky, and Mississippi limit the employment of women to ten hours a day and sixty a week. Kentucky has no exceptions to the operation of the law, but Georgia and Mississippi both have exceptions which make the law difficult to enforce. The Georgia law includes both men and women, but it applies only to cotton mills and woolen mills, while the Kentucky and Mississippi laws are comprehensive in their scope. South Carolina provides for a limit for both men and women workers to ten hours a day and fifty-five a week in cotton and woolen manufactures, yarns, cloth, hosiery, etc., and permits a twelve-hour day and a sixty-hour week for women in mercantile establishments. Virginia has a limitation of ten hours a day but no law concerning the total hours per week that women may work. Tennessee allows a ten and one-half hour day and a fifty-seven hour week for females employed in all manufacturing establishments.

There is no prohibition of night work at any occupation at which women are allowed to work in the South except in South Carolina where women are not allowed to work in stores after ten in the evening. Sixteen states of the union prohibit night work in some way. There are thirteen states and Puerto Rico which have provided that a period of time varying from thirty minutes to one hour,

must be allowed to women workers for the noonday meal. Only two southern states, Arkansas and Louisiana, are included in this group. Twelve states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico have statutory provisions to the effect that a woman may work only a fixed number of hours, usually five or six, without either a meal period or rest period of some kind. Again, Arkansas and Louisiana, are the only southern states having such a statute. The number of hours that women may work has been limited in forty-three states, but only eighteen states have provided that women workers must have one day of rest a week, or one shorter work-day a week, or time for meals or rest period. Only one southern state provides that women may not work over six days in succession. This state is Arkansas, but Virginia has accomplished this limitation by a codal provision prohibiting work on Sunday. Minimum wage laws are unheard of in the southern states except for a statute in Arkansas, which has been declared unconstitutional.

A true picture of the situation of women workers in the South cannot be painted in terms of statutes and legal provisions alone. As compared to what might be considered almost ideal legislation on the subject the South is far behind, but before an ideal can be accomplished it must exist in the minds of the people. The attitudes of the manufacturers themselves, in many instances, have changed. Part of the story of over-production can be told in terms of long hours and night work for women and minors. In this connection there has been a voluntary limitation of hours to a certain extent in the textile industry. In 1929, a manufacturer, whose mills are located in North and South Carolina, wrote a letter to the President suggesting a national study of the cotton textile industry, in which he suggested the following as a standard of operating time: Permanent reduction of weekly hours to 50; to pay the same wage for 50 hours that was paid for former schedules; as rapidly as possible to transfer all women on night to day work. He expressed the belief that these reforms would benefit the industry and "give employees more leisure and a higher standard of living." The Cotton Textile Institute proposed a general reduction of operating time to be achieved by voluntary adoption of the following schedule: 55 hours per week for day work; 50 hours for night work; the complete elimination of minors under 18 and women from night work. It was hoped that the elimination of minors and women from night work would greatly reduce night operation. But the depression did more than official humane considerations! However in a radio address delivered June 3, 1931, George A. Sloan, president of the Institute, stated that nearly 85 per cent of the industry had accepted the pro-

posed schedule. Mr. Sloan also pointed out the injury done to the industry by the refusal of some units to co-operate in this voluntary reduction of operating time. He said: "Of course, there are a few extreme individualists who, through utter disregard of the better interests of the industry, its employees and customers, persist in operating abnormal hours day and night including the continuous employment of women and children during that unnatural period of work between sunset and sunrise. It is bad enough for any human being to work at night—a time more appropriate to family life and rest, but under no circumstances, emergency or otherwise, should night employment of women and children be tolerated by the public.

"I can conceive of no reason for this practice on the part of a few mills unless they calculate that it will be profitable for them to operate in this way only because the great bulk of the industry is showing the necessary intelligent self-restraint to avoid the evils of over-production and the impairment of steady employment. But time is the great curative and surely logic and reason combined with public sentiment will correct these uneconomic and unsocial practices which, unhappily, still exist in some textile centers."

Here and there intelligent social leadership from manufactures in the South is found, but for the most part progress is only made through an aroused public interest and by an active and alert organized labor movement.

The enforcement of the law concerning hours of labor and labor conditions afford a real insight into the conditions which actually exist. Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, able and intelligent leader, in her study *Standards for Workers in Southern Industry*, has compiled a table of the limitation of hours and night work for women employees in which she rates the enforcement provisions of the several states. Those of Arkansas, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Virginia are rated as good; those of Tennessee are rated as fair; those of Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas are rated as poor. The Georgia law has no enforcement provision, and Alabama, Florida, and West Virginia have no limitation of hours or night work for women.

A bill for a ten-hour day and fifty-five-hour week which had the support of "liberal" manufacturers was killed in committee in the 1931 legislative session in Alabama. The child labor inspector unavoidably learns the hours of women workers in plants he visits. The chief child labor inspector writes in June 1931: "Practically all of the better mills in the state worked a ten-hour-day and a 55-hour-week before the agreement [for voluntary limitation of hours in the cotton textile industry]. . . . We have mills in the state

running 12-hour shifts regularly. A week or so ago I inspected three mills running day and night on 12-hour shifts. The day run people have time allowed for dinner, the night run people usually eat on the job. The night run people work five nights. We also run across overtime. A factory which may be running 14 hours a day is likely to be closed a week later. As far as I can see these manufacturers are making to order and are rushing these orders. They work overtime and then shut down altogether. This is not true everywhere, but we run across it often enough to indicate that it is not an unusual situation."

The fact that the larger number of Alabama textile manufacturers have found it possible to reduce daily and weekly hours to ten and fifty-five is evidence of the necessity of a law that will bring other plants in line with these standards at least. Not only in manufacturing but also in other occupations hours for woman labor in Alabama are of unreasonable length. The 1930 census shows that 24,636 women were employed in Alabama manufacturing establishments alone to say nothing of those employed in mercantile establishments and other places of employment.

The census shows 15,972 women in industry in Florida. The Woman's Bureau made a study in the autumn of 1928 covering 163 establishments embracing factories, hotels, restaurants, stores, and laundries which employed 7,844 women. "A long schedule, over 54 hours a week, was reported by more than one-third of the white women and more than two-thirds of the Negro women." In plants putting up food products a sixty-hour week was common. A Saturday holiday of less than six hours was enjoyed by 14.3 per cent of the white women and much less than half of the colored women. The survey shows that a large number of women employed in stores work much longer hours on Saturday than any other day.

West Virginia has 14,044 women in industries according to the census figures, but the 1930 report of the Commissioner of Labor states that 22,272 women are employed in industry and allied occupations. No law limits the hours that these women may work. The Commissioner of Labor recommends the enactment of an hours law to bring West Virginia into conformity with the more enlightened and humane practice of other states. The Georgia law of ten hours a day and sixty per week for "all persons employed" in cotton and woolen textile plants does not deter mills from working as long hours as they desire. The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics *Monthly Review* of November, 1930, gives average full time work and wages in representative textile plants in all the states, taken from a typical week in that year. This table shows Georgia to have

the longest average hours of operation—56.5 per week. This table is given in full below. It shows the average hours and wages of women workers in the cotton textile industries for November, 1930, based upon representative cotton mills in eleven states, with actual hours of work and wages paid in a week. States are listed according to lowest hourly wage rate.

<i>State</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Hourly Rate</i>	<i>Weekly Wage</i>
Alabama.....	55.2	.217	11.98
Georgia.....	56.5	.232	13.11
South Carolina.....	54.8	.24	13.15
Virginia.....	54.8	.246	13.48
North Carolina.....	55.0	.257	14.62
Maine.....	53.8	.304	16.36
Massachusetts.....	48.0	.353	16.94
Connecticut.....	50.7	.341	17.29
New Hampshire.....	53.1	.379	20.12
New York.....	47.7	.40	19.08

North Carolina's wage is only \$2.32 below that of Massachusetts, but the North Carolina hourly average is 9.6 cents less per hour and the North Carolina women averaged seven more hours per week. The Virginia hourly average fell below that of North Carolina for the first time in 1930, and that was the year in which the Danville textile mills effected a wage reduction which resulted in a prolonged strike.

The suggestive summary of Miss Elizabeth L. Otey in her article "Women and Children in Southern Industry" (*Annals of American Academy*, January, 1931) will indicate one aspect of the problem of protective legislation. She writes: "In the absence of a strong labor movement, southern sentiment has not been aroused to the plight of its women workers. Consequently, laws for their protection have been slow in the making, and just at present seem to be at a standstill. There is perhaps a historical reason for this. In 1907, a federal investigation into the condition of woman and child wage earners showed 9,607 children fifteen years of age and under at work in the cotton mills of the South that were visited. This situation, grave and spectacular, demanded immediate legislative action, and put the major emphasis on child workers to the detriment of women. There was little controversy about the iniquities of working children, although at the time voices were heard declaring the mill a healthy place for children, better than running wild on the streets, the inescapable alternative; but one might have one's doubts as to the

wisdom of shortening hours for women, thus curtailing production and killing the goose that was laying the golden egg. In addition, the National Child Labor Committee, organized in 1904, took hold vigorously, and unremittingly pushed its legislative program for the protection of children through the state legislatures. Persons were lacking to fight the battles of working women."

ADMINISTRATION OF LABOR LAWS

ADMINISTRATION is the law in action. It is the test of effective security for the worker. And here the South fails most completely.

One of the chief evidences of the development of a social conscience on the subject of protection for wage earning people is found in the organization, personnel, and appropriations of the department of government established to administer labor laws and safeguard the rights of workers. The department of labor is an essential feature of state government and is so recognized by the older industrial states. Industrial laws can only be effective when administered by a capable and sufficient personnel with adequate funds for travel and record keeping. This sound administrative policy was given by Miss Mary Anderson, director of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, in an address delivered in Greensboro, N. C., on March 7, 1931, and later printed under the title, "Women's Place in Industry in Ten Southern States." But it is a principle violated in the administration of labor law in every American state. Miss Mason, along with many others, has strongly shown the failure in the South. In her *Standards for Workers in Southern Industry* it is pointed out that: "The amounts spent for factory inspection are relatively small amounts in most of the southern states. In reporting on the costs to the various states of protection to person and property in 1928, the United States Department of Commerce shows that in the country as a whole factory inspection accounted for 2.9 per cent of the total spent for such protection. In the 10 southern states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Virginia) under consideration, however, less than one per cent of the cost of protection to person and property was for factory inspection."

Not all southern states have departments of labor, and some place factory inspection with agriculture and commerce. Alabama has no department of labor, but has a State Child Welfare Department which administers child labor laws. Two inspectors and a clerk for three-fourths time are employed in this department. The total appropriation for this work is \$9,000 annually. The Arkansas labor laws are administered by a Bureau of Labor and Statistics which

employs eleven persons, and has an appropriation of \$30,300. Florida has one state labor inspector who has no clerical help. The Florida appropriation is only \$3,900. Georgia entrusts the administering of her labor laws to a commissioner of commerce and labor who is also the chairman of the Industrial Commission administering workmen's compensation. The commission employs four persons and has an annual appropriation of \$10,522. Factory inspection in Kentucky is a duty of the Department of Agriculture, Labor and Statistics. Seven persons are employed for this work, with an appropriation of \$15,000. In Louisiana four persons are employed in the Bureau of Labor Statistics which has an appropriation of \$10,900. The four persons in the bureau are the commissioner, a clerk, one factory inspector, and one woman who is apparently responsible for child labor and factory inspection in the Parish of Orleans. A comment of a member of the faculty of Tulane University seems to sum up the situation very well: "The lack of adequate appropriation makes effective administration of the state department impossible." Mississippi provides for a Bureau of Industrial Hygiene and Factory Inspection. This bureau is composed of two persons and has an appropriation of \$6,000. Prior to July 1, 1931, North Carolina had a Department of Labor and Printing, but the laws pertaining to women and children were administered by the State Child Welfare Department. After July 1, 1931, the Department of Labor was reorganized with the following divisions: Industrial Commission, Division of Standards and Inspections, and Division of Statistics. This department now has the administration of women's and children's labor laws. The Budget Bureau of North Carolina states that estimated requirements of the Department of Labor, proper, are \$27,650, with three persons in this section of the department. Estimated requirements of the Division of Standards and Inspections are \$25,900 with ten persons employed. The commissioner of labor states that appropriations have been made. Oklahoma has a department of labor which is composed of eighteen persons, five of whom are factory inspectors. Two of the factory inspectors are women. The appropriation of \$44,070 indicates that attention is being paid to the enforcement of labor laws in Oklahoma, and reports of the inspectors indicate that good work is being done. The administration of labor laws in South Carolina is in charge of the Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Industries. This department is "self-supporting" from inspection taxes! Information as to the costs of factory inspection is not available. Tennessee has a Division of Mine and Factory Inspection in its Department of Labor which employs nine persons in addition to the commissioner. There are also nine

clerical workers in the department. The work of the department also includes workmen's compensation, fire prevention and hotel inspection. The appropriation for the factory inspection division is \$46,890.

Texas has a bureau of Labor Statistics consisting of 12 persons with an annual appropriation of \$40,000. The 1929-30 report shows that industrial inspections were made of establishments employing a total of 69,694 women, including many occupations. The following comment is made in this report :

"The exceptions are so numerous and so lacking in uniformity that a fair and impartial enforcement or administration of the law has been very difficult to accomplish. But because of the large and constantly increasing proportion of women workers in all industries and in business establishments of all kinds, and because of the general tendency to exploit female labor, the department has devolved a large part of its effort and activities during the two year period to the work of enforcing this law and to the protection of female employees.

"During the biennium 172 complaints for violation of the 9-54 hour law have been filed in the courts. The cases prosecuted represent a very small percentage of the cases adjusted otherwise."

The report includes a recommendation that the 9-54 hour limit of women employees be applied in all types of establishments, and an amendment to the law making 8 hours a day and 48 a week the maximum.

The Virginia Department of Labor and Industry consists of sixteen persons, and has an appropriation of \$54,500. Four men factory inspectors and two women factory inspectors are employed. The women inspectors cover inspection for child labor and for the hours and seating law for 53,406 women mentioned in the report as employed in industry and other occupations. The hours law in Virginia covers factories of all types, stores, laundries, and restaurants. The four men co-operate with the women in making the laws for women and children effective.

Although Virginia has a ten-hour limit and no weekly limit for women workers, it enforces the codal provision prohibiting work on Sunday, and has an average work day of nine hours in many industries according to the report of the Department of Labor for the year ending September, 1930. The average day in cotton and silk mills was ten hours a day. The weekly limit in most industries was between fifty and fifty-five hours. The inspectors reported 241 violations of the hours law and 220 violations of the sanitary statutes in the year ending September, 1930. It was found difficult to detect

violations of the hours law among women working on night shifts.

In West Virginia the Bureau of Labor consists of nine persons and \$37,400 is appropriated for their work. West Virginia has no laws to limit the hours of employment of women. The commissioner of labor recommends the enactment of an hours law to "bring West Virginia into conformity with the more enlightened practice of other states."

OLD-AGE PENSIONS

SOCIAL POLICY is indicated in the provision made for all the citizens of the community, and for this reason it is well to indicate the attitude of southern legislatures to old-age pensions. Old-age pension legislation has been enacted in seventeen states, and out of the seventeen only two are southern states, Kentucky and West Virginia. Kentucky passed such a law in 1926, being the fourth state in the union to enact such legislation. In both Kentucky and West Virginia the agency immediately responsible for the determination and payment of pensions is the county. In order to qualify for an old-age pension in Kentucky the party making application must be seventy years of age, must have been a citizen of the United States for fifteen years and a resident of the state and county for ten years; the maximum pension is \$250 a year. In West Virginia the party must be sixty-five years of age, must have been a citizen of the United States for fifteen years, and a resident of the state and county for ten years, and the maximum pension is one dollar a day. The Kentucky act remains practically inoperative, due in large part, it would seem, to the poverty of the counties. The act provides that the counties may inaugurate the scheme when they see fit. Only one county out of the one hundred and twenty in the state has adopted the system so far. During 1931 ten persons were paid old-age pensions in that county, the sum that was spent for that purpose amounting to \$1,000. The West Virginia act went into effect June 11, 1931, but as it provided that the matter of adoption must be voted upon at an election, no action toward acceptance of the system could be taken in that state until November, 1932.¹

More than 76,000 needy old people were being cared for by public pensions at the end of 1931. This was disclosed by a survey just completed by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. While seventeen states had pension laws on their statute books at the end of 1931, the law had not been put into actual operation in two of these (New Jersey and West Virginia). About two-fifths of the counties in the

¹ See "Operation of Public Old-Age Pension Systems in the United States in 1932," *Monthly Labor Review*, XXXIV (June, 1932), No. 6, pp. 1, 259.

other fifteen states had adopted the system, and these spent more than \$16,000,000 for the support of their aged dependents in 1931. The year 1931 marked the greatest progress in old-age pension legislation thus far, five states, Delaware, Idaho, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and West Virginia, having legislated on the subject.

Among the leading countries of the world there remain only the United States, India, and China without constructive national provision for their aged. More than forty nations have for several years pensioned or insured their old folks. In the United States there are approximately two million old people, or two out of every five persons reaching the age of sixty-five years, who must look to others for their support. Prior to 1927 there were less than seven hundred persons in the entire United States receiving old-age pensions. The monthly organ of the American Association for Old Age Security, Inc., stated that "the past year has seen the doubling of old-age pensions in the United States to the record figure of 82,000."² What a confession of national disgrace! Montana was the first state to write an old-age pension law on its statute books, having adopted such a measure in 1923. In 1931 there were one hundred bills dealing with old-age security introduced in the legislatures of thirty-eight states, and fifteen governors recommended in their legislative messages some action on the problem of old-age security. Bills were introduced in the South in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and West Virginia. The Oklahoma bill passed one house of the legislature. In Louisiana it was in the platform of two candidates for governor in 1932.

There is an increasing critical attitude in the South to the pre-depression philosophy of industrialism. The temper of social thought is not as blindly optimistic as it was in the days when the hopes of the industrial South were allowed to dominate the whole of what was expressed in the phrase "the advancing South." There is a proud and defiant question often asked, "Where is the South advancing?" Again and again the older and the broader tradition of cultural progress and spiritual awakening is emphasized. A worthy expression of this view was given to the General Assembly of Virginia in 1928 by Governor Byrd. "Virginia is on tiptoe," he said, "to embrace the largest opportunities for economic development that have come to her in her entire history; but she will not neglect to perform her governmental functions with humane understanding and broad vision. We may attract many industries that make money; but we must not forget the institutions and training that make men and women. For the distinction of Virginia has come from her

² *Old Age Security Herald*, VI (May, 1931), No. 50.

production of men and women who command our admiration and stimulate our pride. I know the people of Virginia and have an abiding faith that they will not neglect our priceless resources in flesh and blood and souls as they go forward to develop our natural resources."

The sound basis of progress in human values is not so often stressed in the broadcasting of industrial progress by the capitalists of the depression era. It is typical to read such pronouncements as that by Mr. George Long, president of the Louisiana Manufacturers Association, given before the public hearing on the women's eight-hour bill by the Senate Capital and Labor committee in 1932. He declared that "the passage of a bill limiting the work of women to eight hours a day and establishing a 48-hour week will be burdensome to both industry and to the women. It will make it harder for Louisiana manufacturers to compete with the manufacturers in other states that are not under such regulation. It will increase our production costs, and so give our competitors an advantage which will be reflected in smaller production, and reduced employment." The Louisiana law was not changed by the 1932 legislature.

A similar attitude of reaction is implied in the opposition against the organization of labor unions in the South on the part of the large manufacturing interests and the financial interests which are behind many of the promotion schemes in the South. The docile labor supply of the South has been the insulting advertising slogan of many firms and industries. The proud South is to them a myth. This is given in the 1932 *Blue Book of Southern Progress* by the Georgia Power Company with great persuasiveness. It is pointed out that in the cotton mills of the southern states, spindles increased 139,076 during 1931. Of this growth, Georgia had 59%. In the same states, cotton looms made an increase of 5,176 and of this total, Georgia's figure was over 40%. What was the moral drawn by the Georgia Power Company for the whole nation to read? Here it is: "Outstanding among the sound reasons [why Georgia leads] is the type of labor which Georgia offers. Fair-minded, straight-thinking, eager—the workers of Georgia weld her resources and advantages into a productive tool which creates profit for themselves and those whose investments make production possible."

The acceptance of a system of industrial relations implied in the statement of the president of the Louisiana Manufacturers Association and in the boastful advertisement of the Georgia Power Company is challenged in the South today more than in any previous period of the South's history. The bloody, sordid story of Marion and Gastonia and Elizabethton is one epoch, and is a landmark in the

rise of a working class movement in the South. Public opinion will yet create conditions of pressure. This opinion will be stirred by a convinced people of the South that profits and prosperity based upon the human resources of childhood and womanhood are not worth the awful price demanded by mill owners and bankers. When the South knows the terrible penalty of child labor there will be reaction which will find speedy expression in law. Not a southern state is in the lowest ratio of states having its boys and girls at work. And a southern State, Mississippi, leads with the highest proportion of child labor of any state. Mississippi has 30.7 per cent of its boys and 18.8 per cent of its girls at work. It is not difficult to understand the problem of building a state-wide educational system when the youth of the state is in work harness.

The future in the South is with the leaders who will use the present period of revolt against an unenlightened industrialism and will create a powerful bulwark through legislation and a labor movement against exploitation of the people of the South. There is a deep human appeal behind social legislation in the South. This appeal at the present is not deeply grounded in an awakened social conscience which would demand a new economic order ; but leaders who know what is needed can certainly inform and guide by their instruction and make possible substantial gains in legislation and community organization. Critics awake to the waste of unemployment, students of the tragedy of unsecured old age, advocates of wider health and industrial protection for women and children, leaders who are eager for a militant labor movement in the South, all these are better prepared for intelligent action than the political leaders of the South are to accept the obvious lessons of human misery and the breakdown of an uncontrolled and undirected industrial system. Public opinion has moved faster than certain politicians believed was possible. Their votes already have recorded their realization of the change in political opinion, and the shift in the power of labor at the polls. Federal legislation of a most drastic kind has come. This may be the real beginning of a saner and juster social order in the South. But so long as the attitudes of the past prevail, and they have by no means disappeared in this era of new deals, hope for anything better is mere illusion.

The South in her new strength has yet the chance to build her foundations on a conception of justice and liberty which has some meaning for men and women in the twentieth century. It is imperative now that the South judge the excellence of its economic organization by the degree to which it contributes to the well-being and the happiness of southern men and women and children.

THE PATTERN OF VIOLENCE

By H. C. BREARLEY

THE SOUTH has been cynically and not inaccurately described as "that part of the United States lying below the Smith and Wesson line," a reference to the prevailing custom of carrying revolvers—and using them. In the transportation of concealed weapons, in lynching, and in other forms of homicide Dixie stands easily first. The southerner is, as a rule, "quick on the trigger." In contentions he is prone to resort to "fighting it out."

In many communities the carrying of a pistol is almost a symbol of manhood. Without such a weapon some men feel themselves impotent and emasculated. As a consequence, in the South about three-fourths of the homicides are committed with firearms, while in less "prepared" New England the proportion is only one-half. In Europe firearms are rarely carried on the person, even police officers often going unarmed. Any readiness with weapons increases, of course, the number of homicides, for many slayings are not pre-meditated but are carried out in fear or anger during moments of conflict.

"An armed camp in time of peace" is the designation given by a southern attorney general to the situation in his state. With some modification, his description will apply to the whole region: "Pistols are carried, not as protection at night on some lonely road or in some remote part of the country during the day or in some dangerous neighborhood, but at public meetings, on the streets, at social gatherings, even at dances, even at daily labor and following the plow, and I add also even at church and prayer meeting." This preparation for bloodshed is not only a symptom of the southerner's tendency to appeal to force; it is in addition an ever present stimulus to deeds of violence.

LYNCHING

THE PROPENSITY for acts of violence is seen most dramatically, perhaps, in the South's pre-eminence in lynching, the summary and

non-legal execution of an offender. During the period of slavery lynching was comparatively rare in the South, being more prevalent on the western frontier. After the Civil War, however, social and governmental disorganization combined with race prejudice to justify and greatly extend the custom.

In the twelve southern states occurred nearly ninety per cent of the 1,886 lynchings that took place in the United States from 1900 through 1930. A single glance at Table I, prepared from data collected by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, reveals that the South is the region where mob violence most often supersedes the orderly processes of law.

TABLE I
LYNCHINGS BY STATES, 1900-1930

State	Number	State	Number
Alabama	132	Nebraska	3
Arizona	4	Nevada	3
Arkansas	127	New Hampshire	0
California	12	New Jersey	0
Colorado	7	New Mexico	6
Connecticut	0	New York	0
Delaware	1	North Carolina	35
District of Columbia	0	North Dakota	5
Florida	170	Ohio	5
Georgia	302	Oklahoma	48
Idaho	2	Oregon	4
Illinois	13	Pennsylvania	1
Indiana	8	Rhode Island	0
Iowa	3	South Carolina	71
Kansas	8	South Dakota	2
Kentucky	68	Tennessee	76
Louisiana	172	Texas	201
Maine	0	Utah	1
Maryland	6	Vermont	0
Massachusetts	0	Virginia	26
Michigan	1	Washington	2
Minnesota	3	West Virginia	13
Mississippi	285	Wisconsin	1
Missouri	41	Wyoming	9
Montana	9		
		TOTAL	1,886

Contrary to general belief, an attack upon a white woman is not the principal offense charged against the victims of mobs. In a total of 3,714 lynchings during the period 1889-1930, homicide was the accusation 1,399 times, while actual or attempted rape occurred only 871 times, or 23.5 per cent of the total. The offense charged, is, however, often of minor significance. For example, one Negro ex-soldier was slain primarily because he had boasted that he was not afraid of white men since he had seen them flee from the battlefield in France. Race hatred magnifies the offense, whether trivial or grievous.

When news of the crime—often exaggerated beyond reason—spreads, a crowd quickly begins to gather to pursue the offender or to inflict upon him condign punishment. Many of the members of the mob are motivated chiefly by curiosity or the desire for the excitement of a man-hunt. Others, perhaps the relatives and friends of the offended, are seeking a bloody revenge. Some, such as the “poor whites,” feel their own social inferiority so keenly that they rejoice in the opportunity to appear in the important rôle of defenders of “Anglo-Saxon supremacy” and “the purity of southern womanhood.” A few have come from many miles in order to take part in the drama of cruelty and hate. Some groups are, however, significantly absent from the crowd. Among these absentees are the majority of the educated and well-to-do members of the community, those who have regular and important duties, and those who believe in letting the law take its course.

When the accused has been captured or taken from the hands of officers of the law, the members of the mob proceed to enact the final scene in the tragedy. Generally the victim is slain by a volley from the guns of the lynchers or is first hanged and then riddled with hundreds of bullets. Often, however, death is inflicted in such a brutal manner as to give credence to the belief that men are at heart savages, eager for cruelty and slaughter. For example, the report of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching gives the following description of a recent mob slaying :

“The sheriff along with the accused Negro was seized by the mob, and the two were carried to the scene of the crime. Here quickly assembled a thousand or more men, women, and children. The accused Negro was hung up in a sweet-gum tree by his arms, just high enough to keep his feet off the ground. Members of the mob tortured him for more than an hour. A pole was jabbed in his mouth. His toes were cut off, joint by joint. His fingers were similarly removed, and members of the mob extracted his teeth with wire pliers. After further unmentionable mutilations, the Negro’s

still living body was saturated with gasoline and a lighted match was applied. As the flames leaped up, hundreds of shots were fired into the dying victim. During the day, thousands of people from miles around rode out to see the sight. Not until nightfall did the officers remove the body and bury it."

Although the torture lynching is not typical, the members of the mob may descend even further into the depths of savagery by gathering gruesome souvenirs of the slaying. Teeth and small bones from the victim may be carried in later years as watch charms or good-luck pieces. Larger bones and the rope may be kept to be exhibited to other Negroes to "put the fear of God into them" or "keep them in their places." Such is the conduct motivated by race hatred and innate savagery!

THE KU KLUX KLAN

ANOTHER TYPE of collective violence is that associated with the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. The original klan, organized during Reconstruction, endeavored to control the conduct of the former slaves and suppress crimes against the whites. The new klan came into prominence after the World War because of its efforts to promote "100 per cent Americanism." Both of these organizations have resorted to intimidation and violence in order to obtain their objectives. In effect they have attempted to institute a form of extra-legal government. Their secrecy and covert activities have also made it easy for non-members to use their insignia and costumes in acts of violence that range from the intimidation of labor organizers and communists to the commission of actual murder.

Somewhat akin to the Klan in motive and methods are the semi-organized night-riders, groups of self-constituted regulators who attempt to exercise various types of religious, political, or economic censorship. While the general purpose of these groups has been to control or suppress offensive minorities, they have often, like the Klan, resorted to acts of violence that either directly or indirectly have led to loss of life.

HOMICIDE

INDIVIDUAL HOMICIDE is, however, at least in numbers more significant than lynching as an illustration of the South's pattern of violence. For example, during the five years from 1920 to 1924 the rate of homicide per 100,000 population for the southern states was a little more than two and a half times greater than for the remainder of the United States. In 1929 only North Carolina and Virginia failed to exceed Chicago in slayings. (Texas is not included in this

analysis, since official data are not available. Reports of several of its cities indicate, however, that its record is similar to those of its neighbors.)

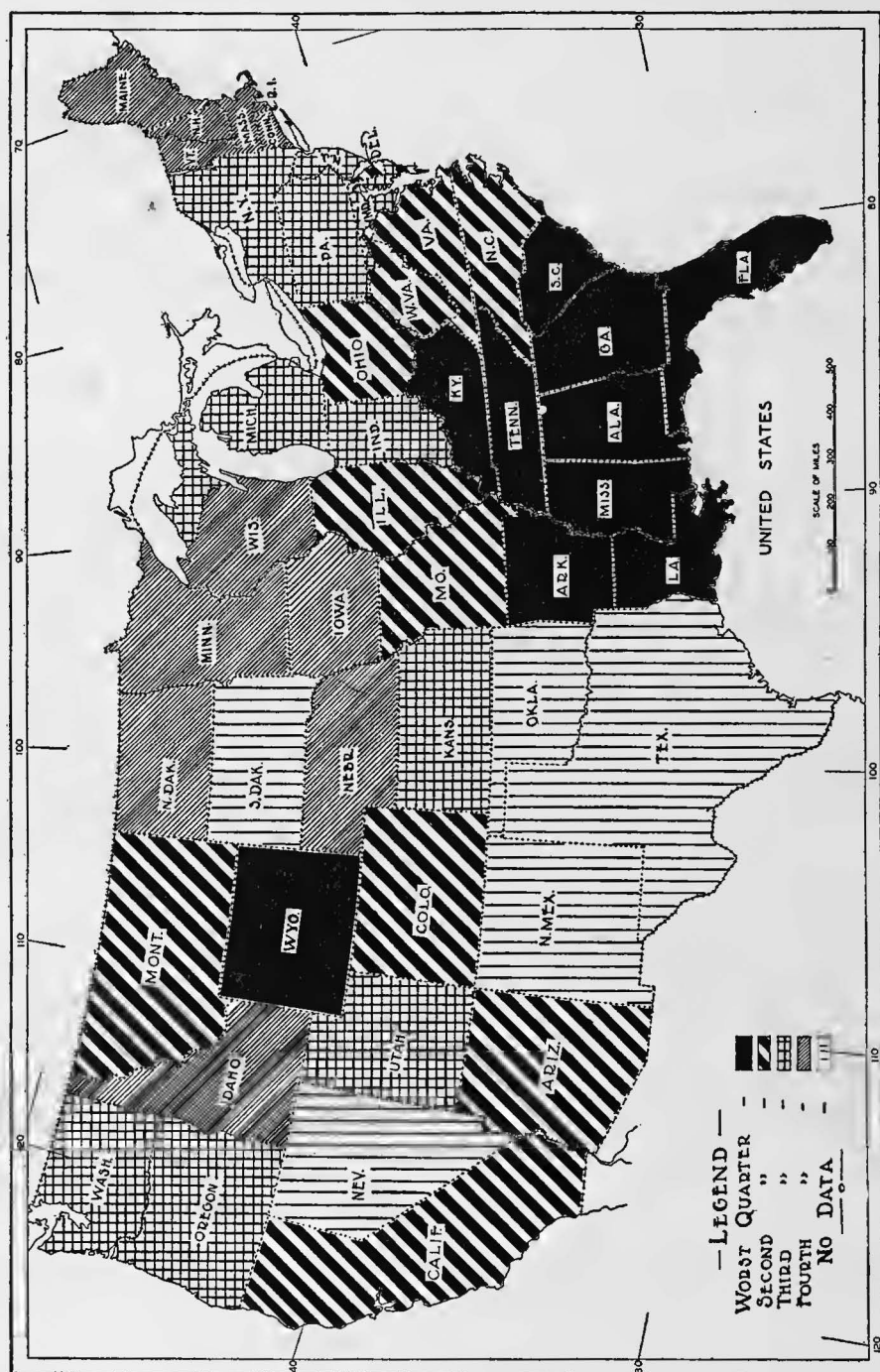


FIG. 1. DISTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1918-1927.

The South's excess of homicide is graphically shown in Figure 1, based upon the unweighted average of the number of slayings per 100,000 persons for the years 1918-1927 or for the proportion of

this period that the state has been in the vital statistics registration area. The states are divided as closely as possible into four groups. An examination of this map reveals that the South and the adjoin-

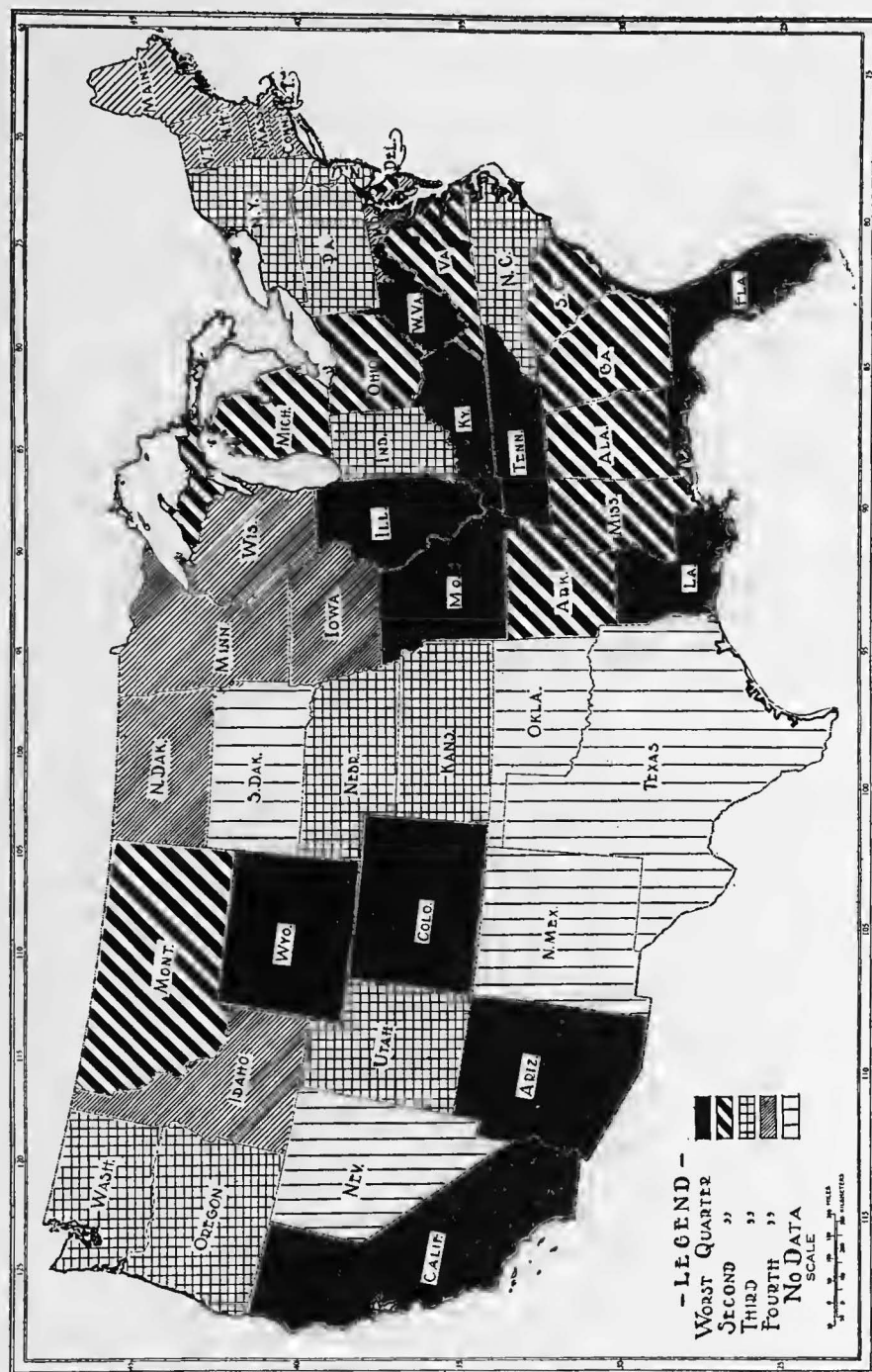


FIG. II. DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE HOMICIDAL DEATHS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1918-1927

ing states to the north make up the great homicide belt, with a lesser one in the far West.

Since the rate of homicide for colored persons is far higher than

it is for whites, comparative data based upon all racial groups in the population may be unfair to the South, where a large proportion of the Negroes reside. To test this possibility Figure 2 has been prepared, showing the result of eliminating slayings among colored persons from the records of the southern states. The basic data for this map are the same as for Figure 1 except that the rates are for *white* homicidal deaths only in the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. This division is in favor of the South, since many Negroes and other colored persons live in the North and West and increase their rates of homicide slightly above what they would be if only whites were considered in making the calculations. (Separate data for whites and colored are not available except for the southern states and a few northern cities.) Even when this separation is made, the South fails to present a favorable record, although a few states improve their relative positions. Consequently, even if all colored homicidal deaths are excluded from the records, the South still remains the region where murder and manslaughter are most prevalent. Blaming it on the Negro is not, therefore, an adequate defense, even though the Negro greatly exceeds the white in the tendency to resort to violence.

TYPES OF HOMICIDE

To OBTAIN valid explanations of the South's homicide record it is first necessary to classify slayings into three major groups. Class 1 consists of those homicides committed by abnormal persons, especially by perverts or by the insane or near-insane. In slayings of this type the record of the South is good. Insanity and perversion seem to be less frequent in the South than in the United States as a whole. This is due in part, at least, to the rural environment and the slower tempo of life.

The second type of homicide is committed in connection with some other anti-social act, as when a burglar slays or is slain by a householder. In the South wealth is not often concentrated sufficiently to tempt violent attack, and sneak thieves are more typical than highwaymen. There is enough evidence to warrant the assumption that in this class of homicide the South is no worse than other parts of the nation.

In the third class, however, the southerner has amply earned his reputation for bloodshed. This is the type of slaying committed to preserve the status of the slayer, to maintain his self-respect and prestige or those of his group. Here are included lynchings, honor slayings, "family affairs," and most of the manslaughters arising

from altercations. If it were not for killings of this type, the South would be a land of peace and personal security.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

THE PLACING OF the responsibility for the South's murders upon the warm climate and the resultant increase in emotionality is almost as popular an explanation as is the imputation of the fault to the presence of the Negro. This plausible defense proves, however, to be of small value, since in the southern states the slayings committed in December exceed those for any other month, hot or cold. In history, rather than in climate, are to be traced the sources of the southerner's tendency to appeal to arms. The South has received the heritage of lawlessness which all of the people of the United States derived from frontier life, the conflicts with the representatives of the British crown, and the disruption of the courts during and after the Revolution. In addition, this common heritage has been intensified by the landing of the Puritans on Plymouth Rock rather than farther south, as they had planned; by the advent of slavery beginning with the arrival in 1619 of a Dutch ship bearing Negroes for sale to the Virginia colonists; and by that tragic era in the South during the years from 1866 to 1876, ironically, perhaps, called the period of Reconstruction.

THE FEUDAL SPIRIT

THE PURITANS who placed upon the New England colonies and ultimately upon the entire North and West the stamp of their stern virtues were chiefly "simple country folk who expected to remain tillers of the soil in their new homes." To them, class distinctions and prestige were matters of small importance. They were Dissenters or Roundheads, scornful of feudalism and its appendages. On the other hand, in the words of Shaler, "The Virginian was an old Englishman. . . . In the seventeenth century when he departed from the parent home, he took with him the notions of society which still retained a large share of the feudal spirit. In that system of human relations the ideas of personal honor, of fidelity to the chief, of the motive of valor, and of the obligations to codes of soldierly conduct possessed the minds of men so entirely there was little space for other considerations." Of course, not many Virginians were gentlemen Cavaliers, but those who did most to mold the life and thought of the new colony were generally heads of plantations, loyalists to the old régime of feudalism, using hundreds of indentured servants in cultivating their fields of tobacco. Interspersed among these planters and their servants was, however, a numerous class

of yeomen farmers, who cultivated the soil with their own hands.

Then came the black tide of slaves from Africa. Many of the yeomen fled to the West or North or were submerged among the "poor whites." Others who were able to maintain their former status were almost ignored socially and politically. As slavery increased, travelers, according to Wertenbaker, began to notice the "haughty spirit" of the planter and his scorn of "laborers" and "shopkeepers." In brief, largely because of the absence of the Puritan influence, slavery partly re-instituted feudalism in the South. The feudal spirit was already there in the minds of the gentlemen planters. In the management of their undisciplined slaves they found many feudalistic practices almost necessary, especially since the production of tobacco, indigo, rice, and cotton made large scale cultivation highly advisable.

From its principal sources in Virginia and Carolina this feudal spirit, intensified by the growth of slavery, spread through all the South. Honor was esteemed more than life itself. Loyalty to one's family, social class, and community became the highest of virtues. Superficial observation might result in the conclusion that the feudal spirit must have been dashed to pieces against Seminary Ridge on the field of Gettysburg, when slavery and the plantation system yielded to the strength of the middle class and the age of machinery. On the contrary, as Count Herman Keyserling has recently observed, the Cavalier spirit still animates, to a lesser degree perhaps, the South. Some day this emphasis upon status and honor will follow the plumed knight to the graveyard of history, but that day has not yet come.

FEUDAL SURVIVALS

DIRECTLY AND indirectly this feudal spirit increases the prevalence of homicide in the South. In the effort to secure or maintain status, slayings occur every day among aristocrats, middle classes, "poor whites," and Negroes. (For the Negro is also a southerner.)]

Although outlawed by statute, the *code duello* still survives in altered form, especially among the "poor whites." As late as 1878 *The Code of Honor*, published at Charleston, South Carolina, violently opposed giving up the practice of formal duels, using as one argument the fact that "the leading and most rancorous enemies of the Code of Honor are the materialistic Puritan sceptics." In spite of its defenders the formal duel has, however, given way to what may be called the pseudo duel. According to the prevailing custom, one man sends word to another that he had better "watch out" or that he must "leave the country." The two then arm themselves,

and when they meet—possibly at church or on a crowded street—they draw their weapons and open fire on each other. The survivor can always claim self-defense and may normally rest assured of a verdict of not guilty. Shaler's comment of more than forty years ago is still valid: "It has been found impossible to convict men of murder for such crimes, provided the jury is convinced that the assailant's honor was aggrieved and that he gave his adversary notice of his intention to assail him."

Under the "unwritten law" a man is almost required to "slay" another who has by seduction or adultery injured the "good name" of his wife, daughter, or kinswoman. Under such circumstances the vindicator of the family's honor may shoot down the philanderer at sight and without warning, yet need not fear the decision when his case is taken before a jury. This custom seems to be an extension of the feudal tradition that a man owes protection to all the life which is subject to his will. A similar motive, perhaps, explains the white employer's defense of his Negroes against mistreatment by other whites or even against the forces of law and order. In some communities, moreover, a corollary to the "unwritten law" permits a person to slay a man who has been guilty of gross breach of trust, especially when there is no adequate recourse in law.

"Fighting words"—curses and insults—cause many homicides and attempted homicides. According to the folk belief, one who refuses to wipe out an insult with blood is a poltroon and a coward—he "ain't no man." This is probably a survival from feudalism, supplemented by primitive man's fear of any curse which is not later withdrawn upon threat of vengeance or which is not nullified by counter-magic.

In the South one's position or status is all-important. This, doubtless a result of feudalism and the slave régime, makes the southerner supersensitive toward affronts. Often there is only one approved method of maintaining self-respect and social esteem, and that is by slaying the offender.

Among the mountaineers of the Southern Appalachians the feudal spirit has combined with family pride and has become so intensified that feudal warfare is often inevitable. As Kephart observes, "My family *right or wrong!*" is a slogan to which every highlander will rise, with money or arms in hand, and for it he will lay down his last dollar, the last drop of his blood. . . . The outlaw is the popular hero of Appalachia today, as Rob Roy and Robin Hood were in the Britain of long ago. . . . Whoever has the reputation of being a dangerous man to cross—the 'marked' man, who carries his life upon his sleeve, but bears himself as a smiling cavalier—he is

the only true aristocrat among a valorous but primitive people."

Such are the patterns of behavior motivated by the tenets of the semi-feudalism of the South of the gentleman planter. Often these are merely subconscious motives; occasionally they are openly acknowledged. By their emphasis upon prestige and status they lessen the value of every man's life. This seems to be a concomitant of feudalism, whether it be the feudalism of slavery, of medieval Europe, or of early nineteenth-century Japan.

To attribute to a relatively few patricians such far-reaching influence upon the pattern of life in the South may seem unjustifiable, for as Gaines and other have pointed out, the gentlemen farmers were not a numerous class and were rarely predominant except, perhaps, in tidewater Virginia, the coastal region of the Carolinas, and the lower Mississippi valley. But these men did, it must be remembered, establish a tradition and set a social ideal. This tradition proved to be more potent than the reality. Negroes, "poor whites," and middle classes—all saw in the planter class the embodiment of what they themselves wished to be. In somewhat the same way as the adoration of a few saints transformed the rude Teutonic invaders of the Roman empire into the religious zealots of the Crusades, a comparatively small number of patricians exemplified and instituted a folk tradition that makes the virtues of feudalism the heritage of every southerner.

SLAVERY

CLOSELY INTERTWINED with the feudal spirit have been the effects of the institution of slavery. Both have directly and indirectly contributed to a low evaluation of human life. This is a logical, if not an inevitable, result of trafficking in flesh and blood. About two-thirds of the Negroes actually secured in Africa died on their way to the slave ships or on the long voyage to this country. If one were killed or died from overwork, another could be purchased for a few hundreds of dollars. A Negro was often thought of as being a valuable domestic animal. This was probably a consequence of the exaltation of the "noble Anglo-Saxons" and the degradation of the slaves as foreordained to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." When one slave slew another, the offender was rarely punished severely. Often he was branded with the letter M to show that he was a murderer and then released after a severe whipping.

This tendency to place a low valuation upon the life of a slave naturally influenced the state of mind toward whites as well. A laborer was only slightly above the status of a slave. Any one who had committed a grievous offense was "little better than a

nigger,” and his death was not a matter of grave importance.

These beliefs and practices are part of the southern tradition. They have lived on into the present and contribute to the pattern of violence that has as one of its most important sources a tendency to place little emphasis upon the sanctity of human life—especially the life of a member of the lower classes.

RECONSTRUCTION

WHEN THE SURRENDER of Lee's army at Appomattox ended the slave régime and ushered in the age of hate, the South was thrown violently into that state of social and political confusion now known as Reconstruction. Thousands of former slaves, reveling in their freedom from the restraint of the master and carrying firearms obtained from their northern friends, wandered through the land, making both life and property most unsafe for the whites. This demoralization of the newly-freed slaves was probably not due to anything inherently southern. After the emancipation of the slaves in Pennsylvania, beginning in 1780, there was, according to Turner, an “apparent deterioration in the character of the Negroes” so that “in the winter of 1821-22 the streets of Philadelphia became dangerous by night and unsafe by day.” A similar situation existed in the South except that it was worse by a hundred fold. Besides, the revolt against the repressive influences of slavery was aggravated by the economic disruption of the plantation system, the weakening of the whites by the slaughter of four years of warfare, and by the corruption and inefficiency of the courts and other agencies of government. Taking the law into one's own hands was often almost necessary for self-preservation.

This reign of disorder and crime not only increased the actual number of slayings, especially those between the races, but it also augmented the amount of potential homicide by more firmly establishing the custom of carrying concealed weapons. This practice had already been begun during slavery, since the master's safety often depended as much upon his exclusive possession of firearms as upon the loyalty of his house servants. During the seventies the insecurity of life made reliance upon firearms so necessary that it became an almost universal pattern of behavior. Today, although the need for the practice has largely passed away, the southerner is still to be found “banking on his gun.”

THE NEGRO

IN ADDITION TO the the folkways that influence both whites and Negroes to resort to violence, there are other factors especially

operative upon the colored population. Neither in Africa nor during slavery was human life highly esteemed. The killing of one slave by another, as has already been noted, was rarely punished severely. Even today the slaying of one Negro by another is usually dealt with leniently by the courts unless robbery or some other dishonorable motive is involved. To the lower middle class, the clerks, day laborers, and poor whites who make up most of the juries, the homicide means "one nigger less," and they are quite complacent about the matter. In such cases the Negro laborer can also be fairly sure that his white employer, following the feudal pattern, will use his money and influence to secure his dependent's acquittal. Later the Negro can work out the expense of his trouble.

According to both general observation and rather reliable scientific tests the Negro is inclined to be more impulsive and less self-controlled than is the white. This trait may be truly racial or it may be merely the result of cultural surroundings and traditions that emphasize self-expression rather than self-control. This lack of the power of inhibition, whatever its origin and extent, tends to increase the Negro's acts of violence.

The exclusive control of the administration of criminal justice by the whites results in a distrust for "the white folks' law" that directly increases the amount of homicide, both among the Negroes themselves and between the races. In some Negro groups it is not quite honorable to appeal to the courts for redress of an affront that seriously affects one's status in the community. Unless the difficulty can be settled by the intervention of friends or church officials, fighting it out may be the only recourse.

This lack of confidence in the machinery of justice markedly increases the number of interracial slayings. Whenever a Negro feels himself grievously wronged by a white man and at the same time believes that an appeal to law will be worse than useless, the setting is prepared for an interracial homicide. Similarly, resisting arrest, even when charged with trivial offenses, frequently results from the Negro's distrust of the courts and his fear of the third degree. These affrays involving officers of the law, moreover, make up a large proportion of the total number of slayings in which members of both races participate. Because of their dramatic value, these interracial slayings are emphasized by both the white and the Negro press and often endanger peaceful race relations, the most frequent source of lynching being the killing of a white man by a Negro. Such slayings are, however, relatively few in number, especially in proportion to the extent of interracial contacts and prejudices. Both Negroes and whites are in far greater danger from

members of their own race than from members of the other.

The rate of homicide for Negroes in the United States vital statistics registration area is about seven times greater than it is for whites. In the South, of course, the difference between the two races is much less. In cities the number of slayings among the colored groups is even greater than in the country, the rate per 100,000 population during the year 1925 reaching as high as 189.7 for colored persons in Cincinnati, Ohio; 228.9 for East St. Louis, Illinois; and 276.3 for Miami, Florida. During the same year in Chicago, popularly but erroneously believed to be the capital city of homicide, the rate for colored persons was 102.8, while for whites it was only 10.8. Despite this record of bloodshed, it is at least possible that this tendency may not be a racial one. The Negro is typically an uneducated laborer—through faults not his own—and even among whites of similar socio-economic status the number of slayings is very large. Any one cognizant of the whole situation, past and present, is not surprised that the Negro surpasses even the southern white in his resort to violence.

THE FUTURE

IF IT WERE not for the danger of increased industrial warfare, the prospects would be favorable for a reduction in the amount of bloodshed in the South. Growth of manufacturing has, however, been generally accompanied by open warfare between employees and the representatives of capital. In England first, then in New England, and now in the South the development of the textile industry has resulted in violent and destructive conflicts. Expansion, industrial warfare, and adjustment seem to represent three normal stages in the history of the factory system. New England failed to learn from the experience of Manchester and Liverpool. The South might learn from New England, but it now appears that she will not. When industrial warfare occurs in a region where the participants are already predisposed to deeds of violence, as in the South, such conflicts may be expected to be especially destructive. The recent bloodshed at Marion and Gastonia, North Carolina, and in Harlan and Bell Counties, Kentucky, is only an indication of what may be ahead of all southern industrial communities unless the leaders of capital and labor by some miracle should decide to profit by the mistakes of others.

Were it not for this specter of industrial violence, the outlook for improvement during the next few decades would be distinctly encouraging. From 1889 through 1899 the average number of persons lynched a year in the United States was 187.5, but the correspond-

ing number for the years 1926 through 1930 was only 17.6. Besides, during this last period an average of 32.8 lynchings was prevented each year. Although the South's rate of decrease is somewhat smaller than for the nation as a whole, lynching is certainly becoming very much less frequent. Open race warfare is also relatively rare in the South, when the number of Negroes is taken into consideration. The Klan is quiescent. Recently several whites have been sentenced to death for the slaying of colored persons. Juries seem to be less leniently disposed towards Negroes who slay members of their own race. Both pseudo duels and mountaineer feuds are decreasing. The southern courts have regained part of the prestige they lost during Reconstruction and are not much more open to criticism than are the courts elsewhere. In a few more generations the evil effects of slavery and Reconstruction will have greatly abated and the feudal spirit will have become modified or will have succumbed to the materialism of the machine age. Unless widespread industrial warfare or some social catastrophe intervenes, the resort to violence will no longer be a distinguishing feature of the southern scene.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN D. ALLEN was born in Latta, South Carolina, 1898; educated at the University of Georgia and Vanderbilt University. He has done journalistic work for newspapers in Macon and other southern cities, and during 1931-1932 he was engaged in historical-social research in American journalism, chiefly in the Library of Congress. Mr. Allen is now head of the Department of Journalism, Mercer University.

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H. C. BREARLEY was born near the village of St. Charles, South Carolina, 1893; educated at the University of South Carolina and the University of North Carolina (Ph.D.). Professor of sociology and psychology at Clemson Agricultural College since 1924, Mr. Brearley is the author of numerous articles and of a volume entitled *Homicide in the United States*. He is interested in race relations, criminology, and social psychology, and is now engaged in a study of interracial homicide in the South.

CLARENCE E. CASON was born in St. Clair County, Alabama, 1896; educated at the University of Alabama and the University of Wisconsin. Mr. Cason has been connected with several newspapers, has published a number of articles in national periodicals and scholarly journals, and has written fiction and verse. He is now head of the journalism department at the University of Alabama, where an effort has been made to establish journalism as a social study properly identified with a liberal arts college.

W. T. COUCH was born in Pamplin, Virginia, 1901; educated at the University of North Carolina. He was Assistant Director of The University of North Carolina Press from 1925 to 1932, and has been Director since 1932. Mr. Couch is especially interested in political economy, social planning, the cultural history of the South, and a healthier farm life for this region.

BRUCE CRAWFORD was born in Norton, Virginia, 1893. He has written articles and has lectured on southern labor conditions and the effect of industrialism on native mountain people in the South. He defended southern mill and mine workers at the 1929 Virginia Institute of Public Affairs, and was shot while investigating disorders in the Kentucky coal

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DONALD DAVIDSON was born in Campbellsville, Tennessee, 1893; educated at Vanderbilt University. An associate professor of English at Vanderbilt University, Mr. Davidson was one of the founders of *The Fugitive*, a magazine of verse published by a group of Nashville poets from 1922 to 1925. He is the author of *An Outland Piper* and *The Tall Men*, has written both in verse and in prose for national periodicals, and is one of the twelve southerners who published the symposium, *I'll Take My Stand: the South and the Agrarian Tradition*. Mr. Davidson has always followed southern literature closely, and some years ago, in an essay entitled "The Artist as Southerner," he was among the first to raise the regional literary issue.

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